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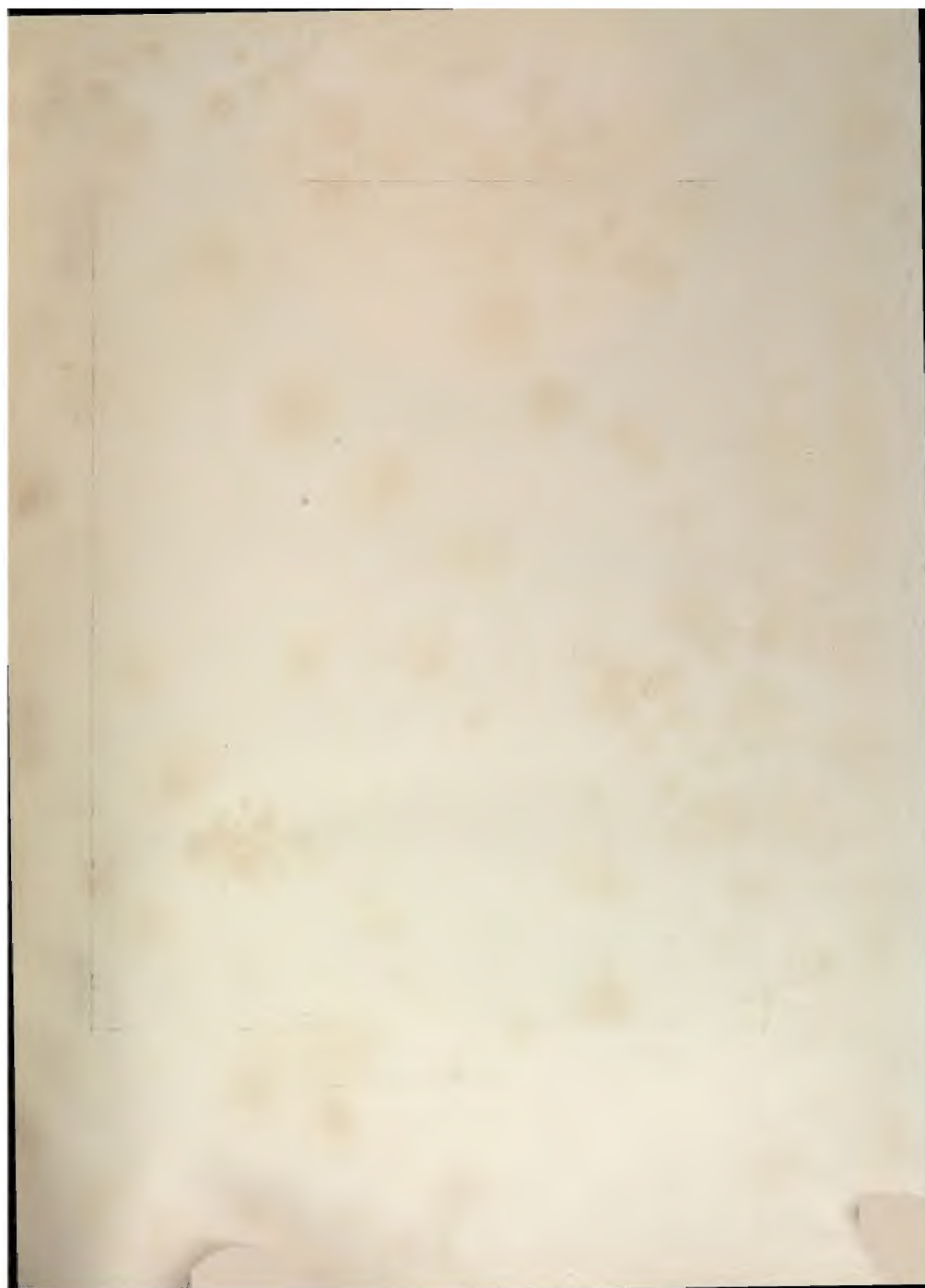






E21.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF THE CITY OF ARMAGH.





HIS EMINENCE, MICHAEL CARDINAL LOGUE, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH,
AND PRIMATE OF ALL IRELAND.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS
OF THE
CITY OF ARMAGH

BY JAMES STUART

New Edition

REVISED, CORRECTED AND LARGELY RE-WRITTEN

BY

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Dublin

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CENSOR DEPUTATUS.

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

STUART'S *Historical Memoirs* having been long out of print, it occurred to his Eminence, CARDINAL LOGUE, to have the work re-edited, in connection with his great Bazaar for the Cathedral of Armagh. It was at his request that the present Editor undertook the work, though full of diffidence in his ability to bring it to a successful conclusion, in view of the formidable character of the task.

Some criticism may be expressed on the freedom with which material departures have been made from the original, making the present issue an adaptation, rather than a new edition in the accepted sense of the word. But having been written by a Protestant, and mainly for Protestant readers, the work would not be acceptable, without many modifications, to the Catholic public, for whom the re-issue has been chiefly intended. The extent of the changes is fully explained in the Introduction. The part of the book, however, which contains the Memoirs of the Protestant Primates, has suffered no alteration, except that the chapters have been arranged in a more readable form.

While returning thanks collectively to the many kind friends who have given help, the Editor must specially express his great obligations to Rev. B. MAC CARTHY, D.D., M.R.I.A., who suggested corrections and additions, supplied some notes, and arranged the chronology of the early History and the Primates, in accordance with the rules laid down in his *Introduction to the Annals of Ulster*,

now (with the Index) passing through the press, and finally revised the proofs. He also supplied the valuable transcript of the *Book of the Angel* (made by himself from that ancient manuscript) together with the translation.

He has likewise specially to thank Rev. M. A. COSTELLO, O.P., S.T.M., of Rome, for a number of valuable documents connected with the work, copied by him from Roman Archives. To JOHN RIBTON GARSTIN, Esq., M.A., V.P.R.I.A., who has relieved him from the delicate task of dealing with the Protestant Primates, he has to express his obligation for the careful work he has done in this connection. For the identification of names of places in Armagh and the surrounding Counties, he is much indebted to JOHN F. SMALL, Esq., Solicitor.

For the use of the Coloured Maps, he is indebted to the kindness of RICHARD BAGWELL, Esq., M.A., author of *Ireland under the Tudors*, in which work they first appeared in, and for the Map of the City of Armagh, to Colonel REEVES, son of the late Right Rev. Dr. REEVES.

Lastly, he desires to acknowledge the courtesy extended to him whilst making researches among the books and manuscripts in the Public Library of Armagh, by the Librarian, Rev. Canon MOORE MORGAN, LL.D., and his deputy, Rev. C. FARIS, M.A.

June, 1900.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

SAINT PATRICK AND ARMAGH.

Situation of the City of Armagh—Derivation of its Name—Birth and Family of St. Patrick—His Captivity—His Call—Lands in Ireland—His Missionary Labours—Makes Armagh his Primatial See and builds the Cathedral—His Writings—His Death and Burial.	PAGE
SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.—Origin of the word <i>Armagh</i> —The gift of Daire—Synodical Decree respecting Primacy of Armagh	1—15

CHAPTER II.

THE CITY OF LIGHT AND LEARNING.

Foundation of the Great School of Armagh—Death of St. Patrick's sister, Lupita—The Three Orders of Irish Saints—Death of St. Colman—St. Benignus succeeds to the See of Armagh—Succession of other Prelates—Religious Edifices in the City.	
Supplementary Notes.—St. Cairlon—St. Tommine—The Culdees of Armagh—Public Religious Buildings in Armagh—The <i>Book of Armagh</i>	16—31

CHAPTER III.

RAVAGES OF THE DANES.

First attempts of the Ostmen on Ireland—Armagh taken and pillaged—Rivals to the Primacy—Armagh pillaged by Turgesius—Barbarities committed by the Danish Conquerors—Oppression of the People—The Danes overthrown by Niall III.—He is drowned in the River Callan—Turgesius taken captive by Malachy, King of Meath—He is put to Death.	
Supplementary Notes.—Derivation of Newry—Internal dissensions among Irish Chieftains—Prophecy of Bercan—Identification of River Callan—Death of Turgesius	32—43

CHAPTER IV.

BRIAN BORU AND ARMAGH.

Armagh pillaged by Amelanus—Succession of Prelates in the Ninth Century—Maelbrihte quells a tumult in Armagh—The city stormed and pillaged—Sacked again by Godfrid—Sitric, king of Dublin, defeated by the Men of Munster—Brian Boru makes an offering at Armagh—Battle of Clontarf—Death of Brian—He is buried at Armagh.	
Supplementary Notes.—Iron-Knee enters Armagh—The See in possession of a Powerful Family—Entry made in the <i>Book of Armagh</i> , in presence of Brian Boru—His last Will and Testament	44—56

CHAPTER V.

SAINT CELSUS AND SAINT MALACHY.

Succession of Primates in the Eleventh Century—Accession of Celsus—He holds a Synod at Fiadh-Mic-Aengusa—Great Conflagration in Armagh—Celsus makes peace between the people of Munster and Connaught—He appoints St. Malachy as his successor—Accession of St. Malachy—The intruder, Murrough—Zeal of St. Malachy—He resigns the See to Gelasius—His first journey to Rome—He returns as Papal Legate—His second journey and death.

Supplementary Notes.—Armagh Burned—Miracle in Armagh—Prices at; Pilgrimage to—Intrusion and Ordination of Celsus—Division of Lent in Ancient Irish Church—Native feuds, outrages, and reconciliations—Visit of Celsus to Ardpatrick; Patrician Stewards—Descent and genealogical table of Armagh lay intruders .

57 70

CHAPTER VI.

PRIMATE GELASIUS.

Intrusion of Niall (Nigel) into the See—Torlogh, King of Connaught—Synod at Holm-Patrick—Great Fires in Armagh—Gelasius receives the Pallium from the Papal Legate, Paparo—Hold Synods at Mellifont, Bri Mic-Taidhg, and Cloenad—Regulation about admittance to Armagh School—Synod at Armagh—Death of Gelasius—The Four Wards of Armagh.

Supplementary Notes.—Panegyric of Donough O'Carroll—MS. by Mael-brighte Hua Maluanaigh—Flann O'Gormain, chief Lector—Purchasing Englishmen

71 82

CHAPTER VII.

RAVAGES OF THE ANGLO-NORMAN INVADERS.

Succession to the See—Conquest of Ulster, by John de Courcy—Armagh burned—Pillaged by FitzAldelm—St. Patrick's Crozier stolen—Primate O'Conor—Bull regarding Primatial rights as applied to Dublin—Resignation of O'Conor—He resumes the See—Armagh pillaged by Philip of Worcester—Pillaged again and Burned by de Courcy.

Supplementary Notes.—Abbey of Newry—Staff of Jesus—Churches Ruined by Anglo-Normans—Bull of Lucius III.—Jocelyn's *Life of St. Patrick*

83—90

CHAPTER VIII.

PRIMATES OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

Primate MacGillaweer—Contest about the Election—Luke Netterville—Primate—Establishes Dominicans in Drogheda—Three Dominican Primates, Albert Suerbeer, Reginald, and Patrick O Scanlan—The

latter holds a Synod in Drogheda—Brings the Franciscans to Armagh—Primate Nicholas MacMælisu—Founds a singular association among the clergy.

Supplementary Notes.—Election of MacGillaweer—Ware on the appointments to Irish Sees—Career of Primate Albert—and of Reginald—Proposed Union of Armagh and Clogher—Confederation of Irish Bishops

91—103

CHAPTER IX.

PRIMATES OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

Primates Walter and Roland Joyce—Descent of Edward Bruce on Ireland and Battle of Faughart—Contests between Armagh and Dublin—Primate Richard FitzRalph—His Controversy with the Mendicant Friars—Primate Sweetman—*Black Statute* of Kilkenny—Irish Parliament refuses Supplies—Irish Representatives summoned to Westminster—Primate Colton.

Supplementary Notes.—Ecclesiastical Taxation of Armagh—Primate Joyce and the Statute of Kilkenny—Battle of Faughart—Resignation of Roland Joyce—Primate Seagrave publishes Excommunication of Louis of Bavaria—Primate Sweetman's Constitutions about Concord between English and Irish—Primate Colton

104—119

CHAPTER X.

PRIMATES OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

Provincial Council Summoned by Primate Fleming—Another by Primate Swayne—Primate Prene removes the Cross from Raphoe—Primate Mey refuses to attend Parliament—Primate Bole receives a Grant from Henry O'Neill—Provincial Synod Convened by Primate Octavian—Career of Lambert Simnel in Ireland—Octavian loyal to Henry VII.—Disgraceful ending of the Imposture—The Earl of Kildare received back into favour—Death of Charles Maguire, the Annalist.

Supplementary Notes.—Primate Fleming and St. Thomas's Hospice at Rome—Primate Swayne refuses to attend Parliament—Excommunication of Dean and Chapter of Raphoe—Duke of York asked for aid in rebuilding the Cathedral—Primate Bole collects the Crusade Money—The question of the Primacy again—Connection of the Culdees with Armagh Cathedral—Indulgences granted by Primate Octavian—His letter to Henry VII. about the See of Dromore

120—135

CHAPTER XI.

PRIMATES CROMER, WAUCHOPE, AND DOWDALL.

Silken Thomas bursts into the Council Chamber—Exhorted to Loyalty by Primate Cromer—George Browne begins the Protestant Reformation in Ireland—Strenuously opposed by Cromer—Conn O'Neill takes up arms against Heresy—Defeated by Lord Grey—Parliament of 1541 declares Henry VIII. King of Ireland—Robert

Wauchope introduces the Jesuits into Ireland—Appointed Primate by Paul III.—George Dowdall appointed Primate by Henry VIII.—O'Neill renounces his Name—Dowdall opposes Browne and the other Reformers—He flies to the Continent—Recalled by Queen Mary—Armagh burned by Sussex.

Supplementary Notes.—Cromer suspected of heresy and suspended—Career of Doctor George Browne—Plundering of Churches—Dissolution of Abbeys—Notices of the Culdees—Career of Robert Wauchope—Peculiar position of George Dowdall—Appointed Primate by the Pope on the death of Wauchope—His Regulations in the Provincial Synod of 1557—Sussex explains his motives for burning Armagh 136—156

CHAPTER XII.

THE TIMES OF SHANE O'NEILL.

Re-introduction of Protestantism into Ireland—Primate Donagh O'Tighe—Character of Shane O'Neill—His Grievances—His Visit to London—Primate Richard Creagh—His Imprisonment—O'Neill burns the Cathedral of Armagh—Alliance formed against him—He seeks help from the Scots, and is Murdered by them—Death of Primate Creagh in Prison.

Supplementary Notes.—Dealings of Primate Creagh with Shane O'Neill—His Examination in the Tower of London—Vicissitudes of Armagh Cathedral 157—167

CHAPTER XIII.

ARMAGH DURING THE FIFTEEN YEARS' WAR.

Primate MacGauran—Hugh O'Neill made Earl of Tyrone—His Character—Marries the Sister of Bagenal—A War of Religion begun—Death of Primate MacGauran—Progress of the War—Armagh Surrendered to Tyrone—Lord-Deputy Burgh mortally Wounded—Battle of the Blackwater—The English Defeated and Sir Henry Bagenal Killed.

Supplementary Notes.—Tyrone's Divorce—Primate MacGauran—Liberty of Conscience denied—Accounts and Explanations of the Defeat of the English at the Blackwater 168—197

CHAPTER XIV.

THE PROTESTANT PLANTATION IN ARMAGH.

Primate Lombard—Primate MacCawell—His Epitaph and Writings—The Augustinian Canons leave Armagh—English Laws introduced into Ulster—Proclamation against Catholic Clergy—Insurrection of Sir Cahir O'Dogherty—Distribution of Forfeited lands to English and others—Creation of New Boroughs—Patent to the Protestant Primate—Scotch Presbyterians settle in Armagh—The last of the Culdees.

Supplementary Notes.—Primate Lombard in Rome—His Mortuary

Notice—David Rothe—Primate MacCawell's Career—Catholic Clergy in Armagh—Protestant Plantation of Armagh—Churches Destroyed in Ulster—Avaricious Bishops—Banishment of Friars . 198—218

CHAPTER XV.

THE RISING IN ULSTER IN 1641.

Primate Hugh O'Reilly—He takes a large Share in the political events of his day—The Catholic Confederates in Kilkenny—Oath of Association—The Rising in Ulster under Sir Phelim O'Neill—Scotch Troops sent into the country under Robert Monroe—Cruelties on both sides—Sir Phelim O'Neill burns Armagh Cathedral—Owen Roe O'Neill—Battle of Benburb—Trial and Execution of Sir Phelim O'Neill
Supplementary Notes.—Primate Hugh O'Reilly—Causes of the Rising in 1641—Castle of Charlemont—Cruelty of Monroe at Newry—English Account of the Battle of Benburb—Character of Sir Phelim O'Neill. 219—233

CHAPTER XVI.

THE VENERABLE PRIMATE OLIVER PLUNKET.

Edmund O'Reilly opposes the "Remonstrance"—He is Imprisoned—Primate Oliver Plunket—His contest with Archbishop Talbot—He is accused of High Treason—Perjured Witnesses—Various charges brought against him—His Trial in London and Execution at Tyburn—His Head preserved in Drogheda—General account of the "Irish Plot"—Decision of the Apostolic See regarding the Primacy.
Supplementary Notes.—Primate Edmund O'Reilly—Career of Father Peter Walsh, the Franciscan—*Memoir* of the Venerable Oliver Plunket—His Trial—Propaganda Elections—The Keeper of the *Book of Armagh* 234—247

CHAPTER XVII.

ARMAGH DURING THE JACOBITE WAR IN IRELAND.

Dominic Maguire succeeds to the Primacy—Saves Trinity College Library—Goes into Exile and Dies in Paris—James II. and the Charter of Armagh—Catholics admitted as Burgesses—Lord Blayney takes Possession of Armagh, and Proclaims King William—The "Council of Union"—Blayney abandons Armagh—King James stays there—Taken possession of by Schomberg—Siege of Charlemont—Forfeitures under King William—Destruction of the Woollen Industry—Manufacture of Linen, Diaper, Camlet, and Damask.
Supplementary Notes.—Primate Maguire—King's *State of Protestants in Ireland under James II.*—Catholic Prelates excluded from King James's Parliament—Unjust Conduct of King William's Commissioners 248—262

CHAPTER XVIII.

PRIMATES OF THE PENAL TIMES.

Banishment of Prelates and Regulars—Armagh governed by a Vicar—Primate Hugh MacMahon—He writes the *Fus Primatiale Armacanum*—Primates Bernard and Ross MacMahon—Primate Michael O'Reilly—He publishes an Irish and English Catechism—Primate Anthony Blake—His Contest with some of the Clergy—Primate Richard O'Reilly—He is known as the *Angel of Peace*.

Supplementary Notes.—Government Register of the Catholic Clergy of County Armagh—Death in prison of the Dean of Armagh—Dr. Patrick O'Donnelly—Career of Primate Hugh MacMahon—Reports made in 1731 on the Growth of Popery—Establishment of the Dominican Nuns in Drogheda—Poetic Eulogy on Primate Bernard MacMahon—Character of Primate Ross MacMahon—Character of Primate Michael O'Reilly—Suspension of Primate Blake—Primate Richard O'Reilly builds St. Peter's in Drogheda—Outrages of the "Peep-of-Day Boys" in Armagh 263—283

CHAPTER XIX.

CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION.

Long Struggle for Catholic Emancipation—Primate Curtis—His Career at Salamanca—Appointment to the Primacy—Takes an active part in public affairs—His Death—Primate Kelly—Appointed Bishop of Dromore—Coadjutor to Primate Curtis—Succeeds to the Primacy—His Saintly Character—His Epitaph.

Supplementary Notes.—History of the Act of Catholic Emancipation—Primate Curtis's Appointment—Dr. Curtis and Dr. Doyle—Evidence of Dr. Curtis in 1825—Famous Letter of the Duke of Wellington—Manners of Dr. Curtis—Cathedral of Newry 284—298

CHAPTER XX.

PRIMATES OF MODERN TIMES.

Dr. Crolly, Bishop of Down and Connor, succeeds to the Primacy—He builds the Seminary and commences the Cathedral—Succeeded by Dr. Cullen, Rector of the Irish College, Rome—Synod of Thurles—The Primate translated to Dublin—Primate Dixon—His Work on Holy Scripture—Synod of Drogheda—Organizes Irish Brigade—Nearly completes the Cathedral—Primate Kieran—His work in Dundalk—Renowned as a Preacher—Primate MacGettigan—His work in Raphoe—Translated to Armagh—Completes the Cathedral—Primate Logue—Translated from Raphoe—Created Cardinal—His Public Work.

Notes.—The Tablet on Dr. Cullen's Appointment—Religious Congregations in the Diocese 299—324

CHAPTER XXI.

PROTESTANT PRIMATES OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

Hugh Goodacre appointed by Edward VI. to the See of Armagh—Consecrated with Bale according to the Protestant Ritual—Primate Adam Loftus—Translated to Dublin—His Character—Primate Lancaster—Consecrated by Adam Loftus—Primate John Long—Primate John Garvey—Primate Henry Ussher—Foundation of Trinity College.

Supplementary Notes.—Primate Adam Loftus—Duplicated Consecration of Primate Lancaster—Primate Henry Ussher . . . 325—331

CHAPTER XXII.

PROTESTANT PRIMATES OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Primate Christopher Hampton—Repairs the Cathedral and Episcopal Residence—Reproves Dr. James Ussher for his Intolerance—James Ussher—His great Desire for Learning—His early Studies—Controversy with Father Fitzsimon—Purchases Books for Trinity College—His Literary Labours—Appointed by James I. to the See of Meath—Thence Translated to Armagh—Opposes all Concessions to the Catholics—Upholds the Independence of the Irish Protestant Church—His Writings—His Sufferings in England from the Puritans—His Conference with Cromwell—His Death and Character—Primate John Bramhall improves the Revenues of that See—Labours to unite the Protestant Churches of England and Ireland—Takes Refuge on the Continent—His Character—John Margetson appointed Primate by Charles II.—Flies to England during the War of the Confederation—His Death and Character—Primate Michael Boyle Translated from Dublin—His Character—Founds the Town of Blessington.

Supplementary Notes.—Ordination of Primate James Ussher—His Burial Place—Primate Margetson's Chapel at Drogheda—Primate Boyle . . . 332—370

CHAPTER XXIII.

PROTESTANT PRIMATES OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Primate Marsh—Provost of Trinity College, Dublin—Translated from Cashel to Dublin and thence to Armagh—Founds Library of St. Sepulchre's, Dublin—His Charities—His Writings—His Liberality to Dissenters—Succeeded by Thomas Lindsay—who endows the Vicars Choral—Hugh Boulter Translated from Bristol—His Acts of Benevolence—Takes prominent part in State Affairs—Promotes the Penal Laws against Catholics—John Hoadly Translated from Dublin—Promotes a Persecution of the Catholics—His Writings—Primate George Stone Translated from Derry—His Political Contest with Boyle—He successfully opposes new Penal Laws against Catholics—Suppresses the "Hearts of Oak"—His Death and Character—His Improvements in Armagh—Primate

Robinson succeeds—Created Lord Rokeby of Armagh—His Munificence—Builds a new Episcopal Palace—Builds the Library, College, Cathedral Tower and Observatory at Armagh—Endows the Library and Observatory—Great Improvements effected in the Town—His Charitable Bequests—His Death and Character—William Newcome—Translated to Armagh—His Early Studies—His Death and Character.

Supplementary Notes. Primate Marsh: His Family, Library and Diary—Primate Boulter: His Publications, Will and Monument—Primate Robinson's Portraits

371—409

CHAPTER XXIV.

PROTESTANT PRIMATES OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

1800.—Hon. William Stuart Translated from St. David's—His family and estimable character—His Improvements in the Cathedral and City—His tragic death, monument, and descendants. 1822—Lord John George Beresford—His family and previous perferments—Restoration of the Cathedral, 1834-40—Chancellor of Dublin University, and his benefactions thereto—His Munificence—Rescues *The Book of Armagh*—The See of Clogher annexed to Armagh, 1850, under him—His Portraits. 1862.—Marcus Gervais Beresford, Translated from Kilmore Disestablishment—Judicious Administration of his Dioceses—Death and Monument—New mode of Appointment by Disestablished Church—Diocesan Synod Bench of Bishops elect in 1886 Robert Knox, Bishop of Down—The See of Clogher revived as a separate Diocese—The Primate's popularity—Able Government of Diocese—Death. 1893.—Robert Samuel Gregg, Bishop of Cork, &c., elected by the Bench of Bishops—Firm administration during brief tenure of the Primacy—Buried at Cork. 1896.—William Alexander, Bishop of Derry, elected by the Bench of Bishops—Literary and Oratorical Eminence—The last Bishop from the era of Establishment—Only English University Graduate

410—423

CHAPTER XXV.

MODERN ARMAGH: ITS PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND INSTITUTIONS.

The Protestant Cathedral—Its present Dimensions—Restoration in present Century—Public Library—Founded by Primate Lord Rokeby—Observatory—Succession of Astronomers—Royal Classical School—Church of St. Malachy—Stuart's Account of it as "The Roman Catholic Chapel"—St. Patrick's Seminary—Founded by Primate Crolly—In charge of the Vincentian Fathers—Convent of the Sacred Heart—Early Struggles—The New Building—Schools of the Christian Brothers.

Supplementary Notes.—Sources of Information about the Protestant Cathedral—Dr. Reeves and the Public Library—Books and Manuscripts in the Library—The Astronomical Instruments at the Observatory—Catholic Chaplaincies in Armagh

424—442

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL.

Contrast between the two Cathedrals—Sonnet by Aubrey de Vere— Foundation Stone laid in 1840—Primate Crolly's Collections— Primate Dixon's Collections and Bazaar—Primate MacGettigan opens the Cathedral in 1873—Dimensions of the Building—Primate Cardinal Logue builds the Sacristy and secures the Site of the Cathedral in fee-simple	443—448
---	---------

APPENDIX.

A. <i>Book of the Angel</i> , with Translation—B. List of the Primates—C. Armagh always dependent on Rome—D. The Law of Saint Patrick —E. Ancient Prestige of Armagh—F. Tomb of Niall Caille—G. Caincomrac O'Boyle, suffragan Bishop of Armagh—H. The Lay Primacy—I. Suffragan Bishop in Armagh—J. Exeter Diocese not abandoned by its Bishop—K. Story of the Rival Primates, without Foundation—L. Primate Octavian de Spinellis—M. The Franciscan Abbey	449—464
INDEX	465—477

LIST OF MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

1. His Eminence, Cardinal Logue,	<i>frontispiece.</i>
2. Reeves's Ecclesiastical Map of the City of Armagh	to face p. 16
3. Some Antiquarian Remains	" 48
4. Map of Ireland, Ecclesiastical	" 64
5. " " in 1172	" 80
6. " " in 1500	" 144
7. " Ulster and adjacent districts	" 192
8. Lewis's Map of County Armagh	" 204
9. Portrait of Owen Roe O'Neill	" 224
10. View of the Protestant Cathedral	" 368
11. Some Modern Buildings	" 432
12. View of the Catholic Cathedral	" 448

CORRIGENDA.

- Page 59, line 22, *for* can read cannot.
 „ 96, line 30, *for* Franciscan read Dominican.
 „ 156, line 2, *for* 1554 read 1557.
 „ 446, line 36, *for* 1866 read 1856.

INTRODUCTION.

IN this new and revised edition of Stuart's "Armagh," those familiar with the original will not fail to notice many changes, omissions and additions. At the present stage of Irish historical study, the work could not be brought out otherwise. Nearly a century of research would have to be put aside, the labours of Lanigan, Todd, Cardinal Moran, Gilbert and many others would have to be ignored, if the work of Stuart were again given to the world in the exact original. At first it was proposed not to interfere with the text and to put the necessary changes in notes; this, however, was soon found to be impracticable, as the book would thereby be rendered unreadable. While therefore the text was not unduly interfered with and the style, imperfect enough at times, was not changed except here and there, the original, it has to be stated, was not suffered to stand in the way where accuracy or fulness was desired. The following are the alterations:—An entirely new arrangement of chapters has been adopted; new titles and a summary of contents have been placed at the head of each, and page-headlines added. The spelling, especially of native personal and local names, has been reformed throughout, according to the standard authorities on Irish orthography. The dates, from the fifth to the beginning of the eleventh century, have been where necessary, corrected in accordance with the principles laid down in the *Introduction* to the *Annals of Ulster*, written by Rev. Dr. Mac Carthy, editor of the *Annals* and the pioneer of Irish chronology. From the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, the dates of the succession to Armagh, taken by Stuart from Sir James Ware, have been revised by means of the authentic Roman records to be found in Theiner's *Vetera*

Monumenta and Eubel's *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi*. The chapter on St. Celsus and St. Malachy has undergone so many indispensable changes that it can be said to have been entirely re-written. In its new form, it may be considered the first attempt to bring out the history of the lay intruders into the see of Armagh. This was not possible until the requisite portion of the *Annals of Ulster* had been edited and annotated by the eminent specialist to whom the arduous work was entrusted by the Master of the Rolls.

In other chapters too, numberless little changes, omissions and additions will present them in quite a novel garb to one who has read the first edition. But a different principle has been acted upon with regard to the history of the Protestant Primates. The Editor felt that here he could not take the same liberties he had allowed himself in the other parts of the book, and therefore, with the exception of a re-arrangement of chapters, a few typographical changes and alterations in spelling, they have been left as they were, any additions or corrections made being placed within brackets, that the reader may be able to distinguish between what is Stuart and what is not.

With regard to the notable omissions, the seventy-page Introduction, in proof of the existence of St. Patrick, has been put aside, as of no use, now that nobody denies the fact. The last chapter, containing more than a hundred pages on the "Modern State of the City of Armagh," though doubtless of no little local interest at the time, and still, perhaps, of interest to Northern antiquaries, would be quite unsuitable to an edition intended for the general public. For such, it would be devoid of meaning, to reproduce minute accounts of local charitable and other institutions, as they then existed, and the domestic politics, of which this chapter is made up. Parts of this chapter, however, to the extent of three or four pages, have been embodied in the chapter on "Modern Armagh:

its Public Buildings and Institutions." The excision of the "Invasion of Ireland by British troops" (Anglo-Norman adventurers); the "Perilous adventures of Gerald Fitzgerald," and the greater portion of the career of Shane O'Neill, obviously require no apology; destroying, as they did, the continuity of the narrative, and evidently inserted for the purpose of eking out the book. The question of space pressing heavily, owing to the vast accumulation, since Stuart's time, of historical matter relating to Armagh, the alternative was either to omit this or cut out such chapters of Stuart as were accessible in the ordinary histories of Ireland. Under the circumstances, the duty of the editor was clear. Lastly, the appendices, have in great part been omitted; Irish archæology being in its infancy when they were written, they are necessarily antiquated.

The important and vexed question of the Irish Paschal controversy, concerning which, Primate Thomian and the Clergy of the North addressed a letter to the Apostolic See, could not have been adequately set forth within the limits at disposal. The reader is accordingly referred to the *Introduction to the Annals of Ulster*, where, for the first time, the subject will be found exhaustively expounded from original authorities and amply illustrated with Paschal Tables.

As a set off to what has been omitted, a few observations are to be made regarding what has been added. This will be found in the Supplementary Notes at the close of each chapter and in the Appendix, at the end of the volume. The Notes are called Supplementary, as their purpose is not to rectify textual statements, which, as we have already explained, have been corrected without scruple in the text itself, but to supply deficiencies and add fulness. In some instances, they will be found to exceed in length the chapter to which they are appended. Most contain extracts from original authorities, not available in Stuart's time, such as

the *Book of Armagh*, *Book of Lecan*, *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, several ancient Irish hymns, and, best of all from a chronological point of view, the *Annals of Ulster*. From the twelfth century onward, the Calendars of State Papers relating to Ireland and the Carew Papers, all published since Stuart wrote, which have been largely used by the Editor, throw great light on the history of Armagh and its primates. The same is to be said of similar documents, preserved in the secret archives of the Vatican and other Roman libraries, of which a collection was published by Fa. Theiner, under the auspices of Cardinal Cullen. The Calendars of Papal documents, issued in the Rolls' series, have also been of service. Doctor Maziere Brady's account of the succession in Irish sees proved a great boon, and where he failed, Father Costello, of Rome, who has been for more than thirty years engaged at the same work—to him, verily a labour of love—went to the greatest trouble in supplying the deficiency. The *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, compiled and published by Cardinal Moran, was invaluable for the later ecclesiastical part of the history, while for matters of local ecclesiastical and antiquarian interest, large extracts have been made from the learned monographs of the late Right Rev. Dr. Reeves.

When it is borne in mind that Stuart lived in a time of religious rancour, it will appear remarkable how free his history is from bigotry. The narrative is as accurate as the authorities warranted; controversy and controverted questions are avoided; the same treatment is accorded to Catholics as to Protestants. Certain omissions there are, it is true, as are to be expected from a Protestant historian; for instance, the dreadful persecution which the Catholics were subjected to for centuries. It has not been the Editor's purpose to fill up such lacunæ, except to refer to them incidentally. The evil records of those wrongs can be read in many books which have been given to the public within recent years. The Editor hopes that where

he has applied criticism or brought out adverse facts, he has done so without bias, to Protestants and Catholics alike. The historian, it is a truism to say, must not colour facts in the interest of any party, but place them on record as they really happened; yet, such is the power of personal bias and religious rancour, that an unprejudiced narrative is very rarely to be found.

A short biography of the author will doubtless prove of great interest to our readers. James Stuart, a son of James Stuart, a gentleman of county Antrim, was born in Armagh, in 1764. He was educated at Armagh Royal School, while Dr. Arthur Grueber, a pious and erudite scholar, was its master, and in 1784 took sixth place on entrance at Trinity College, Dublin, where Dr. George Miller (afterwards master of Armagh school) was his tutor. He speaks (original edition, page 544) with gratitude of both his teachers. He graduated B.A. in the Spring term of 1789, and was soon after called to the Irish bar, but never practised. In 1811, he published *Poems on various subjects*, some of which are on places near Armagh, some on his friends, but none are of more than occasional interest. Having been invited by several Newry gentlemen, who had decided to start a newspaper in that town, he became in 1812, the first editor of the *Newry Telegraph*, and from 1815 to 1819, he also edited *The Newry Magazine*. He published at Newry, in 1819, the present work, which he entitled *Historical Memoirs of the City of Armagh for a period of 1373 years*. It was printed, under his own supervision, on the premises of the *Newry Telegraph*, of which he was then editor. The work forms an octavo volume of 730 pages. Considering the difficulties under which he laboured, the pressure of his journalistic duties, his imperfect access to authorities, and the generally deficient state of Irish historical studies at the time he wrote, the book is a monument of patient industry and of devotion to learning.

Stuart went to live in Belfast in 1821, and became editor of *The Belfast News-Letter*. He published some theological letters in book-

form in 1825, styled *The Protestant Layman*. In 1827 he founded and edited *The Guardian and Constitutional Advocate*, but ill-health soon obliged him to give it up. He married Mary Ogle, but had no children, and died in 1840 in Belfast, aged 76 years, greatly regretted. In 1854, a monument was erected to his memory in that town. The current number of the *Belfast News-Letter* said on that occasion:—"It gratifies us to observe that some kind of tardy justice has at length been done to the memory of a distinguished man, whose literary services were for many years devoted to the cause of law, social order, and true religion in this town—the wielder of a classical and powerful pen, in almost every department of literature; within the last few days a mural slab has been erected in the north-east aisle of Christ Church, Belfast, to the memory of the late Dr. Stuart, who was for some time editor of the *Belfast News-Letter*. To this erection, his Grace, the Lord Primate, the Earl of Roden, Viscount Dungannon, H. H. Joy, Esq., Q.C., Dr. Bryson, and others have contributed. The following obituary inscription is from the pen of the Rev. John Hull, of Cheltenham:—

IN THE BELFAST CEMETERY, ANTRIM ROAD,

REPOSE THE REMAINS OF

JAMES STUART, Esq., LL.D.,

HISTORIAN, POLEMIC, AND POET;

(Author of *A History of Armagh, Protestant Layman, Poems*, etc.),

HE DIED SEPTEMBER 28TH, 1840.

If wit and worth in combination rare,
If taste, the purest affluence of thought,
If fancy, fair as hues from Heaven caught,
E'er merited embalming verse: if e'er
Exalted friendship, tried for many a year,
And still found steady, hath the mourner taught
A strain of reverence—hither be it brought,
And poured, with feeling deep o'er Stuart's bier!
Well may she mourn, for such he loved the muse;
Ah! ill the country can afford to lose
Wisdom and love, and eloquence like thine;
But from the field the veteran has been freed,
And more than mortal glory is his meed!

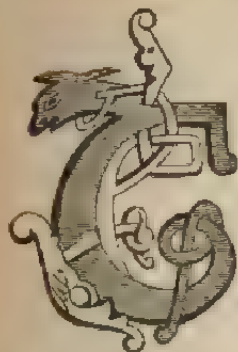


CHAPTER I.

SAINT PATRICK AND ARMAGH.

Situation of the City of Armagh—Derivation of its Name—Birth and Family of St. Patrick—His Captivity—His Call—Lands in Ireland—His Missionary Labours—Makes Armagh his Primatial See and builds the Cathedral—His Writings—His Death and Burial.

Supplementary Notes.—Origin of the word "Armagh"—The Gift of Daire.



THE CITY OF ARMAGH is situated in latitude $54^{\circ} 20' 55''$ north, and longitude $6^{\circ} 37' 57''$ west, from the meridian of the royal observatory, at Greenwich.' It is the capital of the county of Armagh, in the province of Ulster, and the ecclesiastical metropolis of Ireland. The river Callan flows in its vicinity, and in some parts of its meandering course, approaches within less than a quarter of a mile of the city. The surrounding country is highly cultivated, agreeably diversified with hill and dale, and rich with rural scenery, pleasing, picturesque and varied.

Armagh, situated on the sloping sides of a gently-ascending hill, and adorned with many public edifices built in a simple but correct and striking style of architecture, is probably the most beautiful inland town in Ireland.

The ground, on which the city was built, was originally denominated *Druimsailech*, the hill of sallows. "Afterwards," says Colgan, "it was styled *Altitudo Sailech*, or *Ardsailech*, the height of sallows. Then it obtained the name of *Ardmacha*

from *Eamhain Macha*, the regal seat of the kings of Ultonia, which had been situated in its neighbourhood; or, at least, from *Macha*, queen of Ireland, who had built that seat.²

Keating asserts that it was called *Ardmacha*, because *Macha*, the wife of Nemedius, or Nevy, was buried there.^{3a}

Bede speaks of a place called "*Dearmacha*,"^b the field of oaks, and Camden, who quotes that ancient author, thinks that he had intended, by this name, to designate Armagh. But Bede himself says, that *Dearmach* was a monastery founded by Columba, and Adamnan states that it was situated in the midland parts of Ireland. In fact, it was the Augustinian monastery, now called Durrow, in the King's county.⁴

The true meaning of the word seems to be that adopted by Ussher, Ware, and Harris, *Ardmacha*, the high place or field, which is perfectly descriptive of the ground on which the city stands.

In acts of parliament it is sometimes called *Armachanen*,⁵ and sometimes *Ardmagh*.⁶ King Henry VIII. styles it *Armachan*, in a letter written from Greenwich, in 1542, relative to Primate Dowdall.⁷

In the charter, by which King James I. incorporated the inhabitants of the city into a borough, it is denominated *Ardmagh*. At present, the word is generally written *Armagh*.

The city, venerable for its antiquity, and famous in the annals of our country, owes its origin and its ecclesiastical pre-eminence, to St. Patrick, the acknowledged Apostle of Ireland.⁸ By this pious and indefatigable Christian missionary, it was built in the year 445, on a hill then called *Druimsailech*, distant above two miles from the ruined palace of *Eamhain*.⁴ Our biographical sketch of the bishops of Armagh must, of course, commence with the founder of the see.

Saint Patrick, the founder of Armagh, was probably born at Tours, a city which seems to have been denominated by his contemporary, Saint Fiacc,⁹ "*Nem Tur*," Holy Tours.⁴ This city has been celebrated as the residence of Saint Gregory, Saint Martin, and many other illustrious men.

Our Irish Apostle was the lineal descendant of a respectable family. His father Calphurnius,⁸ was a deacon; his grandfather, Potitus,¹⁰ a presbyter. His mother, Conchessa, was a near relative (the sister, or, more probably, the niece) of Saint Martin, bishop of Tours. It appears from the names of his father and grandfather, and from the genealogical account of his descent, given by Colgan,¹¹ that his family was either of Roman origin, or had assumed Roman titles. The ancient scholiast on Saint Fiacc's hymn, asserts that he had five sisters, Lupita, Tigris, Liemania, Darerca, and Cinenum, and one brother, the deacon Sananus.¹² Jocelyn affirms that he had but three sisters, Lupita, Darerca, and Tigris. He was born on Wednesday,¹ the fifth of April, A. D. 373, (or 372).¹³ At his birth he was called *Succoth*, which the old scholiast on Saint Fiacc's hymn, interprets "valiant in war."¹⁴

In the sixteenth year of his age, Saint Patrick was seized by some adventurers,⁸ who had invaded Armoric Gaul, and having been ultimately carried into Ireland, remained there in captivity for six years.¹⁵ It is a point not well ascertained, by whom he was thus violently torn from his friends and kindred, and compelled to submit to the miseries of an ignominious slavery. The Irish, themselves, carried on, at that period, a predatory warfare on the coasts of Britain, and Nial the Great is said, by our historians, to have invaded the Roman provinces of Armoric Gaul. Of the Irish adventurers, who, even subsequent to that time, made incursions into Britain, Gildas writes thus:—"Hiberni grassatores post non longum tempus, reversuri." Hibernian marauders who after no long time will return.¹⁶

Saint Patrick, was sold in Ireland to four masters or co-partners, viz., to Milcho-Huanan, a prince of Dalaradia,¹⁷ and his three brothers.¹⁸ Hence he obtained a new name, viz. Cothraig, or Ceathir-Tigh, in allusion to the nature of his four-fold servitude, for *Ceathir* means four and *Tigh* a house. The attention, vigilance and usefulness of the boy, induced Milcho to make him his sole property, by purchase from his brothers. After this he was employed in feeding hogs,¹⁹ on Sliabh-Mis, a mountain in Dalriada, in the county of Antrim. There he

spent his time in communing with his own heart, deeply meditating on sacred things, and addressing himself in frequent and earnest prayer to the God of the universe.²⁰ There, also, he perfected himself in a knowledge of the Irish language, and became acquainted with the manners, temper, habits and dispositions of the people, amongst whom he was soon to undertake a sacred and successful mission. Meanwhile Saint Patrick's sister, Lupita, who, also had been violently dragged into captivity, had been sold to an inhabitant of Conal-Muirthemne, a district of Ulster, which comprises the present county of Louth.

In the seventh year of his exile,²¹ he was either manumitted from his captivity, according to the Mosaic law, which seems to have been imitated by Gentile nations;²² or, more probably, gained his liberty by flight.²³

In his efforts to return to his native country, our Saint experienced much difficulty and misfortune. The master of the ship, to whom he applied for a passage, refused him admission into his vessel, because he was utterly unable to pay down the usual fare.²⁴ Thus repulsed, he withdrew to seek an asylum in some neighbouring cottage; but the sailors, probably pitying his forlorn situation, sent for him, received him on board, and put to sea. New misfortunes, however, pursued him, as if to inure his mind to the vicissitudes of life, and to prepare him for the execution of important undertakings. The voyage seems to have been unfavourable and stormy; and after he had landed, he spent nearly a month in travelling, before he reached his parents' residence. Subsequent to this event, he was again made a prisoner, and endured two months' captivity.²⁵

Once more released from slavery, he continued two years with his parents, who were exceedingly solicitous that he should remain with them during the rest of their lives.²⁶ But he seems to have been strongly impressed with an idea of his future grand destination; and his waking meditations may probably have powerfully influenced his nocturnal dreams. For in a work attributed to him, he tells us, that in a vision or dream, he saw a man named Victoricius, coming to him as if from Ireland,

with many letters. One of these which he gave him to read, contained these words "Vox Hiberionacum." "The voice of the Hibernian race," &c., &c.²⁷

This call, whether it were the effect of an enthusiastic fancy or of divine inspiration, seems to have remained indelibly impressed on his memory; and therefore, that he might be fully prepared to execute the high mission which he deemed himself elected to fulfil, he laboured incessantly to enrich his mind with literary information and evangelic knowledge. Saint Martin, bishop of Tours, who chiefly directed his studies, constituted him a deacon, and he was afterwards ordained a priest by Germanus,²⁸ bishop of Auxerre, who styled him Magonius. Much of his time was spent in travelling from country to country, and in investigating the manners, habits, customs and scientific attainments of various nations.²⁹ He studied, also, for a considerable time, in the Lateran church³ at Rome, and having stored his mind with intellectual treasure from such various sources, he at last prepared to execute the pious design which seemed to have been the grand object of his existence.²⁹

Prior to Saint Patrick's mission to Ireland,³⁰ Palladius had attempted to convert the nation to Christianity, but his efforts had proved unavailing. Opposed by Nathi,³¹ the son of Garchon an Irish prince, he left the kingdom despairing of success, and died, amongst the Picts, on the 15th of December, 431. Pope Celestine, having determined that another and more effectual effort should be made to Christianize Ireland, ordained Magonius, (or Maun,)³² a bishop,³ and deputed him on that important mission.³³ On this occasion, he dignified the Hibernian Apostle with the honourable Roman title, "PATRICIUS," "father of the people," a denomination by which he will be known to posterity, and enrolled amongst the benefactors of mankind, as long as the annals of the world shall endure. At the time of his consecration, Auxilius was ordained a priest, Iserninus,³⁴ a deacon; and, with some other holy men, were appointed his coadjutors and fellow-labourers, in the glorious work³⁵ which he had undertaken.³⁶ With twenty disciples, eminent for piety and wisdom,

he arrived in Britain,³⁷ preached in Cornwall, and having there increased his attendants to the number of thirty-four,³⁸ sailed for Ireland,³⁹ and in the year 432, landed at Inbher Dea, at the entrance of the river Dea, now the port of Wicklow.⁴⁰

He was now mature in wisdom and in age, for he had attained his sixtieth year; yet time had not abated his energies nor diminished his fortitude. He had scarcely landed, when he converted and baptized Sinell,⁴¹ a man of considerable note in that country, the grandson of Finchad, and the eighth in lineal descent, from Cormac king of Leinster.⁴² In vain did Nathi, who had terrified Palladius⁴³ from the Irish coast, menace his more resolute successor.⁴⁴ The pious man, in despite of his opposition, persisted in fulfilling the duties of his office. Yet, having proceeded to Rath-Inbher, near the mouth of the river Bray, the Pagans of the adjacent district drove him forcibly to his ship, and he was necessitated to depart from that inhospitable country.⁴⁵

From thence he proceeded to an island called after him, at this day, Holm-Patrick, or Inis Phadruig,⁴⁶ on the coast of the county of Dublin; and having rested here a short time, he sailed to Ulidia, or Ulagh, which comprises the county of Down, and a portion of the S.S.E. parts of the county of Antrim. Here he landed at the bay of Dundrum,⁴⁷ then called Inbher-Slaing Bay. Dichu, the son of Trichan, prince of the country, came forth with his troops to murder the holy man, but when he saw his venerable aspect and heard the words of truth which flowed from his lips, inspired with awe and reverence he listened, believed and was baptized.⁴⁸ This new convert dedicated to God the land in which he had first embraced Christianity; and here a church, called "*Sgibol*," (Saul) or, "*Sabhall-Phadruigh*," Patrick's Barn, was erected, which was afterwards converted into a monastery. The building, contrary to the usual form of churches, extended from north to south.⁴⁹

In the year 433, Saint Patrick made a fruitless effort to convert his old master, Milcho, but it is stated by the author of "*The Tripartite Life*," that his son Guasact and two of his

daughters, believed and were baptized. Milcho,⁴⁹ is said to have consumed himself and his house with fire, and this suicidal act excited the most poignant anguish in the bosom of his faithful servant. Shortly after this period, Saint Patrick was hospitably received by Sesgnen,⁵⁰ in Meath, whose whole family he converted and baptized.⁵¹ Amongst these was his son Beneen,⁵² or Benignus, who was afterwards successor to his pious preceptor, in the See of Armagh. He preached also at Tara, before King Leogaire, monarch of Ireland.⁵³ Here Dubtach, the laureat-bard, Fiech, a young poet his pupil, and Fingar the son of Clito a nobleman, became the disciples of our Irish Apostle.⁵⁴ The queen, also, was converted, and the king himself, who for a long time had resisted the eloquent exhortations and entreaties of the saint, was at last baptized. The conversion of these royal personages was followed by that of Connall (the brother of Leogaire, great grandfather of Columba) and of Ethne the Fair and Fedeline the Ruddy, daughters of the Irish monarch.⁵⁵

Having diffused the light of the Gospel through Meath and Louth, and having appropriated a portion of his time to devotion, on a mountain near the western coast of Connaught called Cruachan-Aicle now Croagh-Patrick, he proceeded on his mission, and founded a church, named Aghagower, in Umalia, a district in the south-west of the county of Mayo. This he consigned to the pastoral care of his disciple Senach.

In Tir-Amalgaid, now the barony of Tyrawly, in the county of Mayo, he baptized the seven sons of King Amalgaid,⁵⁶ who had been bitterly contending about the succession to their father's throne. Many thousands of the people were also converted at the same time.⁵⁷ Here he erected a church, and consigned it to his disciple Mansenus, a devout and zealous Christian.⁵⁸

In the year 441, he founded, in Connaught, the town and church of Cassiol-Irra, now called Killespugbron, which is situated four miles to the west of the town of Sligo, and having appointed Saint Bron its bishop,⁵⁹ he proceeded to the southern parts of Tyrconnell in Ulster, where he built the great church of Magh-Ean, in the south of the county of Donegal. At Ailech Neid,

one of the seats of the northern kings, situated in the peninsula of Innis-Eoghain, or Innis-Owen, about three miles north of Derry, he converted the reigning king, Owen, son of Nial, with all his family. In the neighbourhood of the river Fochmuine, or Faughan, in the barony of Tirekerin, county of Derry, he founded seven churches; and having returned to the vicinity of Innis-Owen, he built the church of Dunboe near the river Bredach,⁶⁰ which, perhaps, is Donagh, a mile south of Cardonagh in Inishowen.

To him also the church of Dun-Cruthen, now Duncrum, part of Magilligan, in the barony of Keenaght, to the east side of Lough Foyle, owed its origin; and in his progress through that country, he converted Sedna son of Trena, and all his sept.⁶¹

In the year 443,⁶² Saint Patrick spent a portion of his time at Ard-Patrick, situated eastward of the town of Louth. Having left that district, he founded a church and bishop's see at Clogher, on the river Launy. Here in the days of Paganism, oracular responses were said to be delivered from a stone; a circumstance from which the place had derived its name. Thus on a spot which superstition had appropriated to the worship of inanimate things, he dedicated a temple to the living God of the universe.⁶³

And, now, after thirteen years of incessant labour, having Christianized a vast multitude of the Irish nation, he proceeded, in the year 445, to found the CITY OF ARMAGH,⁶⁴ in which he built a cathedral, and some other religious edifices. This city he is said to have constituted the mistress and metropolis of Ireland, appointing it the primatial see; of which he is himself generally deemed the first archbishop.⁶⁵

The hill upon which the city was built, was formerly called "*Druim-Sailech*," the hill of tallows. It was the gift of Daire,⁶⁶ a prince of the country. From him also he received a grant⁶⁷ of a small tract adjacent to it, on the eastern side, called Na Fearta.⁶⁸ Here Saint Patrick resided with his family,⁶⁹ prior to the building of Armagh.⁷⁰

In the year 447, he visited Britain,⁶⁶ in order to obtain coadjutors in the great and laborious work which he had so happily commenced. Most of his original friends had been placed in various churches, and the new religious establishments which he was every day creating, required pastors of acknowledged experience, talents, learning and Christian virtues. In Britain, he consecrated thirty bishops, and on his passage to Ireland, from that country, he visited and materially edified the inhabitants of Mona, or the Isle of Man, and established prelates in many other islands.⁶⁷

In 448, he is said to have held a synod at Armagh,⁶⁸ in which pious labour, he was aided⁶⁹ by Auxilius and Isserninus. The canons, passed at that synod, are yet in existence.⁷⁰ After this period, he passed through Leinster and Meath,⁷¹ and having crossed the Finglas river, arrived in Dublin, then called "*Ballyath-Cliath*," a term denoting a town on the ford of hurdles. Here, he converted King Alphin, the son of Eochaid, and his people, who received baptism at a fountain afterwards called Saint Patrick's well, south of the city. Near this spot he built a church, on whose site the famous cathedral which bears his name now stands. We learn from the erudite Ussher, that he had himself seen the fountain, which was enclosed within a house, in the year 1639.⁷²

When by his eloquence and indefatigable zeal, our Irish Apostle had established Christianity in Dublin, he settled bishops in various parts of Leinster, and in the year 448, proceeded to Munster, and there converted and baptized Ængus, the son of Naitfrach,⁷³ the king of that province.⁷⁴ The monarch himself conducted him to Cashel, where he treated him in the most respectful and dignified manner. Ailbe, Declan, Kieran and Ibar,⁷⁵ who had preceded Saint Patrick in his mission, felt some reluctance in submitting to his authority. The three first, however, did not long persist in their opposition, and Ibar, after a more protracted contest, yielded, at last, to the venerable man.⁷⁶ Ailbe was then settled at Emly, Declan at Ardmore, Kieran at Sageir, and Ibar at Beg-Eri. They had previously

held a synod together, and made various ecclesiastical constitutions.⁷⁶

In 454, Saint Patrick, having built the church of Ardagh, in the county of Longford, of which he consecrated his nephew, Saint Mel, bishop and abbot, proceeded from that place through Leinster, and forward to the inhabitants of the more northern parts of Ulster, whom he completely Christianized, in the six succeeding years.⁷⁷

In 455, he resigned the bishopric of Armagh, to Saint Benignus, probably perceiving that the general state of the Irish church, and the formation of new establishments, required his whole attention.⁷⁸

It is stated, by the four masters and by other Irish writers, that about the year 438, Saint Patrick had assisted in the great national Senate called the Feis of Teamor, or Tara. On this occasion, he was nominated a member of a committee of nine studious persons, appointed to revise the ancient civil history of Ireland. This literary work, which has been entitled "*Senchas-Mor*," "The Great Antiquity," is said to have been executed with ability and zeal.

Various works attributed to Saint Patrick, and generally received as his composition, are yet extant. He wrote "*Confessionem suam*," by some styled "*Itinerarium Confessionis*," "*Epistolam commonitoriam ad Coroticum*," *alias* "*Cereticum*" published by Ware, "*Regulam Monasticam*," "*Proverbiorum*, Lib. 1," in Irish: "*De suis propriis gestis et vita*:" "The canons of a synod convened by him, and of another convened by him, Auxilius and Isserninus," are in Spelman's British Councils: "*Abjectoria numero 366*," called, by Nennius, "*Abjectoria 365*, and more," with some other works of which the reader may find a catalogue, in Ware's *Writers*, apud Harris, p. 307, 308, 309.

The remainder of Saint Patrick's life was spent partly in devising and establishing rules in synodical councils for the regulation of the church. After having established 365 churches,⁷⁹ ordained a like number of bishops, and three thousand

priests he died¹ in the abbey of Saul, or, Sabhal, on the seventeenth of March, 493, at the patriarchal age of one hundred and twenty years.⁸⁰ He was buried at Downpatrick, and here his remains were found, with those of Saints Bridget and Columba, by De Courcy, the conqueror of Ulidia, in the year 1186, and translated to the cathedral in that town, which now bears his name. We learn from Cambrensis, that the monument of these pious missionaries was adorned with the following inscription, in monkish verse:—

“Hi tres in Duno, tumulo tumulantur in uno,
Brigida, Patricius atque Columba pius.”⁸¹

¹ The longitude and latitude given, are those of the cathedral, as found by very accurate observations, made by the Reverend Robert Hogg, deputy astronomer to the Armagh observatory. The observatory itself is situated in latitude 54° 21' 12" north, and longitude 26° 35' 47" west, from the meridian of the Royal Observatory at Greenwich as determined by late Rev. Dr. Romney Robinson 2 *Tria Thaum.* p. 289. 3 O'Connor's Keating, vol. 1, p. 50, 51. 4 *Bed. eccl. hist. gen. Ang. lib. 3. c. 4.* Adamn. *vita Columb. l. 1. c. 3* A book of the four Evangelists and Saint Jerome's translation, which was kept in this abbey was extant in Ware's time. It was adorned with silver ornaments, and the inscription states that it was written by Columba's own hand in the space of twelve days. *Ware's Ant. p. 84. edit. Dublin, 1705.* 5 *Rot. Par. cap. 5. 12° Eliz. cap. 5.* Vessey's stat. vol. 1, p. 36. 6 *1b. p. 389.* 7 *Rot. Pa. 52° 33° Hen. 8. prima pars dors. memb. 9.* 8 *Sanct. Fiech. hym. ver. 22, 24.* 9 *Sanct. Fiech. hym. ver. 1.* 10 *Confes. p. 1.* *Tria Thaum. p. 51, 117, 65.* *Brit. Eccl., Ant. 428, 429.* 11 *Tria. Thaum. p. 224.* 12 *Tria. Thaum. p. 4.* 13 *Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 426—429.* Harris's *Ware, p. 7.* See also the Irish book of Sligo, apud *Usser. prim. p. 882.* 14 *Colgan p. 4.* *Tria. Thaum. 15 Sanct. Fiech. hym. vers. 3.* *Confes. p. 1—6.* 16 *Gildas c. 19.* 17 *Nennius cap. 54.* 18 *Tria. Thaum. p. 12.* 19 *Nennius Hist. Brit. c. 54.* *Confes. p. 6.* 20 *Confes. p. 6.* 21 *Nennius Hist. Brit. c. 54.* 22 *Tria. Thaum. p. 12.* 23 *Confes. p. 7.* 24 *Probus. l. 1. c. 4.* 25 *Confes. p. 8.* *Joce c. 20.* *Patr. Decas. l. 1. c. 8.* *Usser. Index. Chron. ad an. 397.* 26 *Confes. p. 8.* 27 *Ibid. p. 9.* *Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 433.* 28 *Tirechan vit. Pat. apud Usser. Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 435.* 29 *Tria Thaum. p. 241, 244, et sequent.* 30 *Prosper, Nennius cap. 44, 45.* *Marianus Scotus in Chron. 432.* *Sigibert in Chron. 432.* *Mathæus Florilegius. Joan Capgra, in vit. S. Pat. Nicolaus Harpsfeld in Histor. Eccl. Ang. l. 1, c. 21.* 31 *Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 440.* 32 *Nennius*

His. Brit. c. 55, 56. 33 *Schol. vet. in Fiech. Florent. Wigorn. Chron. ad an. secundum Dion. 372.* 34 *Nennius Hist. Brit. c. 56.* 35 *Officium Canonic. Lateran. Mart. 16, edit. Venetis apud Juntas, an. 1586.* 36 *Prim. p. 842.* *Vincent Spec. Hist. l. 20, c. 23.* *Flor. ad an. 491.* 37 *Mathæi Flor. Hist. an. 491.* 38 *Johan. Tin. vit. Dav. 39 Jocel. c. 26.* 40 *Harris's Ware's bishops, p. 11, 12.* 41 *Primord. p. 846.* 42 *Tria Thaum. vita. 2 da n. 35.* *Menel. geneal. c. 20.* 43 *Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 423.* 44 *Brit. Eccl. Ant. 440.* 45 *Ware's bishops, p. 12.* 46 *Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 440.* 47 *Tria Thaum. p. 18, 39.* *Probus, c. 28.* 48 *Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 440.* 49 *Usser. Ind. Chron. p. 517.* *Brit. Eccl. Ant. 441.* 50 *Tir. apud Usser. Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 441, 442.* *Joce. c. 39.* 51 *Ware's bishops, p. 13.* 52 *Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 441, 442, 443.* 53 *Ibid.* 54 *Passio Sanct. Scripta Anselmo, apud Mess. p. 211.* *Prob. c. 26.* *Ware's bishops, p. 14.* 55 *Ibid. p. 15—17.* 56 *Nennius His. Brit. c. 59.* *Usser. Ind. Chron. p. 517.* 57 *Ware's bishops, p. 17.* *Vita Trip. 1, 2, c. 87.* 58 *Tria Thaum. p. 271.* 59 *Ware's bishops, p. 18.* 60 *Ibid.* 61 *Usser. Ind. Chron. p. 517.* 62 *Ibid. p. 517.* 63 *Ibid. p. 518.* 64 *Ibid. p. 518.* *Jocel. c. 65, 165.* *Prob. 1, 2, c. 7.* 65 *Usser. Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 446.* 66 *Joc. c. 92.* 67 *Usser. Ind. Chron. p. 518.* *Ware's bishops, p. 20.* 68 *Usser. Ind. Chron. p. 518.* *Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 472, 488.* 69 *Op. S. Pat. apud Ware. Spelman's British Councils.* 70 *Usser. Ind. Chron. p. 518.* 71 *Usser. Prim. p. 863.* 72 *Usser. Ind. Chron. p. 519.* 73 *Joce. c. 74.* 74 *Vita Declan, apud Usser.* 75 *Primord. 801.* *Ind. Chron. p. 519.* 76 *Usser. Prim. p. 86.* *Vita Ailbe apud Usser.* 77 *Joce. c. 96.* 78 *Ware's bishops, p. 21.* 79 *Nennius Hist. Brit. c. 59.* 80 *Usser. Ind. Chron. p. 524.* *Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 382, 427, 456, 460.* See also *Beda in Martyr. Notker Balbulus in Martyr. ad XVI. Calend. April Martyr. Usuardi. Rabani. Adonis ad XVI. Calend. April. 81 Topog. Hist. dist. 3, c. 3, 5, 18.*

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

a ARDMACHA.—With regard to the derivation of the word from *Ard* high and *Mach* a plain, or field, O'Donovan observes that "no Irish scholar ever gave it that interpretation."—(*Four Masters*, 457, p. 143.)

The Book of Lecan gives three alternative derivations:

"Ard Macha, whence named? Answer—Macha, wife of Nemidh, son of Adh-noman, it was that died and was buried there; and it was the twelfth plain which was cleared by Nemidh in Erin; and he gave it to his wife, who gave it her name, *Unde* Ardmacha.

Aliter.—Macha, daughter of Aedh the Red. It was by her Emain Macha was measured; and here she was buried when slain by Rechtgi Riderg; and it was to lament her the assembly of Macha was instituted. *Unde* the Plain of Macha.

Aliter.—Macha, the wife of Crunn, son of Adhnomán, son of Cuirir, of Uladh, came here to run with the horses of Conor, because her husband boasted that she was swifter than they. The woman at that time was near her confinement; and she asked for time till her bodily condition should change; but it was not granted to her, and she had to run the race before it. And she proved swifter; and when she reached the goal, she brought forth a son and a daughter; Fir and Fial were their names. And she foretold that the Ultonians should suffer in childhood whenever danger should come upon their country. And it is in consequence of this, that debility was upon the Ultonians during the reigns of nine kings, from the reign of Conor to that of Máel the son of Rocraide. And it is said that she was Grian-banchuirí, daughter of Midir of Bri-Leith. And she died after this and her tomb was raised in Ard Macha. *Unde* Ard Macha dicitur."—*The Dinnsenchus in the book of Lecan*, fol. 255 bb.

b DEARMACH "lingua Scottorum, hoc est, campus roborum."—*Bede* H.E. III. 4.

c EAMHAIN.—"The elliptical entrenchment in the townland of Navan and parish of Eglis, called the *Navan Fort*, encloses a space of about twelve acres, and represents a regal abode of extreme antiquity. *Eamhain* was the name it bore, which in combination with the reputed founder's name, was frequently called *Eamhan-Macha*. It is said to have been the seat of the Ulster sovereignty for 600 years, during which period a series of kings, whose names are recorded, are stated to have reigned here, namely from Cimbaeth and Macha Mongruadh to Fergus Fogha, who fell at Achalethderg in 332."—*Reeves "Ancient Churches of Armagh," Appendix p. 37.*

d NEM TUR.—"Nemthur, that is a city in North Britain, viz. Ailcluade (Rock of Clyde)." *Scholiast in St. Fiacc's Hymn.*

Ailcluade is generally now identified with the town of Dumbarton in Scotland.

e CALPHURNIUS A DEACON.—"In one place he calls his father Calphurnius a *deacon*, and in another a *decurio*, and while the context leaves no doubt as to the correctness of the latter term, the former stands alone."—*Morris: "St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland," p. 57.*

f BORN ON WEDNESDAY. April 5th in 372 fell on a Thursday, and April 5th in 373 fell on a Friday.

g SOME ADVENTURERS.—They were the seven sons of Sectmaide, king of Britain, who were then in exile. They sold St. Patrick in the north of Dalaraide.—*Scholiast on St. Fiacc's Hymn.*

h GERMAN BISHOP OF AUXERRE.—"Crossing over the British sea, he sought a certain most holy man, remarkable for his zeal in the cause of faith, the head of the church of Gaul, the bishop of Auxerre, by name Germanus; with him he remained for a considerable time, like Paul at the feet of Gamaliel, in humble submission and obedience, and with a fervent mind applied himself to the study of wisdom and of the Scriptures. . . . It was in the island of

Lerins that Patrick was instructed by Germanus. He was then thirty years of age; for thirty years he was under the guidance of Germanus, and for sixty years did he preach to the Irish."

Vita Secunda, cap. 22.

i LATERAN CHURCH AT ROME.—"But first he thus prayed to God: 'O Lord Jesus Christ, . . . lead me, I beseech Thee to the chair of the Holy Roman Church, that receiving authority there to preach with confidence Thy sacred truths, the Irish nation, by my ministry, may be gathered to the fold of Christ;' and soon after the man of God, Patrick, being about to proceed to Ireland, went as he had desired to Rome the head of all the churches, and having asked and received the apostolic benediction, he returned, pursuing the same road by which he had journeyed thither."—*Probus, Trias Thaummat*, p. 48.

j ORDAINED HIM A BISHOP.—"Then Patrick was consecrated by the permission of Celestine and of Theodosius the younger, who was king of the world. It was Amatorex that consecrated him, and Celestine, it is said, did not live one week after the ordination of Patrick. Pope Sixtus succeeded him, and in the first year of his pontificate, Patrick came into Ireland. He too most favourably regarded Patrick, and gave to him a portion of the relics of SS. Peter and Paul, together with many books."—*Trias Thaummat*, p. 5.

k ARRIVED IN BRITAIN.—St. Patrick not only studied under St. Germanus, but came with him to Britain, whether Germanus had been sent as papal legate.

"Germanus was bishop of a city called Auxerre, and Patrick applied himself to study under his guidance. . . . It happened that Germanus came to Britain to root out the Pelagian heresy, and he came accompanied by Patrick, and many others; and he unceasingly laboured to root out that heresy, until intelligence was brought to him that his own city had begun to be infected with it. Then he and Patrick returned to France, and applied themselves to combat the same

pestilential errors."—*Scholiast in the Hymn of St. Fiacc*.

l DUNDRUM.—"St. Patrick did not land at the bay of Dundrum. All the ancient lives tell us that he entered *Inbher-Brena*, and sailed on to *Inbher-Slain*, where he went ashore, and was shortly afterwards arrested by the swineherd of Dichu of Saul. Inver-Brena is Strangford Lough. The Four Masters, at the year A.M. 2546, record:—"An inundation of the sea over the land of Brena . . . and this is named Loch Cuan (Strangford Lough)." The river Slaney flows from Loughmoney through Raholp, and falls into Lough Strangford near Ringban. It was there, at the estuary of the Slaney (*Inbher-Slain*), within two miles of Saul, that St. Patrick and his companions landed. Had they disembarked at Dundrum Bay, eight miles distant from Saul, in passing through a fertile, and, therefore, we must suppose, a populous district, as strangers they would have attracted public notice, and have had some encounter with the inhabitants, which his biographers would not have failed to have handed down to us.

m TO FOUND THE CITY OF ARMAGH.—"Jocelin (cap. 165) represents St. Patrick as having built there a noble city, &c., &c.

Strange that Usher has copied this stuff (p. 358). As to Harris, who has it also, he put into English whatever he could pick out of Usher's Latin. Probus mentions only religious houses as erected by St. Patrick. The Tripartite is still more moderate (L. 3, c. 78), as it gives no account of edifices at Armagh except of the church and the necessary habitations and out-offices for the clergy."—*Lanigan: "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland,"* vol. I., p. 315.

n DAIRE.—"At that time the chieftain of the district was Daire, son of Finnchadh, whose *rath*, or entrenched abode, occupied the summit of the hill where the cathedral now stands and was known in after-times by the name of *Rath-Daire*. He was a descendant of Colla Da-crich, one of the three brothers who at the battle of Achalethderg, in

the year 332 defeated the men of Ulster; and having driven them into Down and Antrim eastwards, destroyed their palace of Emania, the site of which is your Navan Rath, not yet obliterated, and established themselves in the wide territory now represented by the counties of Armagh, Monaghan, Fermanagh and Louth, to which they gave the collective name of Aighialla, or Oriel, and within which their descendants ramified into the potent families of O'Hanlon, MacMahon, MacGuire, and MacCan. The O'Hanlon line, which had the closest relation to Armagh, was descended through Niallan, whose name continues impressed upon your two baronies of *O'Neilland*, and of this branch was the chieftain Daire, of whom I have spoken." *Dr. Reeves: "Ancient Churches of Armagh."* p. 4.

a RECEIVED A GRANT.—"There lived in the territory of the *Easterns* a man both rich and honourable whose name was Dairi; and Patrick asked of him to grant a place for the exercise of his religion, and the rich man said to the saint "What place dost thou desire?" "I pray of thee," said Patrick, "to bestow upon me that eminence which is called the Sallow Ridge and there I will build me a place." Notwithstanding, he would not grant to the saint that high ground, but he gave him another portion in a lower situation where is now the Fertae Martyrum beside Arddmachá, and there Patrick abode with his disciples. Some time after there came a horseman of Daire leading his fine horse to feed on the grassy ground of the Christians; and Patrick was offended at this intrusion of the horse on his ground, and said: "Daire hath done foolishly in sending a senseless animal to trespass on the little spot which was granted to God." But the horseman as one that is deaf gave no ear, and as a dumb man that openeth not his mouth gave no reply, but letting loose the horse there, went his way for the night.

But when early on the following morning he came to look after the horse he

found him already dead, and returning home in sorrow, he said to his master "Behold that Christian hath killed thy horse because he was displeased at the trespass upon his ground." And Daire said: "He then likewise shall die; therefore go ye and kill him instantly." But scarcely was the word uttered, while they were yet going out when a death stroke fell upon Daire. Then said his wife: "It is because of the Christian that this hath come to pass. Let some one go quickly and let the saint's blessing be brought to us and thou shalt recover; they also that went to slay him are countermanded and recalled." Accordingly two men went to the Christian and without stating what had happened [merely] said: "Daire is sick, we pray thee let something of thine be carried to him if peradventure he may be healed." But St. Patrick knowing what had been done said, "yes, verily;" and he blessed some water and gave it to them saying: "Go ye, sprinkle your horse with this water and then take it with you." And they did so, and the horse came to life again, and they carried the water with them and Daire was healed when he was sprinkled with the consecrated water.

After this Daire came that he might do honour to the saint, and brought with him a valuable imported cauldron, which held three firkins. And Daire said to the saint: "Thou mayest have this cauldron." And Patrick said "*Grazacham*." Then Daire returned home and said, "The man is a fool, who hath not a civil word to say, but *Grazacham*, in return for the beautiful three firkin cauldron." Moreover, Daire said to his servants, "Go, and bring me back my cauldron." So they came, and said to Patrick, "We must take away the cauldron." Notwithstanding, on this occasion also, Patrick said, "*Grazacham*, you may take it away." So they took it away, and Daire inquired of his servants what the Christian said when they took back the cauldron, and they replied: "He said *Grazacham*." Then

Daire answered and said: "*Grazacham* when we give, and *Grazacham* when we take away, surely this *Grazacham* of his must be a good word; therefore the brazen cauldron shall be restored to him." And this time Daire came in person, carrying the cauldron to Patrick and said to him: "Thy cauldron shall remain with thee for thou art an upright and unswerving man. Moreover I now grant to thee my whole right in that portion of ground which thou formerly didst desire, and dwell thou there."

And that is the city which now is called Ardmacha. And they went forth together both St. Patrick and Daire to view the admirable and well-pleasing gift, and they ascended the height and found a roe and a little fawn with her lying on the spot where the altar of the *Northern Church* in Ardmacha now stands. And St. Patrick's companions wanted to catch the fawn and kill it, but the saint objected and would not permit them, nay he even took up the fawn himself and carried it on his shoulders, and the roe followed him like a pet sheep until he laid down the fawn on another eminence at the north side of Armagh; where according to the statement of those who are familiar with the ground, miraculous attestations are to be witnessed at this day."—*Reeves: "Ancient Churches of Armagh,"* p. 6.

† NA FEARTA.—445.—"It was thus Patrick measured the ferta, viz.:—seven score feet in the *Lis*, and seven and twenty feet in the great house, and seventeen feet in the kitchen, and seven feet in the *oratory*; and thus he was always accustomed to build conghbals." (*Ecclesiastical Establishments*) *Lupart* p. 527.

‡ HIS FAMILY. i.e. his religious community.

‣ BUILDING OF ARMAGH. "Seeing then that a great cathedral church was built by St. Patrick at this early period, we have every reason to believe that it must have been of stone, inas-

much as it is spoken of as such by the Irish annalists at the year 838, and that there is no intimation in the whole body of our historical authorities that it was ever re-built, though it was undoubtedly often repaired, and had transepts added to it in the twelfth century. And I may remark, as an interesting fact, that, after all the calamities to which this venerable edifice has been subjected, it still retains, in its present splendid re-edification, nearly the same longitudinal measurement as in the time of its original foundation."—*Petrie: "Round Towers of Ireland,"* p. 157.

§ SYNOD AT ARMAGH. The following canon, extracted from the Book of Armagh, is there expressly recorded as having been made in this Synod:

"Moreover if any case should arise of extreme difficulty and beyond the knowledge of all the judges of the nations of the Scots, it is to be duly referred to the chair of the archbishop of the Irish, that is to say, of Patrick, and the jurisdiction of this bishop (of Armagh). But if such a case, as aforesaid, of a matter at issue, cannot be easily disposed of (by him) with his counsellors in that (investigation), we have decreed that it be sent to the Apostolic seat, that is to say, to the chair of the Apostle Peter, having the authority of the city of Rome.

These are the persons who decreed concerning this matter, viz.:—Auxilius, Patrick, Secundinus and Benignus."—*Book of Armagh* (fol. 21 bb.), translated by Eugene O'Curry, in his "*MS. Materials of Ancient Irish History*," p. 612.

¶ HE DIED. Before he died he was attended by Tussach, and received the Holy Viaticum at his hands:—

"The royal bishop Tussach,
Who gave on his arrival
The Body of Christ, the King truly
powerful,
As Communion to Patrick."

Quatrain of St. Aengus, cited by Dr. Reeves in the original Irish in his "*Ecclesiastical Antiquities*," p. 142.

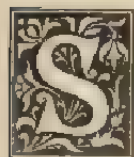


CHAPTER II.

THE CITY OF LIGHT AND LEARNING

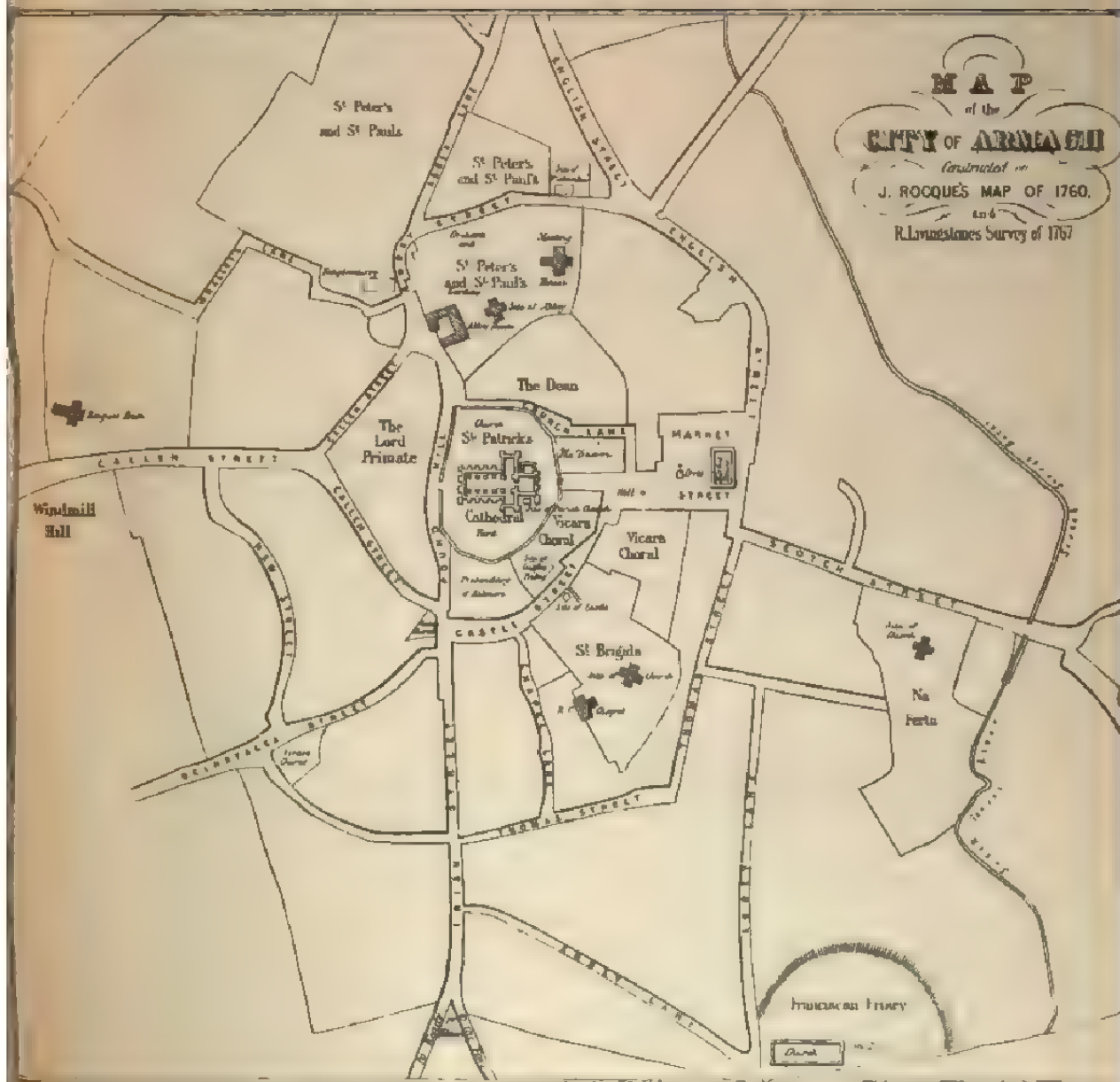
Foundation of the Great School of Armagh—Death of St. Patrick's sister, Lupita—The Three Orders of Irish Saints—Death of St. Colman—St. Benignus succeeds to the See of Armagh—Succession of other Prelates—Religious Edifices in the City.

Supplementary Notes.—St. Cairlon—St. Tommine—Public Religious Buildings in Armagh—The Book of Armagh.



SAINT PATRICK had, in the course of his missionary labours, determined to adopt the most effectual means for transmitting to posterity, the doctrines which he had so sedulously taught. Under this impression, he founded at Armagh, a school,^a or college, which, in process of time, became famous through all Europe.¹

About the same period, he built an abbey^b in that city, which he dedicated to Saint Peter and Saint Paul. Here, during many centuries, a convent of canons regular of the order of Saint Augustine, continued to flourish. The abbots of this convent, many of whom were famous for their sanctity and knowledge, presided over the academy, with great reputation to themselves, and advantage to Christianity and the republic of letters. In the year 1126 it was repaired, and the church annexed to it, rebuilt by Imar O'Hædhagain the learned preceptor



of primate Malachy Morgair. It maintained its high character till the very commencement of the Reformation. Saint Patrick also founded the "*Tempeal Na Fearta*," or, Church of the Miracles, and Temple Brigid.

The district, Na Fearta, sometimes called "*Suidhe Padruic*," Sessio Patricii, or Patrick's Seat, is said, by Ussher, and by the ancient author of "*The Tripartite Life of Saint Patrick*," (c. 84,) to have been situated to the eastward of the city. This place had been granted by King Daire to our Irish Apostle, before the building of Armagh. In the year 443, Lupita, the sister of Saint Patrick, was buried there, and a nunnery was afterwards erected on the spot in honour of her memory.²

This pious woman was, probably, the first person inhumed at the ancient abbey of Na Fearta.

It is said that the body of a female was dug up nearly two centuries ago, in the ruins of Lupita's nunnery. The corpse was in an erect position, with two crosses placed before and behind. It was generally believed to have been Lupita, but it is difficult to assign any rational grounds for so improbable an assumption.³

We are, however, informed by Colgan, that about the year 1633, the corpse of Lupita was found in the cemetery, where it had been inhumed, in the neighbourhood of Armagh. The body was "entire, but," as he gravely adds, "crumbled into dust, when touched by profane hands." This story, he informs us, was communicated to him by many persons who had heard it narrated by those who had raised Lupita from the grave.

Various other religious houses were afterwards annexed, or affiliated, to those established in Armagh by our indefatigable missionary and his successors. Amongst these may be classed the priory on the island of St. Dabeoc, or Avoc, in Loch Derg [Co. Donegal]. This, in the register of Dr. John Bole, one of the Primates of Armagh, is called "the filial place of the monasteries of the Apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul, at Armagh."

Of this description, also, was another religious establishment,

named the Black Cell, in the Daire Calgach, [*i.e.* Londonderry.⁴] Thus a Christian unity and intimate brotherhood of love was preserved amongst the newly established churches of the kingdom.

An ancient writer, quoted by Ussher,⁵ says that the First Order of Catholic saints was established in the time of Saint Patrick. The members of this Order were, he asserts, "all bishops, illustrious, pure, filled with the Holy Spirit, in number 350, and the founders of many churches. They had one head, Christ, one leader, Patrick, one mass, one form of celebration, one tonsure, from ear to ear. They celebrated one Pasch, the fourteenth of the moon after the vernal equinox, and whatever was excommunicated or anathematized by one church, all the others also excommunicated. They did not reject the aid and company of women, because, being founded on the rock of Christ, they feared not the wind of temptation. This order flourished during four reigns, viz. those of Leogaire, Ailill Molt, Lugad, the son of Leogaire, and Tuathal. All these bishops were sprung from Romans, Franks, Britons, and Scots," *i.e.* Hibernians. [A.D. 432—544.]

They were succeeded by a "Second Order of Catholic Priests. In this were few bishops, but many presbyters, in number 300. They had one head, the Lord. They celebrated various masses, and adopted various rules. They kept one Pasch, the fourteenth day of the moon, after the equinox, had one tonsure from ear to ear, refused the assistance of women, and separated them from the monasteries. This Order continued during four reigns, viz. from the end of the reign of Tuathal, through the entire reigns of Diermot, and of the two grandsons of Muiredach, as well as that of Aid the son of Ainmere. They received the mass from Bishop David, Gilla, and Docus, Britons. Of this class were the two Finians, the two Brendans, Jarlath of Tuam, Comgall, Coemgenus, Ciaran, Columba, Caineus, &c." [A.D. 544—598.]

The Third Order of saints was composed of "holy priests and a few bishops, in number 100. These inhabited desert places, living on herbs, water, and alms. They had no

private property, and they had various rules, masses, and tonsure. Some had their hair shaven in form of a crown, others suffered it to remain in a bushy tuft. They varied as to the celebration of the Pasch, some holding it on the fourteenth, others on the sixteenth day of the moon, with great strictness. These continued during four reigns," &c. [A.D. 598—664.]

"The First Order was styled *Sanctissimus*, most holy; the Second *Sanctior*, the Third *Sanctus*. The First is said to have been resplendent as the sun, the Second as the moon, the Third as the stars."

These pious men seem to have been bound by vows to cultivate the deserts in which they lived, for the use of the poor. Their successors probably gave up the reclaimed land for joint benefit of the indigent. Hence we find so many commons in the neighbourhood of ancient monasteries.

The mandates of Saint Patrick were received with the utmost awe by the people, and most implicitly obeyed by his disciples. For proof of this assertion, let one example suffice.

In the year 445, our Irish Apostle had, for some particular reason, commanded a number of his disciples to abstain from drinking, from Tierce till the time of Vespers. Colman, one of that number, had been occupied with harvest labour in certain lands called *Trian Conchobhair*. Exhausted with fatigue, he was afflicted with intolerable thirst; yet he determined to obey the injunctions of his revered preceptor to the very letter, and refrained from indulging himself, even with a draught of water. Sickness ensued, and he fell the victim of a too scrupulous and excessive piety. From the singular mode of his death, Colman obtained the name of "*Itadhach*," or Colmanus Sitiens. He was the first person inhumed in the burial ground of Armagh cathedral, where his tomb was placed contiguous to a cross which had been erected on the northern side of the edifice, opposite Saint Patrick's Church.⁶

Saint Patrick was succeeded in the see of Armagh, in the year 455, by his disciple Saint Binen, or Benignus, the son of Sesgnen, a chieftain in Meath, of whom a short but

sufficiently comprehensive account has been already given in this work. On his conversion and baptism, he received from his kind preceptor the name of Binen, expressive of his mild disposition and noble qualities. This youth was so firmly attached to Saint Patrick that he became his inseparable companion, and, as their mutual friendship and esteem were every day strengthened by reciprocal acts of kindness and attention, he followed his master from his father's house. Instructed by our Apostle in learning and religion, he became eminent for knowledge and piety, and was therefore deemed worthy to succeed him in the see of Armagh. In the year 465, he resigned his bishopric, and died at Armagh, on the ninth of November, 468 [467].⁷

Our Apostle, who seems to have exercised a kind of paternal or patriarchal authority over the infant Irish church, had appointed Jarlath, the son of Trena [Trian], to succeed Saint Benignus. The father of this pious divine, who was a chieftain of Mudhorn, or Mourne, and of the royal family of the Dalriatians or Dynasts of Hy-Bressail, or Oneilland East, had obstinately rejected the truths of the Gospel, and remained inflexibly attached to Paganism: yet his two sons, Jarlath and Sedna, were not only the disciples of Saint Patrick, but became emulous of his Christian virtues. The progress of Jarlath, in particular, was remarkably rapid, and, though many of the Irish converts were his seniors, yet in wisdom and piety he excelled them all. He, therefore, was nominated the successor of Benignus, and died, according to the Ulster Annals in 481, being the fourteenth year of his primacy.

In the same year Cormac succeeded Jarlath, by the appointment of the venerable Patrick, by whom he had been baptized. He survived Saint Patrick, died on the seventeenth of February, 497, and was buried at Trim.

Cormac was succeeded by Dubtach, who, in the life of Saint Tigernach, is called "the venerable Duach, the famous archbishop of Saint Patrick's see." It is uncertain whether he attained this dignity by the election of the clergy, the nomin-

ation of his predecessor, or the appointment of the monarch. He died in the year 513, and was succeeded by Ailild (or Ailill), son of Trichen, prince of Hy-Bressail, or Oneilland East, and of blood-royal descent. This prelate was the second of the same sept, who had ruled the see. From this circumstance we may infer that, even in the infancy of the church, efforts were made to render the primatial dignity and its emoluments a kind of hereditary property in the royal family. On the 13th of January, 526, he departed this life, and was succeeded by Ailill II. who was descended from the same illustrious stock. This prelate having ruled the church for ten years died on the 1st of July, 536.

Dubtach [or Duach] II. a lineal descendant of the royal stock of Colla Huais [ancestor of the Ui-Tuirtre, a tribe occupying Upper and Lower Toome baronies, county Antrim] succeeded Ailill in the year 536, and died in 548.

The following prelates in the order below succeeded Dubtach.

	Succeeded	Died
David, ^d son of Guaire-Hua-Farannain,....	A.D. 548	551
Feidlimid the Fair, of Oneilland.....	551	578
Cairlan, ^e of Oneilland.....	578	588
Eochaid, son of Dermot.....	588	598
Senach, of Oneilland.....	598	610
Mac-Laisre,	610	623

Tommine,^f son of Ronan, a man of illustrious descent, succeeded Mac Laisre, in the year 623. The primacy was justly due to his superior learning and piety. Bede has preserved a fragment of a letter written by the Roman clergy, in the year 639 [640], to this prelate and the other bishops, priests, and abbots of Ireland. This epistle related to the Pelagian heresy and to the celebration of Easter, and seems to have been a reply to some questions^g propounded by the Irish clergy, on the proper time of celebrating that festival.^h

Tommine died 661, and was immediately succeeded by Seghene. In the days of this prelate, Armagh was twice consumed by accidental fire, viz., in the years 672 and 690.

We learn from the Ulster Annals (whose testimony is corroborated by that of the venerable Bede) that in the year 664 and 665, the nation was afflicted with a dreadful pestilence. These Annals state that there was an eclipse of the sun (*tenebræ*) on the ninth hour of the kalends [1st] of May, A.D. 664. In the course of the summer, the sky seemed to be on fire, and, in August, an awful mortality reached Ireland, which, in 665, swept off bishops, abbots, and multitudes of the people. Two-thirds of the inhabitants of Ireland are said to have perished during the pestilence.⁹

Bede also asserts that in the year 664, an eclipse of the sun took place, on the 3rd of May, at the tenth hour. This was followed by a sudden pestilence which depopulated the southern parts of England, as well as the province of Northumberland, and dreadfully afflicted Ireland.

The reader will perceive that our Irish records agree with the English historian, as to the facts of the darkness and the pestilence. They, however, do not coincide with him as to the exact time of the eclipse. Primate Ussher finds by astronomical calculation that Bede is in error, and that the Ulster Annals are perfectly correct. It is highly honourable to our national records, that, whilst they are corroborated in their statement of historic fact by the most celebrated writer of the age in which he lived, they correct that writer in matters of science. Seghene died on the 24th of May, 688.¹⁰

Flann-Febala, a lincal descendant of the regal family of Colla-Dacrioch [ancestor of the chief families of Oriors], succeeded Seghene in the primacy.

This prelate, assisted by Killene Mac Lubney, abbot of Sayghir, and forty other bishops, held a synod in the year 695, whose canons were extant in the seventeenth century, and in possession of Colgan.¹¹

Flann-Febala died on the 24th of April, 715, and was succeeded by Suibhne, son of Crunmael, who governed the see fifteen years, and died on the 21st of June, 730.

His successor Congus, who was both a poet and a *scribe*,

or learned man, was consecrated in 730, and died in 750. In his time, Aid Roen, king of Ultonia, pillaged some churches in the diocese of Armagh.

In the days of this primate, King Flathbert, monarch of Ireland, abdicated his sceptre, and embraced a monastic life at Armagh, in the year 734. He died in 766 [765].

	Succeeded	Died
Cele Peter, of Oneilland.....	A.D. 750	758
Ferdachry (son of above-named Suibhne)....	758	768
Fœndelach,	768	771

Contests concerning the primacy seem to have originated betwixt Fœndelach and the next in succession, Dubdalethe, and another claimant, Gormgall. He is said to have died in the year 794.¹²

Meanwhile, the see, thus warmly contested, probably remained in a state of abeyance, till the year 778, when Dubdalethe, the son of Senach, was consecrated bishop. He died in 793.¹³

[The following is the succession, after Cele Peter, with (rectified) dates, according to the Annals of Ulster:—

Ferdachry	768 died.
Cu-dinisc.....	791 „
Dubdalethe, son of Senach.....	793 „
Fœndelach, made abbot, and deposed by Gormgall, and reinstated	793
Airechtach (apparently made abbot on the deposition of Fœndelach).....	794 died.
Affiath, bishop of Armagh, died the same night as Airechtach.	
Fœndelach	795 „
Connmach, son of above-named Dubdalethe	807 „

Gormgall is excluded from the List of the Book of Leinster, as one of the three herenaghs named, who *took the abbey by force and are not named* (in the Commemoration of the Living)

in the Mass (p. 42d). He still maintained his pretension in 799, when he *promulgated the Law of Patrick* (i.e. took Patrician Cess) in Connaught. He died "abbot of Armagh and Clones," in 806. Probably he withdrew to the Monaghan foundation before 804, in which year Connmach presided over Rathcore Synod.]

A.D. 775, Armagh was consumed by fire, and again on Saturday, the 2nd of August, 783.

In the eighth century, a Culdean^a monastery and church were built in Armagh, probably by some of Columba's successors in the famous establishment at Hi [Iona]. In 779, Cearnach, the prior of the Armagh Culdees, died and was buried in that city.

In process of time, the city was adorned with many other edifices, built by devout men, and appropriated to the worship of God. As I cannot discover the exact period when some of these were erected, so as to reduce the whole to chronological order, I will here briefly recite the public religious buildings of Armagh.

Cathedralis, vel Summum Templum—The Cathedral built by Saint Patrick on the summit of the hill.

Basilica Petri et Pauli—The Church of Saints Peter and Paul, which, with the monastery and academy annexed to it, was founded by Saint Patrick, near his own mansion-house. These edifices were rebuilt by Imar O'Hædhagain [O'Hagan].

Basilica Saballensis—Church of Sabhal.^a

Basilica Toensis—Of these buildings I can find no trace.

Basilica Vetus Concionatoria—The old Preaching Church.

Templum Na Fearla, or church of the Miracles, built (according to the author of "The Tripartite Life") by Saint Patrick.

Templum Brigidis—Temple Brigid, built by Saint Patrick.

Templum Columbæ—It is traditionally said that this church stood in Abbey-street, where Rocque has marked it in his map of the city, and it is believed that the late Dr. Grueber's school-house was part of the edifice.^a But, as the Culdee tene-

ments were chiefly situated in Castle-street, it is more likely that Columba's original monastery was erected near the site of the old Vicar's-hall.

*A Dominican Friary.*ⁱ

A Franciscan Friary, built by Primate O'Scanlan, in 1263, according to Ware; but Wadding says it was founded in 1291.

The *Basilica Vetus Concionatoria* was probably used, in later times, as the parish church, of which there only remains a very small fragment, contiguous to the front gable of the eastern aisle of the cathedral; and here, since the destruction of the building, the rectors of Armagh have (generally speaking) been inducted, on their respective promotions.

	Succeeded	Died
Affiath (Suffragan Bishop)	A.D. 793	794
Cudinisc	794 [768]	798 [791]
Connmach	798 [795]	807
Torbach, son of Gorman.....	807	808

Prior to the year 799, the primate of Armagh and his suffragan bishops were necessitated to attend the royal army of the king of Ireland, when that monarch proceeded on any warlike expedition. Connmach deemed it indecorous and improper that the ministers of peace should be compelled to witness the horrors of war. At his request, the abbot Fothad of Fahan drew up a remonstrance styled "*Opusculu pro Cleri Defensione et immunitate*," which was presented to King Aedh. This was done very probably at the synod of the northern bishops and abbots, held at Rathcore, Moyfenragh barony, county Meath, under the presidency of Connmach, in 804. In consequence of this protest, the bishop and his clergy were exempted from this uncanonical duty.¹⁶

Torbach* was immediately succeeded by Nuada, the son of Seghene, abbot of a monastery near a lake in Brefny, Eastersnow parish, county of Roscommon, called *Lough Uamha*, Lake of the Cave [Cavetown Lough], from which it is said to flow. This prelate, who was an anchorite, had reluctantly accepted the abbatial and primatial dignities. He made a visitorial circuit in

Connaught, and was the first bishop of Armagh who, since the days of Cormac, the third in succession after Saint Patrick, had visited that province, as patriarch of the kingdom. He died on the 19th of February, 812.

Flanngus, son of Loingsech, succeeded in 812 [resigned in 823] and died in 826.

Artri was consecrated in 822 [823], and in the same year visited the whole province of Munster. He was probably the first archbishop who, since the days of Saint Patrick, had exercised his primatial rights in that district by visitorial circuit. In 825, he also visited Connaught.

The Ulster Annals state that in 823 the law of Saint Patrick was propagated through Munster by Felim son of Crimthan, its monarch, and Artri, bishop of Armagh. Ussher erroneously thought this law was a monastic rule,¹⁷ but Colgan wrongly conceived that it related to the metropolitan jurisdiction, and rightly, to the power of visiting and exacting certain provisions and dues from the provinces. The same law was established in Connaught in 783, 799, 811, 825 and 836.

¹ Ware's Ant. 241. Vita Trip. Tria. Thaum. 291. Usser Eccl. Ant. p. 447. ² Usser Ind. Chron. ad an. 443. ³ Archdall Monas. Hibern. p. 32. ⁴ Ware p. 97. ⁵ Brit. Eccl. p. 473. ⁶ Vita Trip. pars tertia c. 77. ⁷ Ware's Bishops p. 35. ⁸ Bede Eccl. Hist. I. 2 c. 19. ⁹ See Scriptor Vitae Gerald. Saxonis apud. Usser Ind. Chron. 539.

¹⁰ Usser Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 490, 491. ¹¹ Acta Sanct. p. 475. ¹² Ware I. 40. 41. Tria. Thaum. 294. ¹³ Ware I. 42. ¹⁴ Tria. Thaum. p. 298. ¹⁵ Many human skeletons were lately found in the rear of these premises, which was used till after the Reformation as a cemetery. ¹⁶ Acta Sanct. Hib. p. 581. ¹⁷ Primord. p. 1050.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

^a SCHOOL AT ARMAGH.—“One of the earliest and most distinguished teachers of this school was Gildas the Wise. Gildas was Regent or Rector of the great school of Armagh for several years, after which he returned to Wales from Ireland about 508. Caradoc, his biographer, says:—‘Gildas, the historian of the Britons, who was at that time (when his brother was killed) living in Ireland, being rector of the school, and a preacher in the city of Armagh, hear-

ing of the death of his brother, returned to Wales and was reconciled to Arthur.’” —*Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars*, by Dr. Healy, p. 99.

^b BUILT AN ABBEY.—Dr. Reeves holds that this abbey of SS. Peter and Paul was built in the twelfth century. *Ancient Churches of Armagh*, p. 28.

^c THREE ORDERS OF SAINTS.—This document “clearly marks a transition as having taken place in the early part of the sixth century from the mis-

sionary church of St. Patrick, who was engaged in founding churches and preaching the Gospel, to the monastic church of the sixth century. It emphasises the rejection of female ministration by the monks, and the exclusion of females from the monasteries, a thing that could not be done and never has been done in the case of the secular clergy living in the world and engaged in missionary labour."—*Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars*, by Dr. Healy, p. 161.

d DAVID.—He is mentioned in a modern hand in the Annals of Ulster, A.D. 551 and 553. He is there called *Legate of All Ireland*, which clearly proves the interpolation to be modern. He is omitted in the lists of *Successors of Patrick* in the *Book of Leinster* and *Lebor Brecc*. The former has (between Duach [Dubtach] and Feidlimid the Fair) "Fiachra, ten years" (p. 42 c); the latter, (between Dubtach and Cairlan) "Fiachra, twenty years" (p. 220 b).

e "ST. CAIRLAN, or Carolan, archbishop of Armagh, county of Armagh. Belonging to the diocese of Armagh, and probably born there, this saint was descended from Hy-Niellan or O'Niellan family. He flourished at an early period of our history. He was abbot over a community of monks, in this part of the country, A.D. 546; at which time he was restored to life by St. Dageus. This we find recorded, in the later saint's acts, at the 18th of August. Cairlan subjected himself and his monastery to the saint, in token of gratitude. But as a counterpoise, Dageus placed himself and his monastery under the rule of our saint, who was called to preside over the Primatial See of Armagh on the death of Fedlimid Finn, A.D. 577. St. Cairlan ruled over this church for a duration of ten years. This saintly prelate died in the year 587, according to the Annals of Clonmacnoise and of the Four Masters; or A.D. 588, according to Sir James Ware."—*O'Hanlon: Lives of the Irish Saints*, vol. III., p. 487.

f A.D. 622. — ST. THOMIAN, TOIMEN, OR THOMANUS.

"So great was his reputation for piety and learning, that on the death Mac-Laisir,

archbishop of Armagh, on the 12th of September, A.D. 622 or 623, Thomian was elected by unanimous suffrage to the possession of this vacant see. Following the Psalter of Cashel—which takes in Sechnal and Patrick the Elder—St. Thomian is reckoned as the seventeenth bishop who presided over the metropolitan diocese of Ireland. For a long time he ruled in a holy manner that flock consigned to his charge. The celebrated Paschal controversy urged Archbishop Thomian, with four other bishops or priests, besides one called a doctor, to address a letter to the Holy See, A.D. 640. Their letter was conveyed to Rome by messengers; but as we cannot learn anything regarding the existence of this document, it seems impossible to pronounce what side the archbishop or the signatories took in reference to the question. Judging by the reply returned to them, their opinions can be only imperfectly inferred. This holy archbishop is named first among the Irish clergy to whom the Vicar-Capitular and Roman Clerics wrote in 640, regarding the proper method for celebrating Easter."—*O'Hanlon*, vol. I., p. 158.

g REPLY TO SOME QUESTIONS.—In 634 St. Cummian writes:—"In accordance with the canonical decree, that if questions of grave moment arise, they shall be referred to the head of cities, we sent such as we knew were wise and humble men to Rome."—*Ussher Syllog. Epp. No. 30*.

h A very ancient catalogue of the principal monasteries is cited by Dr. O'Connor (*Prolegomena*, pars II. p. 93), each monastery being described by a characteristic epithet, thus:—"The head of Ireland, Armagh; the arts of Ireland, Clonmacnois; the happiness of Ireland, Kildare; the learned of Ireland, Bangor; the joy of Ireland, Kells; the eye of Ireland, Tallaght; the litanies of Ireland, Lismore; the difficult language of Ireland, Cork; the cemetery of Ireland, Glendalough," &c., &c. Dr. Reeves gives the following account of the Armagh Culdees:—

"The next church on record as having a fraternity of Céli-dé in connection with it

is that of Armagh; and here we have a great range of time for their continuance, namely, from the commencement of the tenth century to the Reformation. At the year 920, or 921 of the common era, the Annals of Ulster relate that "Ardmacha was pillaged on the Saturday before St. Martin's Day, which was on the 10th of November, by Gofrith, grandson of Ivar, and his army, who saved the houses of prayer with their people of God, that is Céli-dé, and their sick, and the whole church-town, except some houses which were burned through neglect." The Four Masters record the same event at the year 919 of their reckoning.

The remarkable feature in this passage is that there is no mention of abbot, subordinate officers, or monks, of Armagh, although it possessed several churches, and was from an early period very fully provided with all grades of conventual ministers. It must be owned, however, that at this period there is a great hiatus in the succession of its ecclesiastical functionaries. Maelbrighde Mac Tormain, the abbot, died in 927; but he was of the Cinel-Conaill, or Donegal race, and successor of Columcille and Adamnan, that is, abbot of Hy and Derry, from which we might infer that his connexion with Armagh was more titular than real. There seems to have been no *seonab* or prior, no bishop, no *ferleghinn* or lecturer, no anchorite, nor any of the usual officers of a great monastery at this date. In fact, the Norse pillagings and burnings of the years 830, 839, 850, 867, 879, 890, 893 and 914, as recorded by the Four Masters, had so desolated the ancient establishment, that we can conceive it reduced to a condition in which scarcely any but the most devoted and self-denying ministers of its churches and hospitals would remain in it. Hence we can understand how the annalist despatches all of the religious of the place under the term of the "people of God," or, more technically, Céli-dé, who would seem to have been the officiating attendants of the choir and altar, and in close connexion with whom were the receptacles for the sick and poor. In this

view the Céli dé of Armagh would denote the ministerial portion of the old conventual society.

This is the first and last time that the Irish annals notice the Céli-dé of Armagh; and it is not till the year 1366 that they re-appear upon the page of history. In the interval, the Norsemen having ceased from their depredations, and Armagh having recovered her normal condition, the chief local clan acquired a religious as well as a secular ascendancy, and the six hereditary successions of lay abbots occurred, together with other abuses, which grew out of an enervated state of the conventual system. During this period we may suppose, however, that, while the wealthier portion of the community became so much secularized, the officiating priests continued to discharge the duties of the sacerdotal office, as in former times, living in community; and it may be, like the Céli-dé at Clonmacnoise, or the Keledei of Scotland, occasionally entering the married state. The laxity of their discipline was the probable cause which rendered the introduction of the regular canons into Armagh a desideratum; and we can easily understand how the public recognition of this order in 1126 would greatly tend to diminish the influence and importance of the secular corporation, who henceforward took rank in the diocese *after* the regulars, though they represented the original clergy of the place.

The exact date when the cathedral economy was recast is not recorded, but it probably took place in the interval between the retirement of Malachi O'Morgair and the conquest of Ireland, during the episcopate of Gelasius; and then the normal cathedral staff of dean, chancellor, treasurer, archdeacon and canons, hitherto unknown in Ireland, but now borrowed from English or Continental usage, was introduced. In other dioceses a different process took place, as in Down, where Malachi O'Morgair, in 1138, founded a priory of regular canons, leaving the cathedral church to its old corporation of regular canons, who, I presume, were akin

to the Céli-dé, and who continued to conduct its services till 1183, when John de Courcy turned them out, and Anglicized the church by bringing over Benedictines from St. Werburgh's, of Chester, to be the future Chapter. Two years after, the memorable *Invention* was published, which made amends to the native feeling of the district. Again, in Meath, there has never been a cathedral establishment of any kind, and the Céli dé who formerly served the church at Clonard, merged, with their privileges, in the parochial clergy of the diocese.

But to return from this digression. When the new capitular constitution was introduced into Armagh, the ancient system was not altogether superseded, as elsewhere; but, owing to some influence or motive at present unknown, the old society of the Céli-dé, who now began to be called, after the Latin fashion, by the name *Colidei*, were continued in their endowments and religious functions, only in a less prominent position. Their ministrations in the "great church" proceeded as hitherto, and their head or prior (which was a title of precedence but not authority) fell into the place, though not the name, of the ordinary præcentor, while his fraternity of Colidei performed the office of vicars in the choir. They continued to be a several corporation, and never merged in the chapter, their prior only having a place and voice in capitular meetings. Hence the formal communications from the archbishops ran thus:—"Decano, Priori Colideorum, et aliis de capitulo, necnon Colideis;" or, "Decano, Priori Colideorum, omnibusque et singulis Canonicis et Colideis ecclesie nostrae Armachanæ."—*Trans. R.I.A.* xxiv. *Antiquities*, part ii., p. 128-130.

PUBLIC RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS.—"Within the upper ring, all the edifices were ecclesiastical.

1. First, there was the Damhliacc (pronounced *Dulceek*) Mor, or great stone church, probably occupying the site of the present cathedral. It bears the name here given to it in the year 839, while at 890 and 907 it is mentioned

under the generic title of *Ecllais* or 'church.' This building was probably a plain oblong, with the door in the west and principal window in the east.

2. *The Round Tower.* Like other ancient churches of this character, the early cathedral of Armagh seems to have had no steeple in immediate connection with it; but nigh at hand, probably about forty feet from the north-west angle, stood the *Cloictech*, or 'Bell-tower.' This ordinary accompaniment of the leading monastic establishments, existed, as might be expected, at Armagh. There is some reason for thinking, that, as at Clonmacnoise and Glendalough, so also here, there were more than one; for in 995 [996] it is related that the 'Bell-towers,' as well as other buildings, suffered from the effects of lightning. [996 - Lightning seized Armagh, so that it left neither oratory, nor stone-church, nor porch, nor church-grove, without burning—*Annals of Ulster*]

3. *The Sabhall.*—Within the Rath there existed an oratory, called the *Sabhall* or 'Barn,' which, from its position, is styled in the Book of Armagh the *Sinistralls*, or 'Northern' church. It may have derived this peculiar name, as the only other church in Ireland so called, namely, *Sabhall Patraic*, or Saul, near Downpatrick, is said to have done, from its unusual bearing, north and south [?]. This church is said to have been founded by St. Patrick, on the spot where he came upon the lawn at his first inspection, and it is one of the *Dertechs* or 'Oratories' mentioned in the Annals, at 839 [840] and 919 [921], and the *dertech* of 890 and 1108, at which later date it is recorded to have been covered with lead. Here as early as 750 the Book of Armagh declares that the "virgins and penitents and married attendants of the church were wont to hear the word of preaching on the Lord's Day."

4. *Dulceek Toga.*—*The Damhliacc na Toe* or *Togha*, that is 'the stone church of the elections,' stood on the south side of the present cathedral. [The Annals state it was burned by lightning, April 27,

916, and May 30, 1020.] It is not easy to determine whether this oratory or the great church is intended in the passage of the Book of Armagh, which states that 'In the southern church (*australi basilica*) the bishops and presbyters, and anchorites of the church, and the rest of the religious, offer acceptable praises' (folio 21, ab.) Stuart carries out the parochial idea, and makes this the *Basilica Vetus Concionatoria*, or 'Old Preaching Church,' an expression derived from Colgan.

5. *Library*.—Forming part of the monastic group was the *Tench Sreaptra*, 'House of Writings,' or Library. It was the only building within the rath which escaped the devouring element in the great fire of 1020. At this period Armagh was a famous school of learning, and numerous attended by the youth of Ireland, whose private studies received a check, for though the Library escaped, the fire consumed 'their books in the houses of the students.'

6. *Abbot's House*.—And as there was an Abbot, the successor of Patrick, and chief functionary of the place, so there was a separate abode for him inside the rath, but anciently enclosed within a rampart of its own.

7. *St. Brigid's Church*. Armagh was not wanting in a commemoration of her, and the little Abbey church outside the rath, called by the Irish *Regles Breedye*, [Brighte] is to be regarded as a very ancient foundation.

8. *St. Columba's Church*.—In 1614, Templecollunkilly is mentioned as in the street called Bore-netrian-Sassenach, [road of the Saxon Third] and a northern limit of the premises of St. Peter and St. Paul's Abbey."—*Reeves: Ancient Churches of Armagh*, p. 14.

j DOMINICAN FRIARY.—"We have not a shadow of authority for the existence of a Dominican friary at Armagh. Francis Porter, indeed, in a loose way, places such an establishment here, but his statement is unsupported by either authority or tradition. De Burgo concludes *a priori* that a priory of this order existed here before

1264 assuming that Maelpatrick O'Scanlan, himself a Dominican, would otherwise never have founded an abbey for Minorites, in disregard of the sacred principle—'Charity well ordered begins at home.'"—*Reeves: Ancient Churches of Armagh*, p. 32.

k TORBACH. It was during his incumbency that the famous Book of Armagh was transcribed, of which the following account is given in Gilbert's *National MSS. of Ireland*, p. 25.

"The Book of Armagh is now defective at the commencement. Its first surviving portion is occupied with notes in Latin and Irish on St. Patrick's acts; a collection styled "*Liber Anguei*," relating to the rights and prerogatives of the See of Armagh; and the confession of St. Patrick. These are followed by St. Jerome's letter to Damasus, Eusebian Canons, and preface to the New Testament; interpretation of Hebrew names; Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; Epistles of St. Paul, including that to the Laodiceans, with prefaces, chiefly by Pelagius; Epistles of James, Peter, John, and Jude; Apocalypse; Acts of Apostles; and Life of St. Martin of Tours by Sulpicius Severus. It also contains four uncoloured drawings of the evangelistic symbols. The writing is mainly in double columns, and the headings through most of the Gospels are partly in Greek characters. A colophon of four Latin lines, in Greek letters, appears in the first column of the verso of fol. 221, with which the volume ends. After page 104, the capital letters are coloured slightly in black, yellow, green, and red. Some of the pages are much rubbed, as if frequently exposed or touched, probably for the purpose of swearing.

The name of the scribe of the Book of Armagh was ascertained in recent times by the Rev. Charles Graves, [late] bishop of Limerick. Having noticed ancient and elaborate erasures on some of its pages, he conceived that matter connected with

the history of the book might be recovered through a careful examination of them. Under these erasures were found vestiges of entries, in which Ferdombach, in the customary manner of ancient Irish transcribers, entered his name, and requested a prayer from the reader. The only scribes named Ferdombach mentioned in Irish records are two, who died at Armagh in A.D. 726 [*recte*, 732] and A.D. 844 [*recte*, 846], respectively. The latter was characterized as a wise man and a distinguished scribe. That he wrote the first part of the Book of Armagh in A.D. 807 [808] is assumed mainly on the following grounds: At the end of the Gospel of St. Mathew, the scribe records, in semi-Greek characters, that he finished the writing of this Gospel on the festival of the Apostle. That this was in A.D. 807 [808], the single year during which Torbach held the bishopric of Armagh, is inferred from a fragment — *bach* — of the name of 'the successor of Patrick' brought to light from under another ancient erasure. Torbach was the only bishop of the see whose name terminated with those letters during the time of any known scribe styled Ferdombach.

The collections concerning St. Patrick, in the first part of the Book of Armagh, constitute the oldest writings now extant in connection with him, and are also the most ancient specimens known of narrative

composition in Irish and Hiberno-Latin. They purport to have been originally taken down by bishop Tírechán from Ultán, who was bishop of Ardbraccan towards A.D. 650, and by Muitchu Maccu Machteni, at the request of his preceptor, Aed, bishop of Sletty, in the same century. Among the native Irish the Book of Armagh appears to have been known as 'the Canon of Patrick.' The Irish annalists record that the 'Canon of Patrick' was encased in A.D. 937, by Donogh, son of Flann, king of Ireland.

At foot of fol. 16, verso, is an entry purporting to have been made in presence of Brian Borumha, 'Imperator of the Scots.' This is considered to have been written about A.D. 1002, when Brian, after having subjected Ulster, made an offering of twenty ounces of gold on the altar of Armagh.

The Book of Armagh is conjectured to be the book alluded to by St. Bernard in the twelfth century, as being then regarded as one of the insignia of the primatial see of Ireland, and oaths and covenants appear to have been frequently ratified on it. The hereditary custodian of the book was styled in Irish *maor*, or keeper, and held an endowment of land in virtue of his office. His descendants were known by the name of *Meic Muir* — sons of the keeper — or Mac Moyre." "*National MSS. of Ireland.*" By Gilbert, p. 23.





CHAPTER III.

RAVAGES OF THE DANES.

First attempts of the Ostmen on Ireland—Armagh taken and pillaged—Rivals to the Primacy—Armagh pillaged by Turgesius—Barbarities committed by the Danish Conquerors—Oppression of the People—The Danes overthrown by Niall III.—He is drowned in the River Callan—Turgesius taken captive by Malachy, King of Meath—He is put to Death.

Supplementary Notes.—Derivation of *Newry*—Identification of River Callan—Fabrication by Giraldus Cambrensis.



SHORTLY before this period the Ostmen had made frequent hostile incursions into Ireland. The Annals of Ulster assert that in the year 795, the isle of Rathlin, to the north of the county of Antrim, was pillaged by pirates. These mauraunders are said by Ussher to have been Danes or Normans. They wasted a part of Ireland, and made captives of Findan and his sister.¹

The piratical tribes by which Ireland was so dreadfully infested in the ninth century seem to have been a mixed crew of Danes, Frisians, Norwegians, Swedes and Livonians. Of these, one tribe were styled Leth-manni, whom Ussher and other writers deem Livonians, whose country was named Letten or Letta. One sept was called by the Irish, "*Fion-Gaill*," or *Fingal*," the White Strangers, and another "*Dubh-Gaill*," the Black Strangers, from the colour of their hair. Other generic terms were applied to these northern invaders, such as "*Lochlans*," "*Dubh-Loch-Lane*," and "*Fion-Loch-Lane*." In the ancient Welsh

language, *Lychnnyan* signifies a Norwegian. The adjectives *Dubh*, black, and *Fion*, or *Fin*, white, prefixed by the Irish, were indicative of the relative complexion of these tribes, or rather of the colour of their hair. Fingal was probably a settlement of the Fair-haired Strangers. The more general denomination was Danes. These Danfhirs, or Danes, after they had settled in Ireland, were distinguished by the territories, or districts in which they resided. Thus we read of the Danes of Lecale, the Danes of Lough Foyle, the Danes of Dublin, &c. By the English, whom these adventurers molested exceedingly, they were denominated Ostmen and Danes.

In France, they were styled Normans. After various predatory irruptions into that kingdom, they formed a powerful settlement there, in the beginning of the tenth century. Finally, under William, Duke of Normandy, they conquered England in the year 1066.

In the year 811, a fleet of Danes appeared off the Irish coasts, but was defeated by the Ulidians (Down, and southern part of Antrim), with vast slaughter.

In the year 812, a formidable body of Ostmen arrived on the western coasts of Munster, with sixty ships of war. They landed, but were valiantly assailed by Cobthach, king of West Munster, who, having slain four hundred and sixteen of the invaders, compelled the remainder to take refuge in their vessels and to abandon their enterprise.

Another army of these restless northerns landed in Ulster, destroyed the famous abbey of Bangor, and put nine hundred monks to the sword in 824.⁷ The following year, a formidable Danish fleet appeared off the northern coast. The troops landed, but were spiritedly attacked and completely defeated by the Ulidians. A second army of Danes, which had disembarked at a place named "*Inbher [Ibur] Chinn-Tragha*," the estuary [yew tree] at the head of the Strand, subsequently called "*Na Yur*," or Newry,⁸ was for a time more successful. This body of daring adventurers marched from Newry towards Armagh, and miserably wasted the country in every direction. The city, which Colgan

says had never before been occupied by strangers, was taken by storm, and pillaged thrice in one month;^b and here the Danes and Norwegians established their headquarters for the space of a month, in the year 832.

During this period, the inhabitants suffered every species of indignity, and endured every kind of misery, which victorious barbarians, inured to blood, and unrestrained by moral feeling or religious principle, delight to inflict on the vanquished. At last, the invaders were driven back to their ships by the irritated people. In their retreat, they robbed the inhabitants and set fire to the city itself. When they withdrew, they carried with them the sacred relics, with various highly esteemed treasures, and compelled the abbot of Saint Peter and Saint Paul's to seek an asylum in Munster.³

Primate Artri died in the year 833, and was immediately succeeded by Eugene, or Eoghan,^c who died in the following year.

After his decease, Faranan (or Forannan), of Rackwallace, county Monaghan, and Dermot O'Tighernan contended for the see, and each assumed and exercised the episcopal functions. In the 835, Dermot was driven from the bishopric, but proceeded, in 836, on a visitatorial circuit through Connaught, to establish there Saint Patrick's Law.^d In the same year, Fehlim,^e the son of Crimthan, King of Cashel, seized upon Forannan, the rival abbot of Armagh, in the oratory of the abbey of Kildare, and carried him and his clergy into captivity.

In the meanwhile, whilst the country had been agitated by various factions, and the rival prelates, Forannan and Dermot, had been contending for the see of Armagh, Turgesius (or Thorgis), a valiant but fierce and barbarous Dane, had wasted Connaught and a great part of Meath and Leinster, at the head of his Norwegian troops. Flushed with victory and confident of success, this active chieftain had marched northward with a numerous body of his ferocious adherents to the conquest of Ulster.

In less than three years, he had made himself master by

force of arms of almost all the country round Lough Neagh. Wherever he advanced, rapine and devastation marked his progress. In Munster also, notwithstanding that, at Ardraccan, a multitude of them were hewn to pieces by the Dalcassians, [the O'Briens, and kindred tribes], the Norwegians and Easterlings swept the land with such an irresistible force that they soon became the acknowledged masters of the country.

And now, Turgesius, whom his victorious army had proclaimed king of Ireland, marched against the city of Armagh, which, probably weakened by intestine division and not yet recovered from the effects of its late capture, was altogether unable to resist his progress.

As he advanced, the Danish sovereign waged an unrelenting war against Christianity and its meek teachers. He levelled the churches to the earth, and treated the clergy with wanton insult and inhuman barbarity. When, therefore, this merciless Pagan had seized upon Armagh,⁴ probably in 841, he expelled its bishop Forannan, with all the students of the college, and the whole body of religious devotees from the city. The bishop and such of the clergy as escaped his rage fled to Kildare. Here, however, they were pursued by the emissaries of the inexorable Turgesius, and compelled, with the clergy of that place, to lurk for years in obscure woods, bogs, and subterraneous caves.

Meanwhile, Turgesius had established amongst the conquered people a species of systematic slavery and oppression intolerable to human nature.⁵

Every cantred of ground was placed under the jurisdiction of a Danish prince; every tuath, or seigniory, under a chieftain. Sergeants presided despotically over towns and villages, and every private *Buanna*, or soldier, was absolute master of the house in which he was quartered. The abbeys, churches, and monasteries were placed at the disposal of the Danish heathen priests, and the edifices originally dedicated to the worship of God resounded with the praises of Odin, Thor, and Friga.

If any man concealed his cattle from the voracious Buannas, or secreted food for the use of his children, he was, on detection, fettered, chained and imprisoned, until he had made ample satisfaction to the proud Dane, whose wants he was bound by the Turgesian edict to supply.

The inexorable tyrant established also a most oppressive law, by which every head of a family was compelled to pay into the Danish treasury an ounce of gold annually.

He who failed either through poverty or any other cause to pay this tribute of the "*Uinge Argid*," or ounce of silver, was liable to a punishment of a most cruel and degrading nature. His nose was publicly cut off, and he was thus subjected, as an object of scorn, to the continual scoffs of his inhuman tyrants. Hence this tax was denominated *Nose-Rent*, and by the Irish *Airgiod-Srona* (Nose-Money), and *Cios-Srona* (Nose-Rent).

The oppressed natives were also prohibited by law from entering any school, monastery, church or chapel, and none were allowed to employ any clergyman, lawyer, philosopher, bard, or even artist of any kind. Every manuscript which the most minute search of the Danes could discover was instantly consumed with fire. All social intercourse between families was interdicted, and even the nobility of the land were limited, as to diet to the leavings and offals of their tyrants' tables.

The despotism of Turgesius and the subordinate ministers of his barbarities extended even to the bridal bed. On the solemnization of every marriage, the Danish captain of the precinct was entitled by law to defile the bride. If he disliked the woman, or choose to waive his claim, he commuted it with the unfortunate husband for a tax in money, which he was by the despotic law of the Danes entitled to levy.⁶

Let it not be imagined that our Irish Annalists have drawn an exaggerated picture of Danish barbarities. The English historians pourtray their cruelties in equally strong colours. The cruel Gutrum (says one of these historians) arrived in England A.D. 878, with an army of heathenish Danes, equally cruel as himself, who, like barbarous savages, destroyed all before them

with fire and sword, involving cities, towns and villages with their inhabitants in devouring flames, and cutting those in pieces with their battle-axes who attempted to escape from their burning houses. And again, hoary-headed old men were seen lying with their throats cut before their own doors, the streets covered with the bodies of young men and children without heads, hands, or feet, and of matrons and virgins who had been first publicly dishonoured and then put to death, and indecently exposed to public gaze.

These barbarians, say the English writers, were accustomed to tear babes from the bosoms of their mothers, toss them up into the air, and catch them in their descent on the points of their spears, as if cruelty and infanticide were sports congenial to their souls.⁷

Scalping was practised by these inhuman warriors. We learn from an ancient historian that Earl Godwin, having intercepted Prince Alfred at Gilford, in his way to London, defeated his companions and seized his person. Some of the guards he enchained, some he sold for slaves, some he blinded by putting out their eyes, some he maimed by cutting off their hands and feet, and some he tortured by tearing the skin off their heads.⁸

This much I have thought necessary to say, as a proof that the ancient English writers corroborate the statements of our Irish historians with respect to the habitual barbarity of the Danes and Ostmen.

It might be supposed that the havoc committed by the Danes in almost every part of Ireland must have united the oppressed people against the common enemy. Far from it. The energies of the nation were wasted in petty broils. Hugh Oirnidhe, king of Ireland [797—819], instead of forming a general league amongst the subordinate princes of the kingdom for their mutual protection, carried on a predatory system of hostilities against the people of Leinster, thus exciting the flames of civil war, instead of repressing the inroads of the common enemy.

During these transactions in the south of the kingdom, Danish troops still kept possession of Ulster, where the pro-

vincial kings were utterly unable to resist their arms. Armagh was again plundered, as well as Lismore, in 833.

Mental anguish and bodily fatigue sank the gallant Conor, King of Ireland, prematurely to the grave, in the fourteenth year of his reign [819—833]. He was succeeded by Niall III., who, from having been drowned in the (Armagh) river Callan, is known to posterity by the name of Niall Caille [*of the Callan*].

During the reign of this monarch, many battles were fought betwixt the people of Meath, Leinster, Munster, &c., and the Danes, with various success. To narrate the particulars of these conflicts is foreign to my present subject. I must rest satisfied with briefly stating that Niall, king of Ireland, found himself sufficiently powerful to invade the territories conquered by the Danes in Ulster. Having overthrown the Ostmen in a pitched battle in Tirconnell, he marched against Armagh, the headquarters of his savage enemies. The Danes, confident of victory, met his troops in their advance, and the adverse hosts closed spear to spear, man to man. The troops of Niall, thirsting for vengeance, and contending *pro aris et focis*, fought with a desperate valour which rendered them irresistible. The Danes were completely overthrown, and in the universal rout were slaughtered without mercy by the victorious Irish. Those who survived the battle fled precipitately and in total confusion towards the river Callan, probably to gain a temporary refuge in the Navan fort, and in the long series of raths which in that quarter crossed the country. The conqueror, eager to annihilate the miserable remnant of the Danes, pursued the fugitive enemy, and the work of havoc was continued till the darkness of night screened them from his vengeance.

Meanwhile a torrent of rain had fallen, and a sudden flood having descended from the mountain-lakes near Keady, which are the sources of the Callan, the swollen river burst its usual bounds, and interrupted the march of the victorious army in their progress to Armagh. At the foot of Tullachmore hill, Niall halted the troops who immediately accompanied his person. At his command, one of his warriors endeavoured to pass the

ford on horseback, but was instantly hurried from his steed by the impetuosity of the waters. Niall, who with strong emotions of pity saw him struggling for life, commanded his guard to make every effort for his preservation. In vain was the command. Terror fixed them to the spot immoveable. The magnanimous king then dashed forward with a generous resolution to save his friend or perish in the attempt. As he approached the brink of the river, the ground, undermined by the torrent, sank beneath his horse's feet, and the monarch was precipitated into the flood, where death closed at once his career of victory and his life. He died A.D. 846, aged 55.

His body was deposited with all due respect in a grave dug in Tullachmore, on the banks of the Callan,^f where he had prematurely perished. A simple mound of earth, which tradition has, from generation to generation, denominated "Niall's Mound," lately marked the spot where the sovereign of Ireland lies in the silence of death. I have seen it—it is fresh in the memory of all my contemporary fellow-citizens, but the tumulus itself is now no more.

The success thus gained by the Irish monarch was but of a temporary nature. The Danes concentrated their troops, and having been reinforced from their native country, were again enabled to take the field, and act vigorously on the offensive. In 852, the Danes of Linduachel [Annagassan, county Louth], marched against Armagh, which they stormed and spoiled on the *Sunday of Summer Easter*^g (July 10th). According to the Annals of Ulster, this event took place in 852. Ussher, from the same Annals, states that both the rival bishops of Armagh, Forannan and Dermot, died the same year. Dermot is styled by our historians, the wisest of the doctors of Europe—"sapiientissimus omnium doctorum Europæ." (*Annals of Ulster*, A.D. 852.)

In 851, means had been adopted to stop the further progress of the northern invaders. A National Assembly^h was held at Armagh, by Malachy (the son of Malrone or Maelruan), King of Ireland, attended by the peers of Leth-Cuinn (*Half of Conn*

of the Hundred Battles, *i.e.*, northern half of Ireland); and Matodan, King of Ulidia, accompanied by the nobles of Ulidia, (*i.e.*, the south-eastern part of Ulster). Dermod and Fethgna, with the clergy of St. Patrick, *i.e.*, of Armagh, and Suarlech, abbot of Inan (County Westmeath), were also present at the meeting. After due deliberation on the state of the country, it was determined that the most vigorous defensive measures should be adopted against the Danes. Accordingly, the monarch in person assailed the enemy in Meath, defeated them in a pitched battle, and slew seven hundred of their choicest troops [856]. Soon after this event, Malachy in conjunction with the Lagenians, routed the Danes at Glas-linn (probably in Munster), where the enemy lost one thousand seven hundred men, amongst whom fell Saxolb,⁴ a commander of considerable reputation.

The fate of the Danish chieftain Turgesius,⁵ who had so often wasted Armagh with fire and sword, merits a distinct recital in this history.

That tyrant had castellated the conquered country, and thus secured his troops from any sudden attack which might have been meditated by his discontented Irish subjects. He had erected a habitation for himself near the residence of Maelsechlainn (Melachlin or Malachy), king of Meath, and condescended to honour that sovereign with frequent visits. Heaven had blessed the Irish prince with a daughter whose features and form are said to have been as lovely as her mind was pure. Turgesius, struck with her beauty, asked her father to allow her to pay him a visit at his castle. Malachy, fearing he had some sinister intention in this proposal, gave his consent on condition that fifteen of her maids should accompany her on her visit. This was a ruse on the part of Malachy, who sent fifteen beardless youths dressed in women's clothing, in place of the maids. On their admittance to the castle, these young men throwing open their loose gowns, drew forth their swords, which they brandished over the astonished Dane, menacing him with instantaneous death if he dared to call for

help. The terrified monarch submitted, and was immediately bound.

Turgesius was shortly afterwards thrown into Lough Owel (county Westmeath), where he perished in the sight of a multitude of rejoicing spectators.

¹ Brit Eccl Ant p. 496. Ind Chron p. 542.
² Mac Curtin p. 171. ³ Annals of Ulster [?] 4
 Tria Thaum p. 295. ⁵ Colgan says that in 843
 843] Forannan, with his family and the sacred
 relics, was taken prisoner by the Danes, and sent
 to their navy at Limerick. Ussher also, in his
 Chronological Index, A.D. 848, says that he was

expelled by Turgesius, who then occupied Armagh
 —Primor 860. [The *Annals of Ulster* state that
 Forannan was taken in Cluain-Comarda, supposed
 to be Colman's Well, Connello barony, county
 Limerick.] ⁶ Vide lib. Coga Gall le Gaoidheal
 apud Mac Curtin p. 181. ⁷ Anglia Sacra, t. 2, p.
 155. ⁸ Hist. Elie, apud Gale, l. 2, c. 32.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

a "NA YUR" OR NEWRY.—Newry, in Down, was anciently called *Iubhar-cinn-tragha* [Yure-kintraw], the yew tree at the head of the strand, of which the oldest form is found in the *Leabhar na h'Uidhre*, viz.: *-Ibur-cind-trachta*. It appears by a curious entry in the Four Masters to have derived its name from a tree planted by St. Patrick, and which continued to flourish for 700 years after him:—"A.D. 1162. The monastery of the monks at *Iubhar-cinn-tragha* was burned, with all its furniture and books, and also the yew which St. Patrick himself had planted." The tree must have been situated near the highest point to which the tide rises, for this is what the word *ceann-tragha*, strand-head, denotes. In after ages, the full name was altered to *Iubhar*, which, by prefixing the article, and making some other alterations, was reduced to the present name." *Joyce: Irish Names of Places*. p. 451.

b THRICE IN ONE MONTH.—"832—First pillaging of Armagh by Gentiles, thrice in one month."—*Annals of Ulster*.

c EOGHAN.—"In 826 or 827, Cumasgach drove Eoghan forcibly from Armagh,

and put Airtri into his place. The same year Cumasgach was defeated and slain, at the battle of Leith-cam, by Niall Caille; and Eoghan recovered his bishopric, in which he continued for nine years afterwards, upheld, as the Four Masters tell us, 'by the power of Nial Caille,' who, as they observe, although he had not yet succeeded to the throne of Ireland, was 'powerful in Ulster.' In 829 or 830, the abbey of Armagh seems to have been usurped by Suibhne, son of Fairnech [Forannan], who died after being in possession for two months."—*Todd: Introduction to the War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, p. 47.

d FELIM, THE SON OF CRIMTHAN.—"Keating relates that Feidhlim being provoked by certain proceedings of some of the more northern people of Ireland, laid waste the country extending from Birr to Tara. Thus, while the common enemy was in their country, the unhappy Irish were destroying each other. Keating is wrong in stating that Feidhlim became archbishop of Leath Mogha or the Southern half of Ireland. He never was a bishop, but in the latter part of his life gave himself up to piety, and lived as an anchorite.

He reigned 27 years (see Keating, B. III. p. 57), the first of which was, according to the Annals of Innisfallen (Harris' Copy), A.D. 819, but according to Mr. O'Reilly's [correctly], 820."—*Lanigan: Eccl. Hist. of Ireland*, vol. iii., p. 273.

"The times immediately preceding the arrival of Turgesius and his followers were remarkable for internal dissensions among the Irish chieftains. An old feud had existed for more than a century between the north and south of Ireland, owing to the pretensions of the kings of Cashel, or Munster, to be kings of all Ireland; and Feidhlimidh, son of Crimthann, the Munster chieftain, at the period of which we speak, had prosecuted this claim with great pertinacity. About A.D. 840, he seems to have obtained a temporary submission from Niall Caille, the sovereign of the O'Neill race, and to have been recognised as King of all Ireland. Although he was himself an ecclesiastic, abbot and bishop, as well as king of Cashel, he did not hesitate, in the prosecution of his political designs, to plunder the most sacred places of the northern half of Ireland, and to put to the sword their monks and clergy. In 826, and again in 833, he had spoiled the Termon lands, or sanctuary of Clonmacnoise; on which last occasion he slew many of the religious, and burned the Termon up to the very door of the principal church. He had treated in the same way the celebrated Columban monastery of Durrow. In 836 he took the Oratory of Kildare by force of arms from Forannan of Armagh, who seems to have found refuge there with his clergy, and exacted from him a forced submission. In 840, Armagh was burned 'with its oratories and its cathedral;' the Four Masters say 'by the foreigners,' which may have been so, for it was in 841, as we have seen, that Turgesius 'usurped the abbacy;' but the Annals of Ulster [840] make no mention of the Norsemen, and seem to leave it doubtful whether this outrage was not committed by Feidhlimidh, who (as they tell us in the same sentence) [or rather in the same entry] plundered Meath and Bregia, and took possession of the royal

seat of Tara, in other words, of the throne of Ireland."—*Todd's Introduction to the Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, pp. 44-6

N.B.—Todd errs egregiously in making Feidhlimidh an abbot and bishop. Had he been an ecclesiastic, the Annals of Innisfallen, the chief Munster chronicle, would not have failed to mention this circumstance in his obit (847). From the fact that he is spoken of as an anchorite in the Annals of Ulster, it may be safely inferred that he abdicated the throne to prepare himself for death.

SEIZED UPON ARMAGH.—"839—More-over Ard Macha was plundered three times in the same month by them; and Turgeis himself usurped the abbacy of Ard Macha, and Farannan, abbot of Ard Macha, and chief comharba of Patrick, was driven out, and went to Mumhain, and Patrick's shrine with him; and he was four years in Mumhain, while Turgeis was in Ard Macha, and in the sovereignty of the north of Erin, as Bercan prophesied, chief prophet of heaven and earth:

'Gentiles shall come over the soft sea:

They shall confound the men of Erin;

Of them there shall be an abbot over every church,

Of them there shall be a king over Erin

Seven years shall they be, nor weak their power,

In the high sovereignty of Erin,

In the abbacy of every church

The black gentiles of Dabhlan,

There shall be of them an abbot over this my church,

Who will not attend to matins,

Without Pater and without Credo.

Without Irish, but only foreign language."

—*War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, edited by Todd, p. 9.

"Afterwards, but it is not said immediately afterwards, Turgeis 'usurped the abbacy of Armagh,' and Farannan, the real abbot, or bishop, and chief comharba of Patrick, was driven out; he fled to Munster, carrying with him the shrine of St. Patrick, and continued in exile four years, 'whilst Turgeis was in Armagh, and in the sovereignty of the North of Ireland.' We afterwards find that when in Munster, and probably in the territory of the Martini of Munster

a tribe of the Belgæ or Firbolgs, of whose territory, Emly, in the county of Tipperary, was the capital], Forannan was taken prisoner by the Norsemen of Limerick, who carried him off to their ships, having broken the shrine of St. Patrick." *Todd: Introduction to the War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, p. 42.

f THE RIVER CALLAN.—A.D. 843. This year King Nealle Kailly died at Kailen, in Mounster—*Ann. Clon.*, old translation.

"There are three rivers named Callainn in Ireland: one in the county of Armagh; the other in the county of Kilkenny, now more generally called the King's River; and the third in the valley of Gleann-Ua-Ruachtain (Glana-rough), in the county of Kerry. The Callainn in the county of Kilkenny is probably the one in which this king was drowned."—Note by O'Donovan in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, p. 472.

The river in question is put beyond doubt by the obit of Niall (which unaccountably escaped the notice of O'Donovan) in the *Annals of Innisfallen* [A.D. 846]—*Niall, son of Aedh, king of Tara, was drowned in the Callan, i.e. a river that is beside Armagh.*—*O'Conor, Rer. Hib. Scriptores*, II.; *Ann. Innisf.* p. 28.

g SUNDAY OF SUMMER EASTER.—In the ancient Irish Church, *Summer Lent* began on Pentecost Monday, and *Summer Easter Sunday* accordingly fell on the 6th Sunday after Pentecost.—*Todd Lecture Series*, vol. iii., p. 385.

h A NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. "851—A royal meeting at Armagh, including Maelsechlainn, with the nobles of Leth Chuinn [*Half of Conn*: northern half of Ireland], and Matodhan, with the nobles of the Province of Conchobhar, [*i.e.* Ulidia, so called from Conor, son of Ness, king

of Ulidia in the first century of the Christian era], and Dermait and Fethgna, with the congregation of Patrick, and Suarlech, with the clergy of Midhe [Meath]." — *Annals of Ulster*.

i This victory is not mentioned in the *Annals*. Saxolb was slain in 838 by the Keenaghts of Bregia, a sept in the N.W. of Balrothery barony, county Wicklow, and Duleek baronies, Meath.

j DEATH OF TURGESIUS.—"845—A fastness of Foreigners (*i.e.*, with Turges) [was built] on [the crannog of] Lough Ree, so that they wasted Connaught and Meath, and burned Clonmacnoise, with its oratories, and Confert of Brendan [Clonfert, county Galway], and Terryglass and Lorrha, and other religious establishments. Turges was taken by Mael-Sechnaill, and drowned afterwards in Lough Owel (Westmeath)." — *Annals of Ulster*.

"843. — Turgesius went on [the crannog of] Lough Ree, and built a fort on it, and was taken by Mael-Sechnaill, son of Maelruanaid, and drowned in Lough Owel. — *Annals of Boyle*. (*O'Conor Rer. Hib. Scriptores*, vol. ii., p. 11. N.B.—The edition cannot be relied on for the date.)

The *Chronicon Scotorum* (845), an epitome of the *Annals of Tigernach* (which are deficient at this period), gives a similar but more detailed account of the event.

Todd, in a note to his *Introduction to the War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, p. 51, has the following:—"The story of his death as told by Cambrensis, is refuted by Lynch, *Cambrensis Eversus*, vol. iii., p. 287 (Kelly's edit.) and was disbelieved by Colgan, *Act. SS.*, p. 509, n. 4. But the legend was too tempting to be omitted by Keating."



CHAPTER IV.

BRIAN BORU AND ARMAGH.

Armagh pillaged by Amelanus—Succession of Prelates in the Ninth Century—Mælbrighte quells a tumult in Armagh—The city stormed and pillaged—Sacked again by Godfrid—Sitric, king of Dublin, defeated by the Men of Munster—Brian Boru makes an Offering at Armagh—Battle of Clontarf—Brian's Death—He is buried at Armagh.

Supplementary Notes—Entry made in the *Book of Armagh* in presence of Brian Boru—His last Will and Testament.

FETHGNA succeeded Dermot O'Tighernan in the See of Armagh in 852. In the same year, the Danes of Ulster had, as we have already stated, pillaged Armagh on Sunday, July the tenth. He himself was doomed to be again a spectator of the horrors inflicted on his people by their inveterate enemies. The Norwegian Amhlaoibh (or Amelanus) had arrived at Waterford, in 853, with a large fleet and army, and after various conflicts with Melachlin, king of Ireland, and with his successor Aedh Fair-grey, had succeeded in re-establishing the authority of the Danes in Leinster and Munster. Determined to extend and secure his dominion in the north of the kingdom also, this chieftain landed in Ulster, with a considerable army, and, as the people of Armagh had again expelled their foreign tyrants, he marched with his whole force to that city. Armagh was again stormed, pillaged, and set on fire by the victorious Ostmen. One thousand of the native troops and citizens were slain on the spot, or left miserably wounded to perish in the flames.

The monarch of Ireland soon avenged the injuries which the people of Armagh had thus sustained. In a severe action fought in 866, in the neighbourhood of Lough Foyle, he completely routed Amelanus, who lost in the field of battle twelve hundred men and forty officers.

On the sixth of October, 874, Fethgna, archbishop of Armagh, died.

	Succeeded	Died
Ainmire	A.D. 874	875 [879]
Cathasach, son of Robartach.....	875	883

He was succeeded by Maelcobha, son of Crummael, who died of old age in the year 885. This prelate, in the year 879, had been seized, and detained for some time by the Danes as a prisoner.

[Maelcobha, son of Crummael, succeeded in 874, was deposed in favour of Ainmire in 877, and was re-installed on the death of Cathasach in 883, and died two years afterwards.

Ainmire was intruded into the primacy in 877, and died in 879. Another intruder followed in the person of Cathasach, son of Crunnmael (and brother of Maelcobha), who died in 883.]

The next in succession was Maelbrihte, son of Tornan, of regal lineage, being the thirteenth in descent from Niall the Great. He had been abbot of Derry and bishop of Raphoe, and was promoted to Armagh in 885. This prelate possessed uncommon erudition, and was denominated "the ornament of Europe." He was a man of inflexible justice, and was chosen by the princes and nobles of the country as their common umpire in every private or political contest.

Such was the benevolence of this excellent man, that in the year 913 he travelled to Munster to redeem a captive British pilgrim from slavery.

In 893, a tumult was excited in Armagh, at the Feast of Pentecost, by Aided, son of Laigne, king of Ulidia, and Domnall, son of Aedh, prince of Oileach, of the family of the O'Neills. The latter, at the head of the people of Cenel-Eoghain (Tyrone), and the former, at the head of those of Ulidia (Down), disturbed the public tran-

quillity. This factious contest was finally quelled by the interference of Archbishop Maelbrihte. That prelate deemed it necessary to punish the rioters for the marked irreverence which they had manifested towards the Church of God, and their open disrespect to Saint Patrick. He therefore mulcted the offending Ulidians in a fine of two hundred oxen, exacted hostages for their future good conduct, and caused four of the most active ringleaders to be executed on a gallows. Precisely in the same manner, he punished the opposing faction, the Cenel-Eoghain sept.¹

The power of the Church at this period and the voluntary revenue paid to the successor of Saint Patrick may in some measure be estimated by this extraordinary exercise of authority. The septs which submitted to the primate's *fiat* in this humble manner were very powerful. That of Cenel-Eoghain, or Tir-Eoghain (Tyrone) was so called from Eoghan (or Owen), a son of Niall the Great. The palace of Oilech (or Ailech-Neid) was situated in the peninsula of Inishowen.

A.D. 893, Armagh was stormed and pillaged by the Danes of Lough Foyle. Again in 895, the Danes of Dublin, under their leader, Iron-Knee, entered Armagh, despoiled the city, destroyed part of the Cathedral, levelled several sacred edifices to the earth, and then withdrew, taking with them seven hundred and ten captives.²

In the year 898, Aided, son of Laigne, king of Ulidia, was treacherously slain by his associates. The Danes of Lough Foyle, taking advantage of this event, entered Armagh, seized Cumascach, king of Lecale, Co. Down, slew his son Hugh, and pillaged the city.

A.D. 907, Cernachan, son of Duilgen, heir-apparent of Oriors, perpetrated, says Colgan, sacrilegious violence in the Cathedral of Armagh, from which he dared to remove a certain captive who had fled thither for refuge. He afterwards drowned his unfortunate victim in Loch-Cirr, which lies westward of the city. Cernachan himself, five years later, was seized by Niall Black-Knee, then king of Tir-Owen, and afterwards, in 916, monarch of Ireland, and drowned in the same lake, as a punishment for his crime.³

About this period, Cormac Mac Cuilenain, king of Munster, and

lineal descendant of Aengus, the first Christian monarch of that province, bequeathed to the abbey of Armagh twenty-four ounces of gold and twenty-four of silver. This monarch is the reputed author of the Psalter of Cashel.

In 912, Armagh was much damaged by fire.^b

A.D. 921, Godfrid, grandson of Imar, a Danish prince, stormed Dublin. Thence he proceeded with a great army to Armagh, which he sacked, according to the Annals, on the tenth of November, the Saturday before the festival of Saint Martin. He, however, spared the churches, the Culdees, and the sick and infirm. In 923, Dublinter, a priest of Armagh, suffered martyrdom in Cell-Sleibhe (Killeevy, county Armagh), at the hands of the Danes of Carlingford Lough.^c

On the twenty-second of February, 927, Primate Maelbrihte departed this life, and was succeeded in the see by Joseph, a learned anchorite, who was consecrated in the same year, and died in 936.^d He was succeeded by Mael-Patrick, son of Maeltuile, who ruled the see five months, and died at an advanced age, in the same year as Joseph.

A.D. 935.—Conor, son of Domnald, heir-apparent of Ailech-Neid, in Inis-Eoghain, was interred with great funeral pomp, in the Cemetery of the Kings at Armagh.^e

In the year 936, Catasach II., son of Dulgen, of Drumterraig, succeeded Mael-Patrick in the see, and died in the year 957.^f

A.D. 943.—On Sunday, the twenty-sixth February, Murchard [of the Leather Cows], prince of Ailech, was slain at Clonkeen, county Louth, by Blaccard, the son of Godfrid, chief of the Danes. That prince was the son of Niall Black-Knee, King of Ireland. On the day after his decease, the Danes marched into Armagh, and sacked the city.

It is said by various Annalists that about the middle of the tenth century, Ceallachan of Cashel, son of Buadachan, and king of Munster, was imprisoned by the Danes in the city of Armagh. The Annals of Ulster have not recorded this event, but state that he was forcibly brought by Murchard (of the Leather Cows) to do homage to Donough, king of Ireland, in 941, yet as the story is very circumstantially detailed by Mac Curtin, Keating, O'Halloran, and

others, I deem it necessary to submit it to the judgment of my readers, in as few words as possible :—

The territories of this warlike king had been invaded by a very formidable and rapacious body of Danish troops. Ceallachan met and repelled the enemy at the head of his Momonian army. The valiant prince, Cineidi (Kennedy), marched to his aid with a choice corps of veteran Dalcassians. Thus reinforced, he defeated the enemy in fourteen pitched battles, and slew Amblaobh (Amlave), one of the Danish generals, in single combat.³

Sitric, King of the Dublin Ostmen, terrified by the warlike exploits of the prince, sought to overthrow by stratagem the enemy whom he had in vain assailed by force. Under this idea, he misrepresented the views of the Munster king to Donchad, the monarch of Ireland, and thus induced him to join a conspiracy against Ceallachan as their common enemy.

The Danish sovereign knew that the Munster prince was deeply in love with his sister Bevina (or Bebhinn), who, together with Sitric's wife, had once been his prisoner in Waterford. Under the pretext therefore of forming a perpetual alliance with Ceallachan, he offered that princess to him in marriage. Kennedy, to whom Ceallachan had communicated this offer, remonstrated with him on the subject, and stated that it was dangerous to trust the promises of an enemy and a heathen. In the king's mind, however, love was omnipotent. After some consultation, it was determined that a guard, consisting of eighty of the young nobles of Munster, should accompany him to Dublin, and that the Momonian army should be in readiness to rescue him from Sitric, if that monarch should appear to meditate treachery.

With this precaution, Ceallachan proceeded on his journey as far as Cillmhanion (or Cell-Maighnen), now Kilmainham, where he was met and treacherously surrounded by a strong body of armed men, with Sitric at their head. A desperate conflict ensued, during which Ceallachan and Donchuan, the son of Kennedy, were taken prisoners, and almost all the rest of the party slain.

Sitric, probably dreading the advance of the Momonian army, detained his prisoners but a short time in Dublin, and then hurried



THE NAVAN FORT.



ST BRIGIT'S WELL.



KING NIALL CAILLE'S GRAVE.



RUINS OF FRANCISCAN ABBEY.



them to Ulster, and confined them in the city of Armagh, where the Danes possessed a formidable force.

Meanwhile Kennedy, the regent of Munster, placed the provincial army under the command of Donough O'Keeffe, king of Fearmoighe [barony of Condons and Clongibbons, county Cork], an experienced officer; and equipped a fleet, which he entrusted to Failbhe the Fair, prince of Desmond, and high-admiral of Munster.

The army proceeded through Connaught, and in its progress plundered territories of Murtoch, one of the princes of that country, who, out of revenge, gave notice of its advance to the Danes of Armagh.

Sitric, thus informed of the advance of the Munster army, left a strong garrison in Armagh, and marched with his main force to Dundalk, where a fleet, which he fitted out, lay at anchor.

Meanwhile the Munster men proceeded against Armagh, assailed the city at four different parts in the same instant, took it by storm, and put all the Danish garrison and their adherents to the sword. After this they marched to Dundalk. Here they learned that Sitric, not daring to give them battle, had hurried Ceallachan and Donchuan on board his fleet, and had bound them to the mast of the admiral's ship. And now the Danish monarch was preparing to set sail with his army and the captive princes, when the Munster fleet appeared at the harbour's mouth, and assailed his vessels. The gallant admiral, Failbhe the Fair, boarded Sitric's ship, and after a desperate conflict liberated Ceallachan. Sitric and his two brothers, Tor and Magnus, were slain. On the side of the Munster men fell the valiant admiral himself, with Conor (or Conchobar) and Lochlen, princes of Corcomroe and Burren.

A very interesting account of the death of Sitric is given by some of our historians. It is said that when Failbhe the Fair had been slain on board the Danish admiral's ship, Fiongall, one of his officers, continued the battle with desperate resolution. At last, perceiving that the Munster men were likely to be overpowered by the superior numbers of the enemy, he rushed impetuously forward, and, seizing Sitric in his arms, jumped into the sea, where they both perished. This example was imitated by Conall and Seagda, by whom Tor and Magnus were destroyed in a similar manner.⁴

In this battle the Danes were totally defeated, and their fleet annihilated. Ceallachan regained his liberty and his throne.

By these important events, Armagh was liberated for a short time from the tyrannic power of the Danes. New hordes, however, of Ostmen soon poured into Ireland. To some of these the Irish both of Ulster and of Connaught gave battle at divers times, with varying success. In one of the predatory excursions, Armagh was plundered, and the surrounding country ravaged, by the barbarians who marched against it, under Godfrey, commander of the Danes at Loch-Cluain.

In the year 957, Muiredach, son of Fergus, of Slieve Gullion (Upper Orior barony, county Armagh), succeeded Cathasach II. in the see of Armagh. He retired, or was deposed, in 965, and died in 966. Dubdalethe II., son of Cellach, succeeded in 965, assumed the presidency of the Columban Order in 989, and died, in the eighty-third year of his age, on the second of June, 998. The statement of the Annals that the presidency was assumed *by advice of the Men of Ireland and Scotland* shows that he became abbot of the Columban abbeys in Ireland and of, A.D. 978 [980], the abbey of Iona. His successor, Muirecan (of Bodoney, county Tyrone), was deposed, or resigned, in favour of Mælmuire, son of Eochaidh [Eochy], in 1001.

It is stated by our historians, that in the year 956, Congalach, monarch of Ireland [944—956], was overpowered by an allied army of Danes, Norsemen, and Leinster men, and slain in battle. The Annals of Ulster, however, assert that he was killed in battle, at Tiguiran (a place which remains unidentified), in Leinster.

A.D. 978 [980], Donald, the son of Murchard [of the Leather Cowls], and grandson of Niall Black-knee, who was the sixteenth and last monarch of the Tyrone line, or Northern O'Neills, died at Armagh (whence he was called *Donald of Armagh*), after having reigned twenty-four years. O'Connor, however, [rightly, in accordance with the native Annals] refers this event to the year 980, and O'Flaherty states that his reign terminated in that year.

In the year 996, the city, with its churches and other edifices, was again destroyed by fire generated by lightning.^a

Mælmuire, son of Eochaidh, who had succeeded Muirecan in

the see, governed it till the period of his death, on May 30, Friday before Whit Sunday, 1020. This learned prelate is styled in the Annals of the Four Masters, "the head of the clergy of Western Europe—the principal of all the holy orders of the West—a most wise and erudite doctor."

A.D. 1012, a pestilence raged in Armagh, from the Feast of All-Souls till the commencement of May. Many pious and learned men and many members of the academy fell the victims of this deadly disease.

In the year 1005, King Brian Boruma [*of the Cattle-cess*; pronounced Boru] marched from Cenel-Eoghain to Armagh, where he remained a week, and presented at the great altar of the church a collar of gold, which weighed twenty ounces.⁵

From Armagh, Brian the Great proceeded home with the hostages of Ireland; in the following year, he marched through Connaught, Tirconnell, Tyrone, and Ulidia; then to Castlekieran, county Meath, where he met Mælmuire, and granted the plenary primatial right of Armagh.⁴ Here the nobility of Ulster delivered hostages to him, as pledges of their future obedience. Again in Tirconnell [in 1014], his title to the monarchy of Ireland was publicly acknowledged, and homage paid to him by the princes of the land. In the south of Ireland, his claim to the sovereignty of the kingdom had been admitted as far back as 1003.⁶

Brian was one of the most extraordinary men of the age in which he lived. He had, however, attained his thirty-seventh year before he manifested any decided superiority over the other princes and monarchs of the isle. He had reigned over Munster at least twenty-four years before his pre-eminent merit was rewarded with the sovereignty of Ireland. Sagacious, humane, pious, munificent, and valiant, he overcame his enemies as much by the splendour of his character and the glory resulting from his philanthropic acts, as by military achievements and force of arms. He was at once the lawgiver and the hero of his country. His bodily endowments were in perfect consonance with his mental powers. Active and persevering, he was indefatigable in war, and even at the age of seventy-four, he was seen nobly combating in his country's cause.

Such was the man who, at the famous battle of Clontarf, freed his people from the insufferable tyranny of the Danes.

Maolmordha Mac Murrough, king of Leinster, had deemed himself insulted at the court of Brian Boruma. Galled with the supposed injury, he meditated vengeance, and therefore formed an alliance with the Danes, the enemies and oppressors of his country. At the head of a mixed corps of Ostmen and Leinster men, he wasted and pillaged the territories of Malachy II., seventeenth and last monarch of Ireland of the Southern O'Neills, or clan Colman (kings of Meath, as heirs-apparent), who ascended to the throne in 980, was deposed by Brian in 1003 (and resumed title of king of Meath), restored to the sovereignty after the battle of Clontarf, and died Sunday, September the second, 1022. That sovereign immediately formed a coalition with the king of Ireland against the common enemy. The valiant Brian soon appeared at the head of a formidable force, determined to conquer or perish in his country's cause. But the Ostmen had received vast reinforcements from Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and the Orkney Isles, and, relying on their military ardour, were confident of victory. Brian, whom no difficulty could deter from action, and no danger appal, marched into Leinster at the head of his troops, about the beginning of April, 1014. On the twenty-third of that month (Good Friday), the united army of Ostmen and Leinster men were marshalled for battle at Cluain-tarbh (Clontarf), in three distinct corps. Brian viewed the enemy's arrangements with the eye of an experienced commander, skilfully marshalled his troops, rode from rank to rank with his crucifix in his left hand and his sword in his right; and exhorted them to fight manfully for their religion and their country.

Thus encouraged, the great body of the Irish army rushed impetuously upon the enemy. Malachy, king of Meath, is said, upon insufficient evidence, to have treacherously withdrawn his men from the field of battle, at the very commencement of the conflict. The Danes met and received the assault with the most determined resolution. Each of the combatants fought as if he deemed the final issue of the contest rested solely on his own personal prowess. As the warriors who combated in the front ranks fell, those who

occupied the next line stepped eagerly into the vacant place. The battle raged and the victory remained in awful suspense from the dawn of day till late in the evening. At that period, the Danish lines were broken by the reiterated attacks of their assailants, and the dispirited troops fled in utter confusion and dismay. The few who dared to resist, fell like grass before the mower's scythe; the rest were scattered like autumnal leaves by the tempest which pursues and mingles with the flying foliage. The victorious Irish drove them to their ships, and the roads were covered with the dying and the dead.

In this battle the traitor Maolmordha and three thousand of his Leinster troops paid with their lives the forfeit of their crimes. The Danes themselves lost eleven thousand men. On the side of the Irish also the loss was immense. Brian himself fell in his own tent in the very arms of victory, in the seventy-third year of his age. The particulars of his death are thus related in the "*Leabhar Oiris*," or Annals of Ireland:—

"As soon as Corcoran, one of Brian's assistants, perceived the armies so closely engaged that neither Danes nor Irish were any longer distinguishable, he beseeches Brian to mount on horseback; 'I will not,' says Brian, 'for I shall not survive this engagement: but go thou, together with the rest of my attendants, take horse, fly, and escape; announce that I bequeath my soul to God, and to the intercession of Saint Patrick, my body to Armagh, and my blessing to my son, Donogh O'Brian. I moreover bequeath twelve score oxen to Armagh. Proceed this night to Swords of Colum-Cille, and let the clergy come for my body; to-morrow, convey it to Duleek, sacred to Saint Cianan, thence to Louth. And let Maelmuire, son of Eochaidh, archbishop of Armagh and successor to Saint Patrick, accompanied by his clergy, come hither for my remains.'"

"I perceive a body of men advancing towards us, says the officer. 'What sort of men are they?' says Brian. 'Blue, stark-naked men,' says he. 'They are Danes completely armed,' says Brian: and rising from his seat, he seizes his sword, and sees the troop approach him, with Brodar at their head, quite cased in armour, his eyes and feet excepted. Brian draws his sword, and

cuts off Brodar's left leg from his knee, and his foot from the right. He immediately receives a blow of an axe from Brodar on the head, kills in the meantime the next man to Brodar, cuts off the head of the latter, and instantly falls himself."

Thus ended the active and patriotic life of the noble Brian, but his glory survives and his name is immortal. Like Leonidas and Epaminondas, he fell combating in his country's cause, grasping victory even in death.

The last request of the dying hero was not in vain. His mortal remains, pursuant to his wish, rest in Armagh. It is recorded that Maelmuire, son of Eochaidh, primate of Armagh, and many of the elders of the church, proceeded with the sacred relics to the monastery of Saint Columba, at Sord (Swords), and from thence they removed the bodies of Brian Boruma and Murchad, his son, which had been deposited there in state. These, with the heads of Conaing, his nephew, and Mothla O'Phelan, prince of the Desies,⁶ were conveyed to Armagh, where the remains of the warriors lay in great funeral state, attended by the clergy, during twelve successive nights. Psalms, hymns and prayers were chanted for their souls. Brian was buried on the north side⁷ of the great church, in a stone (or hewn marble) coffin, placed by itself. Murchad, the heads of Conaing, &c., were interred on the south side. All the remains were deposited (according to the Annals of Ulster) in a new tomb. Brian's surviving son, Donogh, returned to Kilmainham, and thence sent jewels and other treasures, as pious offerings to Saint Patrick's successor and his subordinate clergy.

¹ Annals of the Four Masters ² Triad Thaum, p. 296 ³ Book of Munster, apud O'Halloran, vol. 2, p. 208—Wars of Ceallachan Caisil, *ibid.* ⁴ Keating, vol. 2, p. 249. ⁵ Annals of Innisfallen.

⁶ MacLaig's Life of Brian Boruimhe, apud MacCurtin ⁷ Apud O'Connor, p. 249. ⁸ Annals of Innisfallen.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

a IRON KNEE ENTERED ARMAGH.—A.D. 895. Armagh was pillaged by Danes from Dublin, *i.e.*, by Iron-knee, when they carried 710 persons into captivity.

Pity, O Saint Patrick,

That thy prayer did not protect [it].

[When, the Danes with axes

Were smiting thy oratory *Annals of Ulster.*

b ARMAGH DAMAGED BY FIRE.—“A.D. 915. —Armagh was burned by lightning on the fifth of the Kalends of May (April 27), *i.e.*, its southern half, together with the (*church of*) *Toi*, and with the (*church of*) *Sabhall*, and with the *cucen* (kitchen), and with the entire of the *Lis Abbaid* (enclosure of the abbots).”—*Annals of Ulster.*

c “A.D. 924.—Muredach, son of Domhnall, tanist-abbot of Armagh, and chief (Patrician) steward of the Southern Hy Neill, and successor of Buíte, the son of Bronach (abbot of Monasterboice), head of the counsel of all the Men of Bregia, laity and clergy, departed this life on the fifth day of the Kalends of December” (Nov. 28). *Annals of Ulster.*

d A.D. 936.—“Joseph, princeps (abbot) Aird-Macha, episcopus et sapiens et ancorta, in senectute bona quievit.”

“Mæl-Patraic, mac Mæleuille, princeps Aird-Macha, in senectute quievit. *Annals of Ulster.*”

“Henceforth, and down to the beginning of the twelfth century, the accounts of the succession to the see of Armagh are greatly confused and very obscure. It had already got into possession of one powerful family, the members of which held it for about 200 years, reckoning from the death of St. Maelbrigid, who died in 926 or 927, until the accession of the great St. Malachy. This family was most probably that of the dynasts of the district of Armagh, whose ancestor, Daire, had granted to St. Patrick the ground on which the church and other religious buildings in the city had been erected. And it is remarkable, that the two first bishops of this long succession, *viz.*, Joseph and Mael Patrick, are styled *princes of Armagh*; a title which strongly indicates that they were really chieftains as well as bishops of the city. After them care was taken the see should not be con-

ferred except on members of the ruling family. . . . It seems, however, that these lay usurpers retained regular bishops to act for them as suffragans, while they enjoyed the church livings; and hence we find in the subsequent period several persons called by some writers bishops of Armagh, and omitted by others.”—*Lanigan: Eccles. Hist. of Ireland*, vol. iii., p. 382.

[To assert that *princeps* signifies *chieftain* in the above and similar entries in the native *Annals*, is specious, but groundless. *Princeps*—Abbot is employed over eighty times, from A.D. 682 to 948, in the *Annals of Ulster*. The abstract term, *principatus*—abbacy occurs five times.]

e A.D. 951.—“Keliu, an anchoret of Armagh, died in 951, to which year is assigned also the death of a celebrated Irish chronographer, Flann Hua Becain, archdeacon [herenagh] of Drumchiffe; and in 952, Colga, likewise an anchoret of Armagh.”—*Lanigan: Eccles. Hist. of Ireland*, vol. iii., p. 381.

f CATHASACH II.—“The great abuse of mere laymen calling themselves archbishops of Armagh did not begin in the early part of the usurpation, nor is there any appearance of it until the commencement of the eleventh century. Cathasach the second, who died in 957, was a real bishop, and so was his successor, Muiredach, son of Fergus, who is said to have held the see for nine years; after which he was deposed in 966. After him was Dubdalethe the second, who died on the 2nd of June, A.D. 998, in the 83rd year of his age, and thirty-third of his consecration. It is very remarkable that Dubdalethe was elected in 989 by the Columbans, both of Ireland and North Britain, supreme ruler of all their monasteries; and hence he has been called *comorban* not only of St. Patrick but likewise of St. Columba.” *Lanigan: Eccles. Hist. of Ireland*, vol. iii., p. 385.

[The consecration of Dubdalethe is not given in the *Annals*; whilst, having regard to the well-known characteristic of the Columban Order, his election as president

falls little, if anything, short of conclusive proof that he was merely presbyter-abbot. Moreover, during his period (955—998), there were two bishops in Armagh, Cathasach, son of Murchadan, who died in 966, and Maelmuire, son of Scanlan, who died in 994.]

g GENERATED BY LIGHTNING.—“A.D. 996—Armagh was burned by lightning, so that there was not left unburned a belfry, or house of seniors in the Close (*Rath*).—*Annals of Innisfallen*.

Lightning seized Armagh, so that it left neither oratory, nor stone-church, nor porch, nor sanctuary, without burning.—*Annals of Ulster*.

Armagh was burned, both houses, and stone-church, and belfry and sanctuary—all were destroyed; so that there never came in Ireland, and shall not come to day of doom, similar damage.—*Annals of Tigernach*.

h PRIMATIAL RIGHT OF ARMAGH.—A most remarkable entry, made in presence of Brian Boru on this occasion, has been preserved in the *Book of Armagh*. The entry was intended as a royal sanction to promulgate the *Law of Patrick* (relative to cess and donations) in Munster. The writer was apparently unaware that the promulgation had been done far more effectively nearly two centuries previously, by Felim, king of Munster, and Primate Artri (823). He has been gratuitously identified with Mælsuthain O'Carroll, king of West Munster, who died in 1010. It runs as follows (folio 16b):

Sanctus Patri[c]ius, iens ad cælum, mandavit totum fructum laboris sui, tam baptismi tam causarum, quam elemosinarum, deferendum esse apostolicæ urbi que Scotice nominatur Ardd Macha. Sic repari in bebliotheca Scotorum. Ego scripsi, id est, Calvus Perennis, in conspectu Brian, imperatoris Scotorum, et quod scripsi, finivit pro omnibus regibus Maceriae.

Saint Patrick, going to Heaven, commanded the whole fruit of his labour, as well as of baptism, as of [ecclesiastical] causes and of alms, to be carried to the apostolic city, which is called in Irish ARDD MACHA. So I have found in [this]

book-collection [Book of Armagh] of the Scots [*i.e.*, the Irish]. I have written [this], that is [1] Calvus Perennis [*lit. Bald for ever, i.e., Mael-Suthain*], in presence of Brian, Emperor of the Scots; and what I have written, he determined for all the kings of Maceria [*i.e.*, Cashel or Munster].

The place referred to in the Book of Armagh is the *Book of the Angel* (*Liber Angeli* [*sic*]), a tissue of fact and fiction respecting the primatial rights of Armagh, represented as delivered by an angel on the part of God to St. Patrick. It will be found with translation, Appendix A. *Maceria*, stone-wall, is the equivalent of Irish *Caisel*, stone-fort.

For a chronological resume of the doings of Brian, see *Annals of Ulster*, Index, s.v. *Brian, son of Cennetigh*.

i LAST BEQUEST OF BRIAN BORU.—“Oh God! thou boy,” said Brian, “retreat becomes us not, and I myself know that I shall not leave this place alive; and what would it profit me if I did? The Aibhell of Craig-Liath (*the banshee*) came to me last night,” said he, “and she told me that I should be killed this day; and she said to me that the first of my sons I should see this day would be he who should succeed me in the sovereignty; and that is Donnchadh; and go thou, Laidean,” said he, “and take these steeds with thee, and receive my blessing; and carry out my will after me, viz., my body and my soul to God and to Saint Patrick, and that I am to be carried to Ard-Macha; and my blessing to Donnchadh, for discharging my last bequests after me, viz., twelve score cows to be given to the Comharba of Patrick and the Society of Ard-Macha; and its own proper dues to Cill da Lua [Killaloe] and the churches of Mumhain; and he knows that I have not wealth of gold or silver, but he is to pay them in return for my blessing, and for his succeeding me.”—*War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, edited by Todd, p. 201.

j BURIED IN THE NORTH OF THE CHURCH.—People slain in battle were buried by the ancient Irish on the north side of the church, which is still called in Irish “the side of the slain men.”



CHAPTER V.

SAINT CELSUS AND SAINT MALACHY.

Succession of Primates in the eleventh century—Accession of Celsus—He holds a Synod at Fiadh-Mic-Aengusa—Great conflagration in Armagh—Celsus makes peace between the people of Munster and Connaught—He appoints St. Malachy as his successor—Accession of St. Malachy—The intruder, Murrough—Zeal of St. Malachy—He resigns the see to Gelasius—His first journey to Rome—He returns as Papal Legate—His second journey and death.

Supplementary Notes—Armagh burned—Miracle in Armagh—Prices at; Pilgrimage to—Intrusion and Ordination of Celsus—Division of Lent in Ancient Irish Church—Native feuds, outrages, and reconciliations—Visit of Celsus to Ardpatrik; Patrician *Stewards*—Descent and genealogical table of Armagh lay intruders.



IN the Year 1020, on May 30 (the Monday before Whit Sunday), a great portion of Armagh was again consumed by fire. The conflagration extended as far as the great tower, or citadel, in which, however, the library alone sustained material injury. The great stone church, the Toi, the belfry and bells, the old preaching chair, and various other public edifices, were burned.* The students' books in their private apartments, the master's chair, and much treasure perished in the flames.

Mælmuire, son of Eochy, who mourned incessantly over the ruin of the city and the miseries of the people, died a victim of anguish of heart, four days later. He was succeeded in the same year by his son, Amalgaid (Auley), who, like his father, was thrust into the

succession by the family sept of Oneilland East. This coarb made a visitation at the commencement of his period [1031] through Munster, and died, after an incumbency of twenty-nine years, in 1049.^b During his intrusion, the episcopal functions were exercised, first, by bishop Mæltuile (who, to judge from Celsus having been consecrated in his twenty-seventh year, may have succeeded bishop Mælmuire, son of Scanlan, in 994); and, on his decease, in 1032, by Hugh O'Furrey.

He was succeeded "in the abbacy," on the very day of his death, by the third intruder, his brother, Dubdalethe III., Lector of Armagh. The lectorship was assumed by bishop O'Furrey. The latter died, on June the eighteenth, 1056, in the seventy-fifth year of his age. A quatrain in his praise is given in the *Annals of Ulster*.

Dubdalethe wrote *Annals of Ireland*, quoted in the *Annals of Ulster*, and an account of the bishops of Armagh. His true character is revealed by an event which occurred in 1055. In that year, at Martry, Meath, he won a battle, in which many were slain, over O'Melaghlin, abbot of Clonard and Kells. The discreditable fray, there can be little doubt, arose from forcible exaction of the primatial cess. His next "war" took place in Armagh, respecting "the abbacy," and resulted disastrously. He was defeated and deposed by his rival and clansman, Cumuscach O'Herudain, and died "in good penance," on the first of September, 1064.

Cumuscach O'Herudain, who, in all probability, remained a layman, resigned his pretensions in the same year, 1064, and died in 1074, "head of the poor of Ireland, after excellent penance."—*Annals of Ulster*.

In 1064, Mælisu, the fourth intruder, son of Amalgaid, succeeded his uncle, Dubdalethe, and governed the see twenty-seven years. He visited Munster in 1068, and died at Armagh on the eighteenth of December, 1091.

A.D. 1022, Malachy, son of Donald, king of Ireland, died, as already stated, in the seventy-third year of his age. He was buried with splendid ceremonies at Armagh. It is said that in the year 1027, a staff denominated "the Staff of Jesus," which, as was alleged, had been presented by Christ in person to Saint Patrick, was broken.'

It is also recorded that, in the year 1033, the shrine which was believed to contain some relics of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, emitted blood, on the altar of St. Patrick, in the presence of a crowd of spectators who had assembled to witness so extraordinary a phenomenon.⁶

A.D. 1074, on the Tuesday after the festival of Saint Philip and Saint James [May 6], Armagh was wasted with fire. The Close (*rath*) and the churches with the bells were destroyed. The city was again rebuilt, but in the year 1091, the Close, from its middle part towards the west, was materially injured by fire, and on the twenty-ninth of August, 1092, a street of Trian Saxon and a street of Trian Mor (*Great Third*) were burned; another fire greatly damaged the city in the succeeding year.

A.D. 1091, Donald, son of Amalgaid, succeeded his brother Mælisu in the see. In the following year, he made a visitation through Cenel Eoghain, and another through Munster, in 1094.

A.D. 1096, Mæl-Patrick, son of Ermedach, bishop (without territorial jurisdiction) of Armagh, and apparently successor of O'Furrey, died. His place remained vacant until 1099, when, on Pentecost Sunday (May 29), Caincomrac O'Boyle "received the episcopacy of Armagh," according to the *Annals of Ulster*. Whence it can be inferred that Donald likewise was not archbishop.

A.D. 1101, at the intercession of this prelate, Donald O'Loughlin, king of Ailech, liberated Donagh O'Haughey, king of Ulidia, from captivity and chains. Peace was made between the contending parties, and ratified in the cathedral by solemn oaths, sworn on the Staff of Jesus. Donagh gave his son and foster-brother as hostages for his fidelity to his new ally. Donald also, in 1102, negotiated a truce of one year's continuance between Donald O'Loughlin and Murrough O'Brien, king of Southern Ireland, which was ratified by hostages given by both kings into custody of the primate. On the expiration of the truce, war was renewed. O'Brien invaded Ulidia; visited Armagh, and made a donation of eight ounces of gold, and promised eight score cows. He was decisively defeated by O'Loughlin, near Armagh, in 1103; in 1104, the latter pillaged Iveagh and the country as far as Tara; the former, the

plains of Louth. In 1105, our prelate, anxious to preserve the public tranquillity inviolate, proceeded to Dublin to mediate a final treaty between the parties. On his return towards Armagh, he sickened and died at Duleek, on Saturday, the twelfth of August, 1105. His body was conveyed to Armagh, and there honourably interred. There is yet extant a letter addressed to him by Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, and another by Anselm, his successor.^a

Cellach, the sixth intruder, son of Aid (who died in 1095), son of Mælisu (the primate who died in 1091), was, on the death of Donald, elected (*i.e.*, intruded) by the "Men of Ireland," and received Holy Orders on the festival of Saint Adamnan, the twenty-third of September, 1105.^d His name has been ineptly latinized "Celsus," and by this denomination he is generally known. He received his education (if Brian Twine and Bale may be credited) partly at Oxford, and is said to have been universally skilled in the circle of the sciences.^b

A.D. 1106.—In the second year of his primacy, he made a visitation through Cenel-Eoghain, and according to an established mode of taxation, received from each district containing what was denominated a senary of persons, one cow; and from each ternary, a heifer; and from each quaternary, half an ounce of silver; with other gifts and oblations, offered in the simple, submissive spirit of the times. He also this year visited Munster, and from each cantred or district (of a hundred villages or hamlets), he obtained seven cows, seven sheep, and half an ounce of silver, with many other gifts. During this circuit, on the death of O'Boyle, the suffragan, he was consecrated archbishop.

In the year 1111, a great synod was held Fiadh-Mic-Ængusa, a place anciently called Coendruim, and at a later period Usnech.

At this synod, Celsus was present, together with Mælmurry O'Dunan, archbishop of Cashel, senior cleric of Ireland, fifty bishops, three hundred priests, and three thousand other ecclesiastics, by whom various laws were enacted for regulating the lives and manners of the clergy. Murrough O'Brien, king of Southern Ireland, and the nobles of Leth-Mogha [*half of Mogh*, southern half of Ireland], also attended this synod. (This name was given to the southern portion of Ireland in the second century, when the kingdom was divided

between Conn-Cedcathach (*of the hundred battles*), king of Ireland, and Mogh-Nuadhat (*thrall of Nuada*), king of Munster. The southern district, from the mouth of the Liffey to Galway, was allotted to Mogh, and thence called Leth-Mogha: the division north of that line fell to Conn, and was called Leth-Cuinn. These two divisions are accordingly called respectively Leth-Mogha and Leth-Cuinn.)

A.D. 1112, Celsus was this year compelled to witness the destruction of a great portion of his capital. The Close, two streets in Trian-Massain, and the third street of the district called Trian-Mor (*Great Third*) were wasted with flames, on March the twenty-third. Of these subdivisions of the city we shall treat more particularly in a subsequent part of this work.

In 1116, Celsus made a second visitation through Connaught: in the same year, the residence of the abbots and twenty houses around it were destroyed by fire.* In the year 1119, he ordained the famous Saint Malachy a priest.

In the year 1121, he was appointed bishop of Dublin by the common consent of the Irish and Danes, on the decease of Samuel O'Haingley, prelate of that see. It is probable that he only held the spirituals of this bishopric, by virtue of his primatial right during the vacancy; for, on the second of the following October, Gregory was consecrated bishop of Dublin.

On Friday, the fifth of the Ides of January (ninth of January), 1125, Celsus covered with tiles the roof of Armagh Cathedral, which during a period of one hundred and thirty years, after the fire by which it had been consumed in the year 995, had been only repaired in part.

In 1122, Malcolm O'Brolaghan, bishop of Armagh and successor of O'Boyle, died as pilgrim in the Hermitage of Derry, whence, it appears, that the frequent and prolonged absence of the primate necessitated the continuance of the office of suffragan.

In 1126, Celsus, on October the twenty-first, consecrated the church of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, then rebuilt by Imar O'Hagan.* After that period he was greatly occupied in allaying the feuds and animosities by which the princes and chieftains of the country were then agitated, and on this occasion was absent from Armagh

a year and one month. He succeeded in 1128, in making a truce or peace for a year and a-half between the people of Munster and Connaught.

On Monday, the first of April, 1129, this prelate, whom the Annals style "the eminent bishop of Western Europe," died at Ard-Patrick,² in the county of Limerick, in the fiftieth year of his age, and twenty-fourth of his prelacy, and was interred at Lismore, on Thursday, the fourth of April. He was but twenty-six years of age when he was intruded into the primacy, and was probably the youngest archbishop who had attained that dignity, in the see of Armagh.

Hanmer, in his Chronicle, asserts that Celsus was a married man,³ and we learn from native sources, that he belonged to the regal family which claimed an hereditary title to the primacy. Saint Bernard, however, tells us that, on the approach of death, he manifested great anxiety that Malachy O'Morgair, bishop of Connor, a man having no family connection with the previous primates, should succeed him in the see, and therefore sent him his staff in token that he should be his successor.⁴ To the same effect, he ardently exhorted the princes of the country and besought them as they respected the representative of Saint Patrick and that saint himself, to establish Malachy as their metropolitan in full primatial power.

Notwithstanding all this, his cousin, Murrough, son of Donald,⁵ and grandson of Amalgaid, great-grandfather of Celsus, usurped the see, which, says Saint Bernard in his life of Malachy, he did not rule as a bishop, but "cumbrously oppressed as a tyrant." The see had, in fact, during fifteen generations or successions of bishops, been monopolized by a single princely family or tribe, as their hereditary right. Eight married men, "literate indeed, but not," says Saint Bernard, "ordained," had been predecessors to Celsus, who belonged himself to the same family; and to these causes, that zealous man attributes the decay of religion which had taken place in Ireland.

Murrough maintained himself in the see for three years. After this period he held a kind of disputed possession of the primacy, against Malachy, for two years more. He was finally evicted, repented of [his] crime and died full of remorse, on the seventeenth of September, 1134. Notwithstanding his penitence, Saint Bernard

denounces him and his whole family or sept with everlasting damnation. In his life of Malachy, he seems to conceive that the very memory and race of the usurping dynasty had perished. The family, of which he speaks in such terms of abhorrence, were probably (according to the conjecture of Colgan) some of the lineal descendants of Daire, the original donor of Druimsallech to Saint Patrick, for the site of the city of Armagh. It is difficult to conceive that any branches of that family, or of any other princely sept of Ulster, had become extinct at so early a period.⁶

In the year 1134, Malachy, or Maelmoedoic O'Morgair, a man of illustrious parentage, succeeded the pseudo-primate, Murrough. This prelate, who was born in the year 1095, became in the fifteenth or sixteenth year of his age, a pupil to the celebrated abbot Imar O'Hagan, a learned, studious, retired, and pious man, who lived in a cell near the cathedral in Armagh. We have already seen that he built the church of SS. Peter and Paul, which was consecrated by Celsus in 1120. With him he continued for seven years, and after that period was placed under the tuition of Malchus, an able divine, who taught at Lismore, of which see he was afterwards bishop. In the year 1119, he was ordained priest by Celsus, and placed over the abbey of Bangor, which had been rebuilt by himself. In 1124, he was, by the same primate, consecrated bishop of Connor, a promotion which he accepted with reluctance. The people of his diocese, were, as Saint Bernard says, rude and barbarous; Christians in name, but Pagans in act. We are not, however, to infer from this description that these people were peculiarly rude; for the same author, prejudiced against the Irish nation, characterizes the whole people as brutal; and, in the very commencement of his life of Malachy, says that he no more derived barbarousness from his native soil, than fishes extract salt from their maternal sea.

Malachy discharged his pastoral duty with amazing patience, assiduity and zeal, and wrought such a reformation in the morals of his people as greatly endeared him to the meek and pious Celsus, primate of Armagh. On his death bed therefore, this learned divine not only nominated him his successor, but sent him his staff, in token of his appointment to this high office. Nay, he adjured those

that were present with him during his sickness, and commanded those that were absent (and particularly the kings, princes and elders of Munster), under the authority of Saint Patrick, the national apostle, to obey him as his successor.

Malachy, though elected archbishop by the suffrage of the clergy and the people, did not exercise his primatial rights, during the first year of Murrough's usurpation.

At the end of this period, he began to assume his due authority in the diocese of Armagh, rather overpowered by the persuasions of the clergy and the people than moved to the performance of this duty by his own inclination and judgment. He did not, however, venture, during the two succeeding years, to enter the city of Armagh, lest sudden and destructive tumults might have been excited by the powerful sept which supported their kinsman Murrough.

After the decease of Murrough, his relation, Nigel (Niall), brother of Celsus, assisted by the family faction, obtruded himself on the see, and, by exhibiting the Staff of Jesus and other relics of which he had robbed the church, obtained considerable support from the people. Nigel, however, was, in the same year, evicted by the princes, the prelates, and the nobility. He died in 1137.

In the year 1137, Malachy resigned the see to Gelasius, and retired to the bishopric of Down, where he had founded an abbey of Canons Regular. This diocese had anciently two episcopal sees, which some ambitious predecessor had united into one. Malachy, content with a competence, again divided it into two bishoprics, the first of which he gave to another prelate, and retained the second to himself.

In 1139, he went to Rome, and solicited Pope Innocent for two palliums, one for the see of Armagh, another for a new metropolitan church constituted by Celsus, probably Cashel. Saint Bernard asserts that Armagh had not yet possessed the pallium; but Jocelyn [without any authority] says the Pope had granted one to its first bishop, Saint Patrick. Be this as it may, Malachy was honourably received at the Papal court, and appointed Legate of Ireland. He was, however, informed that due solemnity must be used in granting

the palliums, which should be requested by the common suffrage of an Irish Council. This the Pope advised him to convene. He then placed his mitre on Malachy's head, presented him with the stole and maniple which he used in the celebration of divine service, and dismissed him with the apostolic benediction and the kiss of peace.

On his return to Ireland, he, in virtue of his legatine power, held many synods, changed the discipline of the church, and caused it more nearly to approximate to that of Rome. Much of his time was spent in erecting and repairing edifices dedicated to the worship of God. In this spirit he had, in the year 1137, rebuilt Saint Patrick's church, in Down. He also, about the year 1145, built an oratory of stone and lime at Bangor, said by some writers to have been the first of the kind seen in Ireland. From a passage in the works of Saint Bernard, it has been erroneously inferred that this was the first stone and lime building erected in this country.

In the year 1140, Malachy introduced the Cistercian Order into Ireland, under the advice of Saint Bernard. Settlements of monks of that Order were then made at Saul, Newry, Mellifont, Bective, Boyle, Baltinglass, Nenagh [county Limerick], and Cashel, with which Saint Bernard expresses himself to have been highly gratified.

In 1148, Malachy undertook another journey to Rome, to obtain the palliums, but expired on the way, at the abbey of Clairvaux, on the second of November, in the arms of his friend, Saint Bernard, who plaintively laments his death. He was in the fifty-fourth year of his age at the time of his death, and was buried in the monastery of Clairvaux;^{*} but, in the year 1194, some of his relics were translated to Ireland, and received with great honour in the abbey of Mellifont, as stated in the manuscript Annals of Saint Mary's Abbey, Dublin. His brother, Christian O'Morgair,[†] bishop of Clogher, died in the year 1138, and was buried at Armagh, in the abbey of Saint Peter and Saint Paul.

Malachy was a pious, learned, unassuming, and benevolent man. He was an author of some repute, and had written (*inter alia*) many epistles to Saint Bernard—"A Prophecy of the Popes of Rome"—*Constitutionum Communium*, lib. I.—*De Legibus Cælibatus*—*De Traditionibus*—*Vita Sancti Cuthberti*—*De Peccatis et Remediis*—*Conciones Plures*."

This indefatigable prelate partly succeeded in his efforts to reduce the discipline of the church of Ireland to a conformity with that of Rome. To effect this important object, Gillebert, bishop of Limerick, had been appointed Legate by the Pope, about the commencement of the twelfth century. This divine was, as is believed [erroneously] an Ostman, and had written a treatise, *de Usu Ecclesiastico*, which has perished, about the year 1090, in favour of the Roman ritual.¹ Nearly about the same period, Anselm, the English primate, sought to assume a superiority over the Irish clergy, and in a letter which he addressed to Donald (or Domnald), and Donat, endeavoured to persuade them to bring disputed ecclesiastical causes before him. His successor, Ralph, persisted in the attempt of establishing a supremacy over Ireland, but was strenuously opposed by some of the Irish bishops, particularly by Celsus of Armagh. This prelate was a member of the family which claimed the see by hereditary right. The clergy and burgesses of Dublin, who, through political motives, were inclined to favour the pretensions of Ralph, in reply to a letter which they had received from him, state that "the bishops of Ireland," and particularly he who resided in Armagh, were indignant with them for wishing to be under his spiritual dominion.² The particular manner in which they specify Celsus both shows the pre-eminence he held in the church, and the opposition he had made to the demands of the English primate.

¹ Annal. Om. Sanct. Monast. Hib. p. 21. ² Usser Hib. Epist. Syll. pp. 137—140. ³ Antiq. Acad. Oxon. Apolog. l. 2, § 280. ⁴ Imar died on a pilgrimage, at Rome, in 1134. He was of most saintly life, according to Saint Bernard. His name is given in the Carthusian Martyrology at Nov. 12. ⁵ Vita Malachiae apud Mess., cap. 7, 8. ⁶ The O'Neill, of Banville, was alive a few years ago. He was a man of princely aspect, noble deportment, majestic stature, and almost preternatural strength. In him was exhibited a lively instance of the mutability of fortune, and the instability of human

greatness. This representative of an illustrious branch of the noble family of O'Neill, from which have descended many of the most powerful sovereigns of Europe, was the unambitious proprietor of a bleach-green. Glory did not indeed gild his name, but contentment was the inmate of his cot, and happiness his companion through life. His austere and representative, a dignified and venerable lady, has not yet paid the great debt of nature. ⁷ Vita Malachiae, p. 43, l. 11. ⁸ Vet. Epist. Hib. Syll. pp. 77—87. ⁹ Usser Syll., p. 100.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

a BURNING OF ARMAGH.—"A.D. 1020—All Ardmacb burnt wholly, viz., ye Damliag, with its howses, ye Steeple with ye Bells, ye Saval and Toay, and charriott of ye abbots, with ye old chair of precepts in ye 3 Kal. of June, Monday before Whitsonday."—MS. trans. of *Annals of Ulster*, preserved in British Museum. (Additional MS. 4795, fol. 47.)

b "A.D. 1031.—Flaithbhertach O'Neill returned from Rome. It was during the reign of Flaithbhertach that the very great bargain was used to be got at Armagh, as is evident in the verse:—

A sheshough (measure) of oaten grain,
Or a third (of a measure) of black red sloes,
Or of the acorns of the brown oak,
Or of the nuts of the fair hazle hedge,
Was got without stiff bargaining,
At Armagh for one penguin."

Annals of the Four Masters.

c DROPPED BLOOD.—"A.D. 1033 The shrine of Peter and Paul was dropping blood on the altar of Patrick, in Armagh, *coram omnibus videntibus*."—*Annals of Ulster*.

"A.D. 1037 Cathal, son of Ruaidhri, king of the West of Connacht, went on his pilgrimage to Armagh"—*Annals of Ulster*.

d CELSUS.—A.D. 1105.—The *Annals of Ulster*, after the obit of Donnall, add:—"Cellach, son of Aedh, son of Maelisu, was instituted in his place in the succession of Patrick by the choice of the Men of Ireland, and he received Holy Orders on the day of the feast of Adamnan [Sept. 23].

"Received Holy Orders"—Literally, *went under degrees*. Cellach (usually called by the meaningless Latin alias, Celsus) was, it thus appears, one of the eight intruded laymen mentioned in St. Bernard's *Life of St. Malachy*. In addition, he was ordained *per saltum*, and, being but twenty-six years old, under the canonical age, which in the Irish Church, according to the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis* (III. 11), was thirty years for the priesthood. As a set-off, perhaps, to those irregularities, the Orders were not conferred until

Quarter-tense Saturday, which fell on Sept. 23 in 1105. By *Men of Ireland* are accordingly to be understood the immediate adherents of the person thrust into the succession."—*Annals of Ulster*, vol. ii., p. 76 (note).

The *Annals of Ulster*, A.D. 1106, after describing the Munster visitation, continue—And Cellach also received the order of archbishop on that occasion, by direction of the Men of Ireland. Caincomruc O'Boyle, bishop of Armagh, rested in peace.

"Order of Archbishop. As the non-consecration of Cellach in the preceding year, we may assume, was owing to the fact that the suffragan was alive, it will follow that the present event, though recorded in connection with the Munster visitation, took place after the death of O'Boyle.

In addition, Cellach's assumption of the primacy had, according to the present *Annals*, been acquiesced in by the southern moiety of Ireland (vol. ii., pp. 77-8).

Bishop of Armagh.—That is, without territorial jurisdiction. He had been consecrated as suffragan, by Donnall, on Whitsunday, 1099 (*supra*). (*Ib.*)

e CONFLAGRATIONS.—"A.D. 1116—The great house of the abbots of Armagh, with twenty houses around it, was burned in the beginning of [the second half of] Lent [Sunday, March 12] of this year."—*Annals of Ulster*.

The first half of Lent was called the *Beginning* (*Init*, *Inid*; from the Latin, *Initium*); the second, *Beginning of Lent* (*Init*, or *Tosach*, *Corghais*). In 1116 (a leap year), Easter fell on April 2; the first half of Lent, on Sunday, Feb. 2; the second, on Sunday, March 12.—*Cl. Todd Lecture Series*, III. p. 385.

In the year 1121, two streets in that portion of Armagh called Trian-Massain, from the door of the Close to the cross of St. Brigit, were consumed with fire; and, on the 5th of December, the pinnacle-cover of the steeple was blown off by a mighty tempest.—*Annals of Ulster*.

f OCCUPIED IN ALLAYING THE FEUDS.—

"A.D. 1128—A deed ugly, unprecedented, ill-issuing, that deserved the curse of the Men of Ireland, both laic and cleric, whereof the like was not found in Ireland before, was done by Tigernan O'Rourke and the Ui-Briuin namely, the successor of (Saint) Patrick was stark dishonoured in his own presence: that is, his retinue was waylaid, and some of them were killed; and a student of his own household, who was in charge of the sacred requisites and relics,* was killed there. Now the result that grew of this ill-deed is this, that there is no protection which is secure for a person henceforth, until this evil is avenged by God and by men. For this disrespect that was put upon the successor of Patrick, it is the same as disrespect of the Lord; since the Lord Himself said in the Gospel: "He that despiseth you despiseth Me; and he that despiseth Me despiseth Him who sent Me." (Luke x. 14.)—*Annals of Ulster*.

*In charge of the sacred requisites and relics.—Literally, under a Culebadh, for the explanation of which expression, see *Annals of Ulster*, II, pp. 118, 119 (note).

"A.D. 1130.—The nobles of Ulidia, however, went afterwards, with their king, to Armagh, into the assembly of Conor [O'Loughlin], so that they made peace and co-swearing, and left pledges."—*Annals of Ulster*.

g DIED AT ARD-PATRICK.—The obit of O'Longan (1113), the authorities cited in the note there given, and two entries of a similar kind in these (Ulster) Annals explain the presence of Cellach at Ardpatrick. O'Longan belonged to one of the tribes (mentioned *infra*) that, by a perversion of the principle regulating succession in endowed churches (*Senchas Mor*, Brehon Laws, i., 73 sq; Book of Armagh, fol. 16d, 17a), temporarily diverted the primacy into lay hands. The head of the name, Gilla-Crist (Book of Leinster, p. 334 a, l. 39; Book of Ballynecole, p. 115b, l. 34) and Ua Sinachain of the kindred sept, the Ui-Sinach, who died respectively in 1072 and 1052, are called *Stewards of Patrick*. Whence it can be inferred

that they were likewise incumbents of Ardpatrick. That church consequently was immediately subject to Armagh; its superiors were the stewards, or custodians, of the primatial cession in Munster, and were selected from the families in question.

Cellach had accordingly arrived there, either to visit, whether officially or through courtesy, or, it may be, in connection with the truce between Munster and Connaught mentioned under the preceding year (1128)" —*Annals of Ulster*, vol. II., p. 122 (note).

"His [Latin] name [Celsus] is in the Roman Martyrology at the 6th of April. . . . Its being placed at 6 April. is owing to another mistake of Baronius [the first mistake, Note to *Roman Martyrology*, Ap. 6, was assigning the death to 1128], who was the first to insert it in the Roman Martyrology, which he revised by order of Gregory XIII. It was already in Molanus' *Additions to Usuard*, published in the year 1568. . . . As his interment was marked iv. April., this notation was probably mistaken for vi. April., and thus adding a confusion of said day with that of his death, this error seems to have originated."—Lanigan, *E. H.*, vol. iv., p. 89—91.

h WAS A MARRIED MAN.—"St. Bernard, who says of Celsus (*vit. S. Malach*, cap. 7) that he was *vir bonus et timoratus*, relates, as we have seen (*Chap. XXII.*, § 13), that eight lay married men, not in holy orders, had preceded him in the possession of the see, and then states how much grieved Celsus was at the abuses that followed from that dreadful system, and how he laboured to prevent the recurrence of it. Hence it is clear as daylight, that Celsus was not married; and hence also it is plain, that the Irish bishops were not allowed to have wives. For, if they were, why did not those eight so-called archbishops take holy orders? The fable of Celsus having been married originated with Hammer, who (*Chronicle*, &c., p. 203, *new ed.*), says that 'he was a married man, and died of great age, and lyeth buried with his wife and children in the said church,' viz., of Armagh. In these few words there are three lies! (1) Celsus

did not die of great age; for he was not fifty years old when he died; (2) he was not, as will be seen, buried at Armagh, but at Lismore; (3) he had neither a wife nor children. Why did not Hanmer give us the names of some of these children? Harris observes (*Bishops at Celsus*), 'that he did not know on what authority Hanmer has made Celsus a married man.'—*Lanigan*: vol. iv., p. 33.

i MURROUGH, SON OF DONALD.—A.D. 1129—The *Annals of Ulster* state that Muircertach, son of Domnall, was instituted into the succession of Patrick on the 5th of April (the morrow of Cellach's burial).

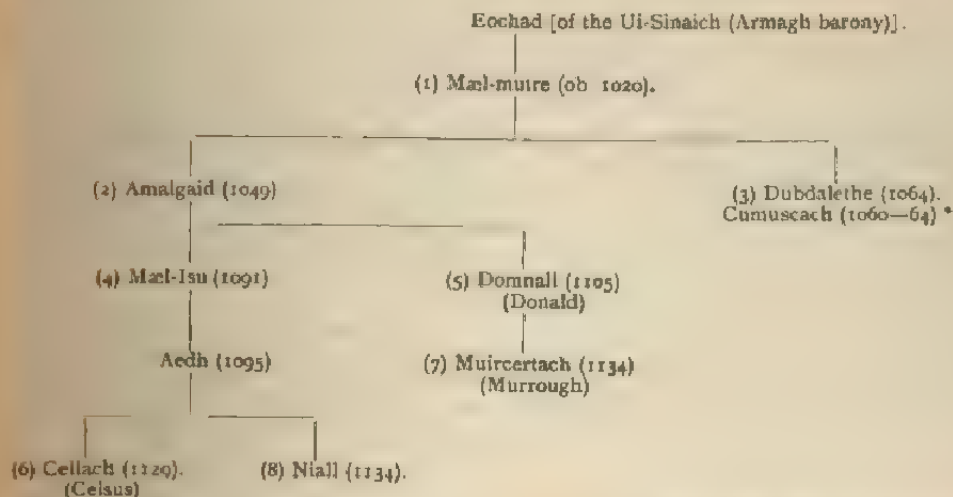
"*Instituted*."—As the time was too short for the news to reach Armagh, much less for a canonical election to take place, between Monday and Thursday, the "institution," there can be little doubt, was performed in Lismore. The chief members of the family to which Cellach belonged thus accompanied him to Munster. In the *Liber Angeli*, or Book of Primatial Privileges, the ordinary retinue is set down

as fifty. *Receptio archiepiscopi, heredis cathedræ meae urbis, cum comitibus suis, numero quinquaginta* (Book of Armagh, fol. 20b).

Feidhmid, who belonged to the sixth generation from Conn of the Hundred Battles (2nd cent. A.D.), had amongst his five sons two named Bresal and Echaid, eponymous heads of the Ui-Bresail and the Ui-Echach, whose respective territories were the baronies of Oneilland East and Armagh (county Armagh).

Sixteenth in descent from Bresal was Cumuscach, great-grandson of Erudan, who held forcible possession of the primatial see from 1060 to 1064, and died in 1074.

In the fourth degree from Echaid was Sinach, eponymous head of the Ui-Sinach. This was the sept that supplied almost all the lay succession in Armagh, as appears from the following table (Book of Leinster, pp. 334b, 338c; Book of Ballymote, pp. 113-114.) The genealogy appears defective by comparison with that of the Ui-Bresail; but, for the present purpose, this is immaterial:—



* Of the Ui-Bresail (Oneilland East bar)

These eight were all laymen, most of them continued so to the end, having auxiliary bishops

Cellach was a layman on his accession. Niall died in 1139.

From the foregoing and the notices in the Annals, we see that the *plebilis progenies* (the tribe in whose territory Armagh stood) usurped the position and discharged by deputy the sacred functions of the *ecclesiastica progenies* (Book of Armagh, fol. 16d).—*Annals of Ulster*, vol. ii., pp. 123-124 (note).

j PALLIUMS.—"The spiritual jurisdiction is ordered into four provinces, whereof the primacy was ever given, in reverence toward St. Patrick there, to archbishop of Ardmagh, now called Armaghe, which custom sithens confirmed by Eugenius 3, who sent withall 3 other palls of archbishops, to be placed: one at Dublin; one at Cashell, and the last at Tuema. The Primate of Ireland's place, in the Great Convocation at Rome, is 22 degrees or seats afore the bishop of Canterbury, in England, as Sir Harry Sydney reported, being told him by one that came from Rome, being an officer for placing there, and the name of his office was called *Seruus Cereemoniarum*.—*Book of Howth*, p. 20.

k BURIED IN THE MONASTERY OF CLAIRVAUX.—"Mabillon's *Annales Ord. S. Benedicti* say of St. Malachy:—"He was buried in the church under an arch, and there, up to this day, in the apse at the right of the tomb of St. Bernard, lies his body, except the head, which is preserved in its own shrine in the sacristy, along with his handled (*ansato*) chalice." Dom Martine and Dom Durand, who, at the beginning of the last century, visited Clairvaux, celebrated Mass at the tombs of St. Malachy and St. Bernard, and used the respective chalices of both these saints. Both these chalices are very small, being only six inches in height, and the cups of both were very wide, but of no great depth. Besides these chalices, they saw another

of extraordinary shape, which was said to have been used by St. Malachy. In shape and size it nearly resembled the chalices then in use, but it had four small bells attached to the cup, and in some other respects it differed in appearance from the chalice of St. Malachy, which they were permitted to use. That unique chalice seems to have been the one which Mabillon describes as a *calix ansatus*—"a handled chalice."—O'Laverty: *Life of Saint Malachy*, p. 87.

l CHRISTIAN O'MORGAIR.—"A.D. 1139.—Few additional particulars can be gleaned in reference to St. Criostan, or Gillachrist O'Morgair, although he was such a distinguished prelate in the Irish Church. It is remarked, as we are informed in the Registry of Clogher, that the brother of the renowned St. Malachy obtained from Pope Innocent II., that the fourth part of Tithes, or the episcopal part, through all Oriel, should be allotted to the bishop of Clogher. If such were the case, it must be observed that his brother, Christian, had died before St. Malachy set out on his first visit to Rome, which was in the year 1139 or 1140. Christian O'Morgair's death took place in the year 1138. Others have it at 1139, and again in 1140; but the first mentioned date appears to be the correct one. We cannot doubt, but his departure from earth had proved an affliction to his more renowned brother, the great St. Malachy O'Morgair, then Primate of all Ireland. Christian was buried in the church dedicated to Saints Peter and Paul at Armagh."—O'Hanlon: *Lives of the Irish Saints*, vol. VI., p. 633.

m PROPHECY OF THE POPES.—The prophecy is a palpable forgery, dating probably from 1590, four hundred and fifty years after the death of the saint.

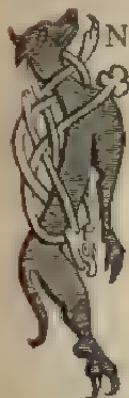


CHAPTER VI.

PRIMATE GELASIUS.

Intrusion of Niall (Nigel) into the see—Torlogh, King of Connaught—Synod at Holm-Patrick—Great fires in Armagh—Gelasius receives the Pallium from the Papal Legate, Paparo—Hold Synods at Mellifont, Bri-Mic-Taidhg, and Cloenad—Regulation about admittance to Armagh School—Synod at Armagh—Death of Gelasius—The Four Wards of Armagh—Death of St. Concord.

Supplementary Notes.—Panegyric of Donough O'Carroll—MS. by Mælbrighte Hua Mæluanaigh—Flann O'Gormain, chief Lector—Purchasing Englishmen—St. Concord venerated at Chambéry—Bollandist evidence—Ancient Hymn in his honour.



IN the year 1137, Gilla-Mac-Liach succeeded Malachy O'Morgair to the see of Armagh. His name is generally written Gelasius.^a Born in 1087, he was the son of Rury, a man of letters and a poet. In process of time, he became a monk of the Columban abbey of Derry. Of this institution he was elected abbot in 1121, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and continued in that office for sixteen years. In 1136, his abbey and the whole city of Derry were consumed by fire.

After the consecration of Gelasius, Niall (Nigel), through the powerful influence of friends, intruded himself into the see. This man, son of Aedh, and brother of Celsus, the last primate, and grandson of Mælisu, the primate who died in 1091, being a relation of the former intruder, Murrough, pretended to a kind of hereditary right to the *succession of Patrick*. He had strengthened his claim by seizing St. Patrick's Staff, commonly called the Staff of

Jesus, which was covered with gold and adorned with precious stones. With this and other relics, he had gone through the land in the time of St. Malachy, and by exhibiting them obtained a great respect and support from the people. This pretender gave Gelasius some trouble at the beginning, but was soon expelled, and died a couple of years afterwards, feeling great remorse for his crimes.

In 1139, Gelasius, to provide for his church, made a visitation through Munster, where he was most honourably received. In the same year, Mælbrighte O'Brolaghan died. He succeeded his namesake (and probably kinsman), who died in 1122, as suffragan bishop of Armagh, and was a man full of piety and wisdom.

In 1140, Gelasius made a visitation in Connaught, when king Torlogh O'Conor and his nobles received him with reverence, and presented him with valuable gifts. He was much occupied a couple of years after this in quieting the feuds which had arisen among the princes of Ireland. The chief leaders of the contending parties were Torlogh, king of Connaught, and Murrough O'Melaghlin, king of Meath. A few years before this, a kind of civil war had existed between these princes, which had terminated in a peace, ratified by the contending parties before the altar of St. Ciaran at Clonmacnoise. Torlogh, however, disregarding this treaty, entered Leinster at the head of a body of troops, as if he merely intended to make an ordinary tour through the country. Here he treacherously seized on the unsuspecting Murrough and some of his nobles, and brought them prisoners to the Castle of Dunmore. From this captivity, the Midian king was released through the influence of the primate.'

In the year 1145, Gelasius, in order to repair the cathedral of Armagh and the sacred edifices adjoining it, constructed a kiln, or furnace, for the purpose of preparing lime. This kiln was of vast dimensions, having a breadth of sixty feet in every direction, and was probably quadrangular, similar to those in use in Scotland and Sweden.

In 1148, aided by Malachy O'Morgair, the Pope's legate, he convened a synod at Holm-Patrick, where fifteen bishops and two hundred priests assembled, in which it was determined to send Malachy to Rome, to solicit from the Pope the grant of two palliums.

During the rest of the year he exerted himself to re-establish peace among the princes of the country. To effect this purpose, a great meeting was held at Armagh, by Murrough O'Loughlin, prince of Tyrone, and so-called king of Ireland, Donough O'Carroll, prince of Oriel, and the chieftains of Ulidia, at which they promised obedience to Murrough, and entered into a solemn covenant of peace, which they ratified on the Staff of Jesus, in presence of Gelasius and the clergy of Armagh.

A.D. 1150.—On the twenty-fourth of November, the feast of St. Colman of Cloyne, Armagh was very materially injured by a great fire which consumed the middle and northern parts of that portion of the city called *Trian-Mor*, or *Great Third*. For the repairs of the injured streets, Gelasius made a great collection through various districts of the country. On this occasion, the noblemen of the country and burgomasters of the villages contributed an ox, and each prince twenty oxen.

In 1151, Paparo, cardinal of St. Laurence, legate to Pope Eugene III., arrived in Ireland with four palliums, which, in a synod held in Kells, in the month of March, he distributed among the four archbishops, viz., Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam. At this council, various measures were adopted for the extirpation of simony and usury, and for the establishment of tithes by papal authority.

It is stated by Colgan, on the authority of the Four Masters, that Paparo arrived in Ireland during the year preceding that of the convocation at Kells. He adds that he spent seven days at Armagh with Gelasius, by whom he was most hospitably entertained.

The Annals of St. Mary's Abbey and those annexed to Camden's work call Gelasius "the first archbishop of Armagh, that is, the first who used the pallium; although others before him were called archbishops and primates out of reverence to Saint Patrick, the apostle of Ireland, whose see was from the beginning held in the greatest honour, not only by bishops and priests, but by kings and princes." Hence probably it is that Cuvierius, who wrote about the year 1580, styles Armagh, "*Regni caput*," the head of the kingdom, and adds, "*secunda ab hac Dublin*," Dublin after this is second.

In the same year in which the synod was held, Gelasius was

wounded by Donough O'Carroll,^b king of Oriel, who was deposed for this brutal act by O'Melaghlin, king of Meath. In the same year also, Dervold, the daughter of Domnald O'Loughlin, and wife of Turlogh O'Conor, successive kings of Ireland, died at Armagh, and was buried there.

A.D. 1156.—Turlogh O'Conor the Great, king of Connaught, who had founded a professorship of divinity^c in Armagh, died this year. His body was deposited in St. Ciaran's church, at Clonmacnoise, in pursuance of his will, close to the high altar.

Another synod was convened by Gelasius about the year 1157, in the abbey of Mellifont,^d county Louth, in which the Pope's legate, Christian O'Conarchy, bishop of Lismore, presided. Seventeen other bishops, including O'Hosein, archbishop of Tuam, and Grene, archbishop of Dublin, assisted. There were also present—Murrough O'Loughlin, king of Ireland; Eochy O'Haughey, king of Ulidia; Tiernan O'Rourke, prince of Brefny, and O'Carroll, prince of Oriel. In this synod, Donald O'Melaghlin, king of Meath, was not only excommunicated but deposed, and his territories granted to his brother, Dermot. He appears to have been deemed an atheist, for insulting the primate and treating the Staff of Jesus and the clergy with disrespect. The church of the abbey of Mellifont was consecrated by the prelates, and great oblations were made to it by the princes present on the occasion.^e

In 1158, Gelasius held another synod at Bri-Mic-Taidhg, in Meath, assisted by the Pope's legate, Christian O'Conarchy, and twenty-five bishops. The Connaught bishops on their journey to the synod, were assailed by some soldiers of the king of Meath, who plundered the prelates, and slew two of their companions.

In 1162, Gelasius made a circuit of Tyrone, receiving an unprecedented amount of donations, and consecrated St. Laurence O'Toole, archbishop of Dublin.

A synod of twenty-six bishops convened by the primate in the same year, at Cloenad,^f in the diocese of Kildare, decreed that no person should be admitted as a public reader of divinity who had not been a student of the school of Armagh,^g lest impostors or illiterate persons might undertake to lecture on theological subjects. It

appears, however, that students might be admitted to the academy of Armagh from other similar institutions. Thus we find, that this school or university held a highly honourable pre-eminence over the other literary establishments of Ireland.

In the same year, Gelasius made a visitation through his diocese, corrected and restrained the excesses of the people, and exhorted the clergy to the exact fulfilment of their duty.

In 1165, Eochy O'Haughey, king of Ulidia, revolted against Murrough O'Loughlin, king of Tyrone, and slew many of his subjects. Exasperated at this, Murrough raised a mighty army, with which he marched into Ulidia, wasting the country with fire and sword, and having expelled Eochy from his kingdom, he seized upon the chieftains of the province and hurried them with him to Armagh. Here, after a short time, he was visited by Donough O'Carroll, prince of Oriel, and Eochy himself, who supplicated his mercy, was, at the intercession of Gelasius, and his clergy, pardoned by the offended monarch. The reconciled chiefs solemnly swore to adhere to the treaty, on the Staff of Jesus; yet, in 1166, Murrough surprised Eochy, and put out his eyes. Donough O'Carroll, however, revenged his friend's injuries; for at the head of nine thousand veterans he assailed and slew the king at the battle of Letter-Luin, in the Fews, county Armagh. His body was taken to Armagh and buried there, to the dishonour, the Ulster Annalist adds, of the abbot and community of Derry, in having him carried from their own cemetery. These barbarous proceedings grieved the gentle spirit of the meek and peaceable primate.

Roderic O'Connor, king of Ireland, convened an assembly of the clergy and of the princes of Leth-Cuinn, at Athboy, in the year 1167. Gelasius, archbishop of Armagh; Laurence O'Toole, archbishop of Dublin, Codha (or Catholicus) O'Duffy, archbishop of Tuam, Manus Mac Dunlevy (O'Haughey), king of Ulidia; Dermot O'Melaghlin, king of Meath; Tiernac O'Rourke, prince of Brefny, and many more princes and prelates, were present, together with a force of thirteen thousand horsemen. Many wise laws, both for the preservation of the peace and for the establishment of church discipline, were there enacted.

In 1170, Gelasius convened a synod of the clergy at Armagh.

The English had, at this period, invaded the country, whose inhabitants were at once assailed by foreign enemies and distracted with internal dissensions among the native princes: these and other national calamities had made a strong impression, on the minds of the people, as manifest indications of divine wrath. At this synod, the point was gravely and earnestly debated, and it was concluded that God had chastised the people for their sins, especially for the inhuman practice of purchasing Englishmen^s from pirates, and selling them as slaves. On this account He had, they conceived, selected the English as the instruments of his vengeance. It was therefore decreed that every English bondsman should be immediately released.

In 1172, Gelasius, now eighty-five years of age, again made a fourth visitation round Connaught, and back through Ulster to Armagh. He did not attend the Council of Cashel,^a held this year, possibly prevented by the growing infirmities of old age, or more probably by patriotism and a reluctance to acknowledge foreign power. He died on the twenty-seventh of March, 1174, the Wednesday after Easter, in the eighty-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-seventh of his episcopacy. He was a man of a meek and Christian spirit, learned, active, humane and pious.

During his incumbency, Armagh had suffered very much from conflagrations. Besides the one already mentioned as having occurred in 1150, another happened in 1164, and two years later, the Annals of Ulster state that "Armagh was burned from the Cross of Colum-cille, the two streets up to the Cross of Bishop Eoghan, [patron of Ardstraw, County Tyrone]; and from the Cross of Bishop Eoghan, one of the two streets, up to the Cross of the door of the Close; and all the Close, with its churches, except the monastery of Paul and Peter, and a few of the houses besides; and a street towards the Close to the west, namely, from the Cross of [St.] Sechnall, to the Crosses of [St.] Brigit, except a little."

Besides the crosses here mentioned, a fifth was brought by Primate Prene, from Raphoe, in 1441, and set up in the cathedral. This is supposed to have been the cross which till lately stood in the centre of Market street. There is, however, a fragment of a cross

still existing at the great west door or entrance to the cathedral, which is commonly called St. Patrick's Chair, and is probably a remnant of the Raphoe cross. Besides these, there were originally two crosses in the cemetery adjoining the cathedral; one at the north and the other at the south.¹

Armagh in olden times was divided into four parts. The first of these was called Rath-Ardmacha (Close of Armagh), and was the portion within the rath or fortification, or close surrounding the hill on which stood the cathedral. Outside the rath or close were the other three portions, called the Trians or *Thirds*. These were known respectively by the names of the Trian-Mor, or *Great Third*; the Trian-Massain or *Massan Third*; and the Trian Saxon, or *Saxon Third*. This last word derived its name from the English students and merchants who inhabited that ward of the city.⁴ That English students flocked to Ireland in those times is placed beyond doubt by the testimony of the venerable Bede and other ancient writers.⁵

In 1174, Cornelius MacConcaille, abbot of the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul, succeeded Gelasius in the see, and died at Rome the following year.⁶

1 Trias Thaum. p. 305. 2 Sancti Gelasii Vita, cap. 19. 3 Vita Trip. pars 3. c. 77. 80. 81. 4 Trias Thaum. p. 300. 5 A passage in a grant made to Sir Toby Caulfield, on the twelfth of July, 1640, powerfully corroborates the account given by Colgan of the ancient subdivisions of Armagh. This grant speaks of a way called "Boreen Trian Sassenagh" passing by the garden walls of the "Abbey of Saint Peter and Saint Paul to Temple Columbilly." Here we have distinct mention made of the "Trian-Sassenagh" (or *Saxon-Third*), the portion of the city appropriated to the Saxons or English. The deed also mentions certain stone chambers belonging to the abbey of Saint Peter and Saint Paul.

These are yet in existence, and the geographical direction of the road, leading from the ruins to the Templum Columbae, may be ascertained without the smallest difficulty. The present "English Street" seems clearly to have derived its name from the old denomination, "Trian-Sassenagh," or the Saxon portion of the city. Castle Street is that district of the town which was anciently called the Door of the Close, or Rath Ardmacha. Some of the ruins of the ancient castle may yet be seen in the rear of the tenement formerly possessed by Mr Thomas Campbell. 6 Trias Thaum., p. 310.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

a GELASIVS.—"In the colophon to the exquisite Mælbrighte Evangelisterium (in the British Museum), he is called Gilla-

Mac-Liac, son of Ruandhri, son of the poet of the Ui-Biru (a Tyrone sept who held a territory bounding part of Monaghan

county). *Gelasius* is the senseless Latin alias (like Celsus for Cellach; and Malachy for Mael-Sechnaill); the resemblance lay in the first syllable."—*Annals of Ulster*, vol. iii., p. 178 (note).

See detailed description of this MS., note *f*, *infra*.

b DONOUGH O'CARROLL.—"Kalends of January on Thursday, moon 10, A.D. 1070. A prayer for Donough O'Carroll, supreme king of Oriel, by whom were made the book of *Cnoc na-n-Apstal* [Knock-abbey] at Louth, and the chief books of the order [of the office] of the year, and the chief books of the Mass. It was this great king who founded the entire monastery, both (as to) stone and wood, and gave territory and land to it, for the prosperity of his soul, in honour of [SS.] Peter and Paul. By him the church throughout the land of Oriel was reformed, and a regular bishopric was made, and the church was placed under the jurisdiction of a bishop. In his time, tithes were received, and the marriage [ceremony] was assented to, and churches were founded, and temples and belfries were made, and monasteries of monks, and canons, and nuns were re-edified, and sanctuaries were made. These are especially the works which he performed, for the prosperity [of his soul] and reign, in the land of Oriel, namely, the monastery of monks on the bank of the Boyne [both as to] stone and wooden furniture, and books and territory and land, in which (monastery) there are one hundred monks, and three hundred lay brothers; and the monastery of canons at Termonfeckin, and the monastery of nuns, and the great church of Termonfecken, and the church of *Leapadh Feichin* [bed of Fechin], and the church of"—*Antiphonary of Armagh*, B. 1. 1., T.C.D. (page opposite opening of Calendar. Cf. Petrie, *Round Towers*, p. 391.—*Annals of Ulster*, ii., pp. 160, 161.)

c PROFESSORSHIP OF DIVINITY.—In 1169, O'Connor [in his capacity as king of all Ireland], gave an annual grant of ten cows from himself and from every king [of all Ireland] after him in perpetuity to

the Lector of Armagh, in honour of Patrick, to give lectures to students of Ireland and Scotland.—*Annals of Ulster*.

d ABBEY OF MELLIFONT.—*The Annals of Ulster* (1157) merely state the consecration of the church; the benefactions of O'Loughlin, O'Carroll, and O'Rourke's wife to the clergy; and the excommunication of Donough O'Melaghlin.

"The Four Masters may be pardoned for calling this a synodal assembly; but the same excuse cannot be pleaded for Colgan, who gravely sets it down as a Synodal Convention (*Conventus Synodalis*) for consecrating the Basilica of the Monastery (A.A., SS., p. 165)! (To consecrate is omitted in O'Donovan's translation.)

The wonder is to find Lanigan (E. H. iv., 164) led astray thereby. He adds, however, 'This synod or assembly was held for the mere object of consecrating a church; and in fact very little more seems to have been done by it.' (p. 167).—*Annals of Ulster*, vol. ii., p. 130, 131 (note).

e SYNOD AT CLOENAD.—*The Annals of Ulster* say:—A synod of the clergy of Ireland [was held] under Gilla Mac-Liach, son of Rury, at Cloenad, wherein six and twenty bishops, with many abbots, enjoining rule and good conduct. And it is on that occasion the clergy of Ireland assigned the Orders of archbishop of Ireland to the successor of Patrick, as it was before; and that no one should be lector in a church in Ireland, except an alumnus of Armagh.

"It was enacted, namely, that henceforth no layman should be intruded into the see of Armagh. The deep-rooted abuse connected with the primacy was thereby formally eliminated. It is characteristic of the Four Masters, that they should have passed over a National Synodal Decree of such importance."—*Annals of Ulster*, vol. ii., p. 141, 142 (note).

f SCHOOL OF ARMAGH.—The following will throw light on the activity and influence of the school of Armagh, even at this disturbed period:—

"Manuscript by Maelbrigte Hua Mael-uanaigh, volume, completed at Armagh,

A.D. 1138, contains the Four Gospels with the usual prefaces. The Gospel of St. Matthew, so far as chap. xxvii., with portions of those of Saints Mark and Luke are, in their interlinear and marginal spaces, filled [in faultless caligraphy] with minutely-written glosses and commentary from Origen, Cyprian, Eusebius, Isidore, Leo, Priscian, Gregory, Bede, and Manachán or Manchanus.

In addition to the Irish poem on the personal characteristics and modes of the Apostles, the volume includes eleven quatrains in that language on the Wise Men of the East; and various short verses on religious or biblical subjects.

The transcriber mentions, at fol. 13, that the writing of his preceptor, MacIntagairt of Tuignetha, is at the head of the page, and he prays "that God may be gentle to the soul of Mælisu." He probably here refers to Mælisu Mæcoluim, "chief keeper of the Calendar of Armagh, its chief Antiquary and Librarian," whom the annalists record to have died in 1136.

Of the MacIntagairt of Tuignetha, now Tynan, near Armagh, no particulars are known. So late, however, as the reign of James I., the clan MacIntagairt occupied land in the parish of Tynan.

Hua Mæluanaigh has entered his name on three pages of this book. In one of these, he states that he wrote it in the twenty-fifth year of his age. On page 60, he makes an observation on the slaying of Cormac MacCarthy by Torlogh O'Brien. In a colophon [mentioned note *a*, *infra*] on the last page, Hua Mæluanaigh states that he finished the writing of the volume at Armagh, and he enumerates the then existing kings of Ireland. He also mentions the year as that in which Cormac [MacCarthy], king bishop of Munster, was slain; and adds that Gilla-Mac-Liac was then the "successor of Patrick" in the see of Armagh. These entries demonstrate that the volume was finished at Armagh in A.D. 1138.—Gilbert; *National Manuscripts of Ireland*, 31.

A.D. 1174.—Flann O'Gorman, chief lector of Armagh and of all Ireland, a man learned, observant in divine and human

knowledge, after having been one and twenty years learning amongst the French and English, and twenty years directing the schools of Ireland, died peacefully on the thirteenth of the Kalends of April [March 20], the Wednesday before Easter, in the seventieth year of his age. *Annals of Ulster*.

g PURCHASING ENGLISHMEN.—"After this was great speech into all the land and much fearfulness of the out-comen men. There gathered they together all the clerks and wise men of the land at Ardmaghe, and this folk's coming was much talked of. After long dalliance, at the last it was agreed that this misadventure came, that when they found Englishmen's children to be sold by merchantmen and robbers, that them brought into the land, they were accustomed to buy them, and in thralldom them to use, and that through God's own wrath it was that sillers was brought to thralldom and the buyers; for it was sometime that the folk of England their manner was of their kingdom, and rather they would any poverty to be in, they went to sell their children and their kinsmen into England and into other lands. Therefore it may be that as the buyers and also the sellers was often served well through their evil doing to be brought into thralldom, there it was in that Council thought, and by assent of all, that all the Englishmen of the land that in bondage and in thralldom was sold, be delivered freely."—*Book of Howth*, p. 52.

h COUNCIL OF CASHEL.—"The primate of Armagh was not at this Council, neither might not come, for he was an old man and a feeble." *Book of Howth*, p. 161.

i SAINT CONCORD OR CORNELIUS.—1175. Conor, son of MacConcaille, abbot of the Regular Abbey of [SS.] Paul and Peter, and afterwards successor of Patrick, died in Rome, after arriving to confer with the successor of Peter. *Annals of Ulster*.

We must suppose that the compiler of the Annals of Ulster was in receipt of imperfect information, when he described Conor as having died at Rome. The

obituary notices from which he compiled his work were usually written in the very year of the event they described. Consequently, from the evidence we are now about to adduce, we must conclude that the bare notice of Conor's death abroad reached home, and that the annalists naturally thought, in the absence of more definite information, that he had died at Rome, whither he had gone.

Conor, in fact, died on his way from Rome, at St. Peter's of Lémenc, close to the town of Chambéry in Savoy, leaving behind him a reputation for sanctity. It thus happened that Conor, though venerated as a saint for the last seven hundred years at Chambéry, where his relics are preserved, was entirely forgotten in his native country, till within recent years.

The Bollandists, in their life of the saint (June 4th), give authentic memorials which confirm the traditional cultus observed at Chambéry. The first is that from enquiries they made in 1689, from the religious community who possessed his body, they found that foundations for Masses, to be celebrated in the Chapel of St. Concord, had been established there for three hundred years. This coincides with the date of the translation of his relics, which in 1490, as we learn from an official life of the saint (Chambéry, 1881), were taken from their tomb and placed in a shrine, presented by Philippe d'Allegret, treasurer of Savoy; and also fits in with the erection of the special chapel built in his honour, in the church of the Priory of Lémenc, seven years later.

Still more important, both as regards the antiquity of the cultus, and the details of the saint's last illness and holy death, is the hymn to St. Concord, found in 1689, by Father Papebroch, the Bollandist, on an ancient tablet in the chapel of the saint. The badly-formed letters and the imperfect spelling of the words made Father Papebroch consider it of very ancient date; while any one familiar with medieval verses can see at a glance, that the wretched metre and versification, not to speak of the still more wretched latinity, make it all the more valuable as an historical

monument. The use of the word *Yllandia* for Ireland, is doubtless one of the first attempts at the transition from *Hibernia* to *Ireland*, as a designation of this country.

From the hymn, we cull the following details of the saint's life:—

The holy archbishop had paid a visit to Rome, and on his way back, stopped at the monastery of Lémenc, where he found a church dedicated to St. Peter, and where the monks received him with great honour. He told them he came to die in their midst, and before long was seized with a mortal illness. His servants, who were much afflicted at the sight of their dying master, were comforted by him with these words—“In Ireland I served, for many years, the church of St. Peter at Armagh; I have just paid my homage to the church of St. Peter at Rome; and it is in the church of St. Peter at Lémenc that I shall be buried.” Having received the last rites of the Church and the Holy Viaticum, he joined his hands across his breast, and gave up his soul to God. Miracles were wrought at his tomb, and the sick and infirm were cured by his intercession.

We learn also from the little official life of the saint, which embodies the traditions of past ages, that it was his daily custom, before his last illness came upon him, to climb a neighbouring height, and pour forth his soul in prayer at the foot of a cross, erected in the mountain solitude. A cross is still in the same place, known as the *Cross of Saint Concord*, and is an object of veneration and pilgrimage.

The plague which raged in these parts in 1630, was the occasion of increased veneration being felt for St. Concord, as the inhabitants of the country round about sought his intercession successfully in their calamity. In 1643, a confraternity was established in his honour, which was enriched with numerous indulgences, first by Innocent X., and afterwards by a bull of Clement X., dated the 18th of May, 1671. Long before this, the Benedictines had been authorized by the Holy See to celebrate the office of the saint, as a double-major feast, on the fourth of June, the anniversary of his death.



Dr. Dixon celebrated Mass, assisted by the Vicar-General and Chancellor, in full canonicals. After Mass, he was obliged to put on a mitre of the archbishop of Chambery, and with a pastoral staff in hand he went to the high altar. Thus, it has been granted to a very worthy successor of that holy archbishop, to make known in Ireland the glorious sepulchre where his bones repose, and to restore to his diocese a portion of these bones, after the long lapse of seven hundred years. Those relics of blessed Concord are now carefully preserved in Ireland: a portion of the rib at the Presentation Convent in Drogheda, and a thigh-bone at the Sacred Heart Convent near Armagh. The Most Rev. Dr. Dixon tells us, also, that he applied to the Sacred Congregation of Rites in Rome for permission to have the office of this saint celebrated in Armagh diocese, under the same rite as that observed at Chambéry."

ORATIO CONFESSORIS EPISCOPI B. CONCORDIS ARCHIEPISCOPI YLLANDIÆ.

Ave, Pater gloriose;
Salve Præsul pretiose,
Quondam Pater Yllandiæ
Nunc decus Sabaudiæ.

Hic cum esset Pontifex,
Ecclesiam ut Opifex
Augmentabat quotidie
Sancti Petri Yllandiæ.

Romam petiverat Urbem,
Ob summi Petri honorem;
Rediens inde, Lemenco
Constitit in cænobio.

Hic invenit consecratam
Ecclesiam et fundatam
Ad honorem Clavigeri
Sancti Petri Apostoli.

Ibi erant Cænobitæ,
Monachi honestæ vitæ,
Qui præsulem susceperunt
Eumque honoraverunt.

Sanctus verò Concors indè,
Quasi suspirans profundè,
Prophetavit quod futurus
Erat ibi finiturus.

Dum ille infirmabatur,
Servi sui turbabantur.
Illos duice confortabat
Et hæc verba proferebat.

In Yllandiâ servivi
Petro Apostolo Sancto,
Romæ Petrum visitavi,
Tumulabor in Lemenco.

Post sumptam communionem,
Vir Sanctus junctis manibus,
Christo transmisit animam
In supernis Cœlestibus.

In transitu hujus Sancti
Miracula fiunt multa,
Ægri sunt sani effecti,
Per sua magna merita.

Depositio Præsulis
Fuit a Deo relata,
Nam in libris ab Angelis
Per orbem fuit descripta.

Et in Martyrologiis
Festum patris eximii
Colitur in Ecclesiis
Pridiè nonas Junii.

Concors, Beate Pater,
Impetra tuis servulis,
Ut cum Christo perenniter
Tecum regnent in Cœlis. Amen.

Sancte Concors, spes infirmorum,
Dirige nos ad Regna Cœlorum.

OREMUS

Creator mundi, Deus, qui in sanctis tuis semper es mirabilis, quique multa mirabilia in gloriosum confessorum tuum Concordem atque archipræsulem ostendere voluisti: Clementiam tuam suppliciter imploramus; ut meritis et intercessione ejusdem sancti præsulis, mereamur in libro vitæ adscribi, et ab omnibus adversitatibus et infirmitatibus mentis et corporis liberari, tecumque firmiter in cœlis cum Christo lætari.

Amen.

Cl. Bollandists, June 4th, vol. p. .
O'Hanlon: *Lives of the Irish Saints*, vol. vi., p. 96, et seq. *Vie de Saint Concord* (Chambéry, 1881).

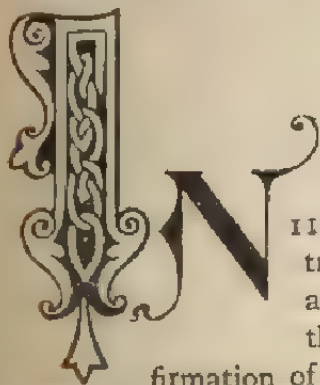


CHAPTER VII.

RAVAGES OF THE ANGLO-NORMAN INVADERS.

Succession to the see—Conquest of Ulster, by John de Courcy—Armagh burned—Pillaged by FitzAldelm—Crozier of St. Patrick stolen—Primate O'Conor—Bull regarding Primatial rights as applied to Dublin—Resignation of O'Conor—He resumes the see—Armagh pillaged by Philip of Worcester—Pillaged again and burned by De Courcy.

Supplementary Notes.—Abbey of Newry—Staff of Jesus—Churches Ruined by Anglo-Normans—Bull of Lucius III.—Jocelyn's Life of St. Patrick.



1175, Gilbert (Gallacomded) O'Caran was translated from Raphoe to the see of Armagh, and died in 1180. This prelate was one of the subscribing witnesses to a charter of confirmation of the possessions of the Cistercian abbey of Newry" (*De Virido Ligno*), made by Maurice MacLoughlin, king of Ireland, about 1160. In this document he is called bishop of Tirconnell [*i.e.*, Raphoe]. The rights granted by this charter to the mitred abbot of that institution are now vested in Lord Kilmorey. Gilbert, who was a pious man, made a liberal grant of the town of Ballybachall,^b so called from the *Baculum* or Staff of St. Patrick, to St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin.

A.D. 1177, John De Courcy undertook the conquest of Uladh or Ulidia (the counties Antrim and Down) and rapidly gained possession of Dunum (Downpatrick) itself. In the neighbourhood of this town, he defeated Roderic Mac Dunlevy, prince of the country, who assailed him with ten thousand men. In a subsequent battle fought by him on the twenty-fourth of June, one thousand five hundred of the Ulster Irish were slain, and, in the same year, he made a hostile incursion into Tyrone, which he barbarously wasted with fire and sword. Encouraged by success, he now commenced a regular system of operations for the subjugation of all Ulster. To this attempt he was stimulated, not only by the king's grant, but by a prophecy, generally believed to have been written by Saint Columba, which predicted that a stranger, mounted on a white horse, and bearing a shield charged with painted birds, should conquer that country. Predictions of this nature are often efficient causes of their own fulfilment. Those who superstitiously believe such prophecies to be of divine origin deem all opposition vain, and the parties themselves, who seem singled out and predestined by Providence for the performance of certain great exploits specially foretold, undertake the most perilous adventures in full confidence of perfect success. *Possunt quia posse videntur*. Ardent, enterprising, and desperately valiant, De Courcy was peculiarly fitted for the accomplishment of the hazardous enterprise. Relying on his own personal prowess, and the valour of his troops, as well as on the predicted symbols of his glory, the painted shield and snow-white steed, he sallied forth for the conquest of Ulster, anticipating success, and fearless of the issue.

In Dalaradia, he encountered and slew in battle Donald, grandson of Cahasy MacDunlevy, king of that territory. In the country of the MacMahons (Monaghan), he obtained a considerable tract, partly by force of arms and partly by a treaty of alliance with one of its chieftains, who was connected with him by the then sacred tie of gossipred. De Courcy erected forts, and castellated the country as he advanced. Relying on the fidelity of his friend Mac Mahon, he committed one of these to his charge. But the Irish chieftain, disdaining the confinement of stone walls, and probably

regretting the connexion he had formed with the invader of Ulster, levelled it to the earth. Enraged at his conduct, De Courcy marched into his territories, which he wasted and pillaged without mercy. On his return, he drove before him numerous herds of cattle, which his troops had seized from the inhabitants of the country. But the Irish, who had viewed the devastation of their lands with horror, had cautiously assembled in vast force, and had placed eleven thousand men in ambush, amidst the darkness and obscurity of a deep wood, through which the British commander found it necessary to pass. De Courcy's army, subdivided into various corps and occupied with driving forward the cattle, were, at the same instant, unexpectedly assailed in every direction by an overwhelming force. Encumbered with spoil, embarrassed with the kine and entangled amongst thickets, their military skill was of little avail. Many were slain by the Irish army and many trodden down by the cattle. De Courcy, at the head of the survivors, hewed his way through his enemies and gained one of his forts which he had strongly entrenched and garrisoned. The victors encamped within half a mile of his position and awaited the morning to renew the assault. Success had rendered them incautious—fearless of danger they gave themselves up to the sweets of repose. But at the tranquil hour of midnight, De Courcy and his garrison stole silently into the camp and then began a dreadful scene of uninterrupted carnage. Many of the Irish warriors closed their slumbers in death—those who were aroused by the groans of their dying friends fell an easy prey, naked and unarmed as they were, to De Courcy and his veteran troops. Of this so lately victorious army, two hundred only survived the carnage.

In 1178, De Courcy made an irruption into Oriel, when he was met and defeated by Murrough O'Carroll, prince of that country, and Roderic MacDunlevy [O'Haughey], of Ulidia; and he received a second reverse in Dalaradia.

The Annals of Ulster inform us that in 1179 most of Armagh was burned, including all the houses of Canons Regular and all the churches that were in it, with the exception of the house of the Canons Regular of St. Brigit and the Church of the Relics. In the

same year, the relics of St. Brigit were destroyed, and William Fitz-Aldelm pillaged the city and robbed the abbey of St. Patrick's crozier, or Staff of Jesus,¹ which he carried to Dublin, and presented to the Cathedral of the Blessed Trinity.² Fitz-Aldelm, who is described by Cambrensis as sensual, corrupt, and rapacious, is said to have committed dreadful barbarities in Connaught. He was therefore publicly excommunicated for his crimes. Shortly afterwards, if Keating may be credited, he was seized with horrible convulsions, in which his features were horribly distorted, and his whole frame violently agitated by the most excruciating pain. He died in agony, and his body was denied the rites of Christian burial. The corpse of this unhappy man was borne by his enemies to a ruined cottage in Connaught, whose inhabitants he had destroyed, and was there ignominiously cast into a pit, from which it has never been removed.

The progress of the Anglo-Norman invaders in Ulster, as well as in the other provinces of the kingdom, was ruinous to the churches⁴ and monasteries of the country. We learn from Cambrensis, that the people of Ireland were accustomed to deposit their provisions in such edifices for safety. The adventurers paid little respect to those sanctuaries, which they pillaged without remorse, as often as they found their soldiers in want of food or raiment. The churches and abbeys soon became theatres of sanguinary warfare, and many of them were ruined by the contending parties. And now various literary works, which had escaped the ravages of the merciless Danes, were destroyed in the libraries of the monasteries.³ At last, the native Irish, in order to cut off the sources of supply which the invaders derived from the pillage of churches, began to imitate them by setting fire to the buildings with their own hands.

Gilbert was succeeded in the see of Armagh in 1181 by Thomas (Tomaltach) O'Connor, who held a visitation in Tyrone. In the year after his accession to the see, Pope Lucius III., on the thirteenth of April, following the example of the sacred canons, decreed that no archbishop or bishop should hold any assembly or ecclesiastical court in the diocese of Dublin, or treat of the ecclesiastical causes and affairs of the said diocese, without the consent of the archbishop of Dublin, if he (the archbishop of Dublin) be actually in his bishopric

or see, unless specially authorised by the papal see or the apostolic legate.* This bull laid the groundwork of a bitter and protracted controversy between the archbishops of Armagh and of Dublin, concerning the primatial right of the former to carry the crozier and decide ecclesiastical cases in the diocese of the latter.

In 1184, Thomas O'Connor resigned his see to Maelisu O'Carroll, bishop of Clogher, who died on his way to Rome that very year. His successor, Amlave O'Murray, also bishop of Clogher, died the following year at Duncruthen [Duncrun, Keenaght barony, county Derry], and was buried in the city of Derry. After the decease of the last-mentioned, O'Connor resumed the see, which for sixteen years he governed with zeal and ability. It was at his request that Jocelyn compiled his well-known Life of St. Patrick.† But he was soon destined to feel in his own primatial city the effects of the English invasion.

In September, 1185, Philip of Worcester, then lord justice or governor of Ireland, proceeded on a circuit with a great military force, to visit the English garrisons stationed through the province. Altogether regardless of the trust committed to his care, and of the character of the prince whom he represented, this corrupt and rapacious governor wasted and plundered the country, wherever he advanced. At the head of his army, he entered Armagh, which he subjected, during six successive days, to the lawless pillage of his ferocious soldiers. He spent these days of Mid-lent in riotous and indecent feasting, and then proceeded to levy the most severe pecuniary exactions from the clergy, who by law were exempt from all such imposts. So minute was the scrutiny, and so insatiable the greed of the lord justice and his companions, that they even meanly robbed the priests of Armagh of a large cauldron or brewing-pan, which Hugh Tirell, one of his most active associates, carried with him to Down. Here an accidental fire burned the house where he was and consumed his horses. Tirell himself, "struck," says O'Sullivan, in his *Catholic History*, "with horror, restored the cauldron, but afterwards perished in a miserable manner." The justice was seized with a most violent cholic or spasmodic affection which nearly terminated his life. All these misfortunes were attributed, by the people, to the anger of Providence at the sacrilegious robberies perpetrated by Philip and his unprincipled minion, Tirell.

The conduct of these miscreants and of their great precursor, De Courcy, was not only viewed by the Ultonians with horror, but excited in their minds the most lively resentment and the most indelible hatred to the English name and nation.

A.D. 1188, Donald, the son of Hugh O'Loughlin, king of Tyrone, at the head of a large military force, made a successful incursion into various districts occupied by the invaders. Encumbered with spoil and thus retarded in his march, he was attacked by the garrison of the castle of Mochcava, at Cavan-na-Cath.¹ After a severely contested battle, the Tyrone men routed their opponents, but Donald lost his life in the moment of victory. His body was conveyed to Armagh, where it was honourably interred.

In this year, died Martin O'Broley, professor of theology and chief lector in the school of Armagh. He is styled, by the Ulster Annals, the most learned of the Irish; yet I cannot find that any of his literary works have reached the present age.

John de Courcy, earl of Ulster and lord of Connaught, marched into the northern provinces with a formidable army, in the year 1189. O'Carroll, prince of Oriel, and O'Mulrony, prince of Fermanagh, had taken arms, in the fond hope of freeing their country from the English yoke. But De Courcy rapidly overran Ulidia, overthrew the allied troops, slew the Fermanagh chieftain; then marched against Armagh, the headquarters of his enemies, which he assailed, stormed, pillaged and burned.

In 1196, Roderic MacDunlevy formed a coalition with some English commanders; and with a mixed army of Ulidians, Connaught men, and English, invaded and pillaged Tyrone. Indignant at this sudden and unprovoked irruption into their country, the Tyrone men, after the Anglo-Irish army had retired from their territory, pursued and overtook them at Armagh. MacDunlevy, who was not devoid of courage, gave battle but was defeated with great loss by his irritated and triumphant enemy.

The venerable primate, Thomas O'Conor, died in the year 1201, and was buried with great solemnity at Mellifont. He had been preceded in the grave by Roderic O'Conor, the last of the native monarchs of Ireland, who died in the year 1198.

1 Annals of St. Mary's Abbey 2 Giraldus Cambrensis informs us that Vivian the Pope's legate, granted a licence to the English, that they might, when engaged in any expedition, withdraw the provisions stored in churches, on paying the full value to the superintendents, provided, however, that such provisions could not otherwise be

obtained 3 This place appears to have been called at the time "*Cavan na-Cran*," the hollow field of trees. It has since been denominated "*Cavan-na-Cath*," the field of the fight. *Mochcava* is more properly written "*Moch a bladh*," the field or place of encampment. *Cavanacave* or *Covanacath* is situated within one mile of Armagh, on the Newry road.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

a ABBEY OF NEWRY.—This deed is referred to by Ware (*Antiq. cap.* 26, at *County of Down, Newry*), and called a charter of foundation. It is entitled *Charta abbatiæ de Newry*, and may be seen in the *Monast. Annal.* vol. 2, p. 1031, and in Dr. O'Connor's 2 *Proleg.* to *Rev. Hib. Script.* p. 158. In it the king says that he has granted and confirmed to the monks serving God in Nyvor-cintracta (Newry), the town-land O'Cormaic, where was founded the monastery Atherathin, and also those of Enaratha, Crumglean, Caselanagan, Lissinelle, Croa-Druimfor-nacta, etc., etc., together with their waters, woods, mills, etc. He then speaks of the abbey, as if he were the original founder of it, and states that he has taken the monks under his protection:—"Et quia ipsum monasterium Ybarcintracta (another name for Newry), mera mea voluntate collocavi, ipsos monachos, tanquam filios et domesticos fidei, sub protectione mea suscepi." Lanigan: *E.H.* vol. iv. p. 170.

b BALLYBACHALL.—St. Patrick appears to have left more than one staff behind him. In the list of relics preserved in the monastery of St. Alban's are mentioned, relics "*de Sancto Patricio, et baculis ejusdem sancti*."—Dugdale, *Monasticon* (by Caley, Ellis and Bandinel), vol. ii. p. 235.

c THE STAFF OF JESUS.—'The Baculus Jhesu,' "*quem angelus beato Patricio conferebat*," stands next on the list, and is of still greater celebrity. St. Bernard mentions it in his life of St. Malachy, as one of those insignia of the see of Armagh, which were popularly believed to confer upon the possessor a title to be regarded

and obeyed as the successor of St. Patrick; so that some who had no other claim to the primacy than the power or fraud which gave them possession of these relics, were received by the more ignorant of the people as the true bishops.

. . . It appears that the Baculus, in St. Bernard's time, was adorned with gold and precious stones. It was therefore most probably a crozier (still always called bacall, in Irish), and having been held in such veneration in the twelfth century, there is no reason to doubt its great antiquity. It is mentioned also by Giraldus Cambrensis, who tells us, that in his time it was removed by the English, perhaps for greater security, from Armagh to Dublin. . . .

Frequent notices of the Baculus Jesu are to be found in Irish history. In an ancient Irish poem by St. Fiech, which Colgan has published as his first life of St. Patrick, mention is made of St. Tassach, from whom the saint received the holy viaticum on his death bed. Tassach was of Rathcolptha, now Raholp near Down, and is said in some of the lives to have been a bishop when he administered the communion to the dying Patrick: he was skilled in the art of a goldsmith; and in the ancient notes to Fiech's Hymn it is particularly stated, that the Baculus Jesu was by him first adorned with a precious covering. . . .

In Anglo-Irish history also, the staff of Patrick is frequently mentioned. Thus, Campion in his "*Historie of Ireland*," makes O'Kelly, A.D. 1316, swear by St. Patrick's staff, in his attempt to

seduce one of Sir Richard Birmingham's followers from his allegiance: "But come and serve me at my request, and I promise thee by St. Patrick's staffe to make thee a lord in Connaght, of more ground than thy master hath in Ireland." In the bag marked "Ireland," in the Chapter-house, Westminster Abbey, there is a paper, No. 53, containing "an examination of Sir Gerald Macshane, Knight," sworn 19th March, 1529, "upon the Holie Masebooke, and the great relike of Erlonde, called Baculum Christi, in presence of the Kynges Deputie, Chancellour, Treasurer, and Justice."—Todd's *Introduction to the Book of Obits and Martyrology of the Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity*, p. viii. *et seq.* See *Annals of Ulster: Index s. v. Bachall Isu.*

A.D. 1538—The image of Mary of Trim and the Holy Cross of Ballyboggan (Meath) and the Crozier of Jesus, were burned by the Saxons this year.—*Annals of Ulster.*

d CHURCHES RUINED BY ANGLO-NORMANS.—The miserable clergy is reduced to beggary in the island. The cathedral churches mourn, having been robbed by the aforesaid persons, and others along with them, or who came over after them, of their lands and ample estates which had been formerly granted to them faithfully and devoutly. And thus the *exalting of the church* has been changed into the *despoiling or plundering of the church*." And accounting for some losses sustained by the English, he says (*Hib. Ex. L. 2, cap. 35*) that "the greatest disadvantage of all was, that, while we conferred nothing new on the Church of Christ in our new principality, we not only did not think it worthy of any important bounty or of due honour, but even, having immediately taken away its lands and possessions, have exerted ourselves either to mutilate or abrogate its former dignities and ancient privileges." Thus it was that the English adventurers fulfilled the expectations of the Popes—Adrian IV. and Alexander III.—Lanigan, *E.H.* vol. iv. p. 256.

e BULL OF POPE LUCIUS III. "This bull was undoubtedly intended as a protection to the see of Dublin against the

exercise of certain powers on the part of the archbishops of Armagh, or perhaps against the antiquated claims of Canterbury. But it does not, as some abettors of the independence of Dublin have imagined, set aside the primatial rights of Armagh, as laid down and arranged by the council of Kells and according to the Canon law of those times. For, although, while the archbishop of Armagh was not only the primate but likewise the only archbishop of Ireland, he exercised powers much greater than were afterwards allowed to primates, visited all the dioceses of Ireland whenever he thought fit [?], and interfered in their internal concerns [?], yet, by the Canon law of the times we are now treating of, such ample jurisdiction was not allowed to primates anywhere. The bull of Lucius III., while it exempts the diocese of Dublin from the extensive jurisdiction formerly enjoyed by the see of Armagh, does not, however, render it absolutely independent of that see, as far as its rights were recognised by the general Canon law of that period, particularly the privilege of receiving appeals from the other arch-dioceses of Ireland and the power of deciding on them in the spiritual court of Armagh, but not elsewhere. There is not a word in the bull to invalidate such primatial rights as these; and it is even supposed, that, except in the cases especially mentioned in the bull, everything else was to remain as usual."—Lanigan: *E.H.* vol. iv., pp. 257, 258.

[There is no authenticated instance of a visitation such as here described. The (so-called) *circuits* were made in connexion with the primatial cess.]

f JOCELYN.—The Sixth Life of St. Patrick, as placed in Colgan's collection, was written by Joceline, or Jocelyn, a Welshman, about the commencement of the thirteenth century. The author received his education at the celebrated abbey of Furness—now known as Dalton-in-Furness, in the union of Ulverston, and hundred of Lonsdale, Lancashire, England.—O'Hanlon, vol. III., p. 412.

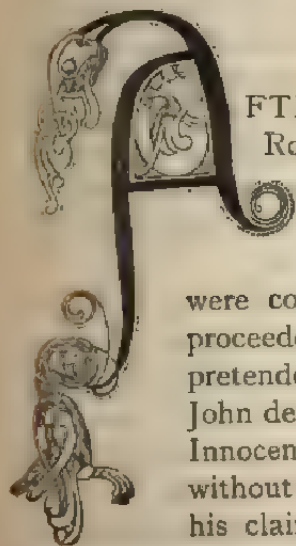


CHAPTER VIII.

PRIMATES OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

Primate MacGillaweer—Contest about the Election—Luke Netterville primate—Establishes Dominicans in Drogheda—Three Dominican Primates, Albert Sueber, Reginald, and Patrick O'Scanlan—The latter holds a Synod in Drogheda—Brings the Franciscans to Armagh—Primate Nicholas MacMælisu—Founds a singular association among the Clergy.

Supplementary Notes.—Election of MacGillaweer—Ware on the appointments to Irish Sees—Career of Primate Albert—And of Reginald—Proposed Union of Armagh and Clogher—Confederation of Irish Bishops.



AFTER the decease of Thomas O'Conor, Simon Rochfort, bishop of Meath, Ralph le Petit, archdeacon of Meath, Humphrey de Tickell, and Eugene MacGillevider, whose real name was Echdonn Mac Gille-uidhir [Mac Gillaweer], were competitors for the see. The suffragan bishops proceeded to an election, and each of the candidates pretended that he alone had been duly chosen. King John decided in favour of Tickell, and appealed to Pope Innocent III. against Eugene MacGillaweer, who then, without the king's consent, went to Rome to prosecute his claim in person. Irritated at this, King John, by mandatory letters, dated the twenty-second of May, 1203,¹ prohibited the suffragan bishops from acknowledging Eugene as their

metropolitan.^a About the end of a year, Tickell having died, King John confirmed the election of Ralph, archdeacon of Meath. This man, however, did not enjoy the primacy. The Pope, the clergy, and the laity were all decidedly in the interest of Eugene, who was not only a native of Ireland, and therefore more popular than the three Anglo-Norman candidates, but also highly esteemed as a man of probity and honour. He had, as we said, repaired to the court of Rome, where his title was ratified and publicly acknowledged by the papal see. However, John became reconciled to him afterwards, for when Eugene went to England, in 1207, to complain of the conduct of the English lords in Ireland, he sent him to take temporary charge of Exeter diocese, which had been abandoned by its bishop, in the course of John's contest with the Pope about the see of Canterbury.^b The following month, Eugene's friends, without any apparent interference on his part, presented John with three hundred marks of silver and three marks of gold, by the hands of Benedict and Gerald, two friars of Mellifont, for restitution of the lands and liberties belonging to the archbishopric.^c In the grants made to English adventurers, the donations of bishoprics and abbeys had been expressly reserved to the Lord of Ireland.

On the second of May, 1205, Hugh de Lacy was appointed Earl of Ulster, in place of De Courcy who had been imprisoned and disgraced. Armagh, of course, constituted a part of the territory assigned to this new favourite of the English king; but it appears to have derived no benefit from the change. In the year 1206, the city was pillaged by Hugh de Lacy the Younger, who continued his depredations for ten days.

It is probable that the citizens had formed an alliance with Hugh O'Neill, prince of Tyrone, who had strenuously resisted the English. Be this as it may, Armagh was again pillaged by the soldiers of De Lacy, on the vigil of St. Brigit, in the year 1208.^d

Eugene MacGillaweer was present at the General Council of Lateran, held in 1215, and died at Rome the following year.^e

After his decease, Luke Netterville, archdeacon of Armagh, was elected archbishop, by the Chapter of that see, in the year 1217. The king, however, refused to confirm his election, which, contrary

to the established order,^c had taken place without his license.^f The difficulty was at last surmounted. Netterville, having being re-elected and having received the king's approbation, was confirmed by the Pope and consecrated by Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury. Meanwhile, the various difficulties which had occurred in the course of these transactions, detained him three years from his see.^g

Primate Netterville returned on the fourteenth of October, 1220, and founded an abbey for Dominican friars in Drogheda, in the year 1224. He died on the seventeenth of April, 1227, and was buried in the abbey of Mellifont.^h

Donat O'Fidabra [Feery], bishop of Clogher, was translated to the see of Armagh, in the year 1227. He obtained the royal assent on the twentieth of September, but Pope Gregory IX. had issued a bull in favour of Nicholas, canon of Armagh, who had been confirmed by him as archbishop, and consecrated by Pandulph, bishop of Tusculum and papal legate in England. After some time, however, the Pope recognised him as archbishop and allowed him to retain peaceable possession of the see. He died in England, in October, 1237.

After the decease of Donat, the see was vacant for three years, during which time the king endeavoured to promote Robert Archer, of the Dominican Order, to the primacy. Albert Suerber or Suebeer, of Cologne,ⁱ another Dominican, was at last consecrated at Westminster, on the thirtieth of September, 1240, by Walter, bishop of Worcester, in the presence of the king, as well as of Otho, the papal legate, and many bishops. The conventual church of the Franciscans, at Athlone, was consecrated by him the following year. He assisted personally, in 1245, at the General Council of Lyons, where, in the order of subscription, his name, "Albertus Armachanus," preceded the names of all the bishops of France, Italy, and Spain.^j He was strongly attached to the papal see, in support of whose power he was involved in various suits in spiritual courts, concerning pleas of advowson and patronage, which by the common law of the land appertained only to the king's temporal courts. An exchange was made by Albert, with Hugh de Lacy, earl of Ulster, of the lands of Coulrath [Coleraine], in Toscard [Twescard, co. Londonderry], for those of Machirgallin [co. Armagh] and the manor of Nobhir [Meath].

In 1245, the king directed his writ to Albert, as well as to the other prelates of Ireland, in which he decreed that his writs of common law should run in Ireland as well as England. Albert resigned his see in 1246, and died abroad.

The Chancellor of Armagh, against the consent of the rest of the Chapter, postulated Germanus, bishop of Derry, but upon appeal to the Pope, Germanus was set aside, and Raighned (Reginald), a Dominican friar, appointed archbishop. He is styled Raynor in Primate Swayne's Register. Before his time, the county of Louth had belonged to the diocese of Clogher, but Reginald obtained permission from the Pope to unite it to that of Armagh. In fact, the revenues of the see had been found inadequate to the support of its dignity, and in the time of Primate Albert, Henry III. had issued mandatory letters to Fitzgerald, Lord Justice of Ireland, directing him to "cause livery of seisin to be given to the archbishop of Armagh, of all the lands belonging to the see of Clogher." This order was not carried into effect, yet, in a short time, the bishop of Clogher was divested, not only of the church of Louth, but of the deaneries of Drogheda, Ardee, and Dundalk.^a Reiner died in Rome in 1256, and was succeeded by Abraham O'Connellan,^b vicar in spirituals of the church of Armagh, who died on the feast of Saint Thomas of Canterbury, the twenty-first of December, 1260. The Annals of Multifarnham and those of Loch Cé say that this event happened in 1259, but it is distinctly stated in primate Swayne's registry, that he was archbishop of Armagh in 1260.

Patrick O'Scanlan,^c a Dominican friar and bishop of Raphoe, was unanimously postulated archbishop by the Chapter of Armagh, under a license granted by the king, on the twenty-seventh of February, 1261. Henry confirmed his election, and it was ratified by Urban IV., in a bull dated the fifth of November of the same year. O'Scanlan convened a provincial synod at Drogheda, on the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday after All-Saints' Day, 1265; the decrees of which are yet extant, in the register of Octavian de Palatio [de Spinellis]. He was assisted at this synod by the suffragan bishops of the province, and also by some of those of the province of Tuam, as subject to Armagh by right of the primacy. The lord justice, certain

canons of cathedral churches, the members of the Privy Council and several of the principal men of the kingdom also dignified the synod by their presence. In November, 1263, Urban IV. is said to have issued a bull, addressed to archbishop O'Scanlan, in which he confirmed the dignity of the primacy of all Ireland, to the see of Armagh, in the following terms [which do not betray the style of the Curia]:—

"Following the example of Pope Celestine, our predecessor, we, by our Apostolic authority, confirm to you and to your successors the primacy of all Ireland, which title, it is well known, your predecessors have held firm and unshaken till this time; decreeing that all the archbishops and bishops of Ireland and other prelates thereof, shall always pay, to you and to your successors, all obedience and reverence, as to their primate."

Ware quotes this bull as an authentic document. Dr. MacMahon, primate of Armagh, also refers to it in the fourteenth page of his "*Jus Primatiale Armacanum*." But Burke, in his "*Hibernia Dominicana*," page 459, asserts that the bull cannot be found in the records of Rome, nor among the bulls of "The Order of Preachers," and therefore seems to infer that it is spurious. It ought, however, to be remarked that this learned writer refers the bull to the year 1261, as if MacMahon had said that it had been issued in that year. Now it is not the date of the papal bull, but the translation of O'Scanlan to the see of Armagh, which the accurate MacMahon refers to the year 1261.

Primate O'Scanlan founded a house for Franciscans in Armagh, in 1264. The *Annals of Ulster* inform us that in 1266 he commenced the larger church of St. Patrick in that city, and that in the same year he consecrated the cemetery attached to the Franciscan Abbey. He died on the sixteenth of March, 1270, at St. Leonard's abbey in Dundalk, and was buried in the Dominican convent at Dedmathalha (Drogheda). He is styled in Octavian's register the sixty-eighth archbishop after Saint Patrick, who had presided over the see, *viriliter et reverenter novem annis*.

The next primate, Nicholas MacMælisu, a canon of Armagh, was, *per viam compromissi*," unanimously elected by the Chapter, and his election was confirmed by Gregory X. on the thirteenth

July, 1272. He was consecrated by the bishop of Tusculum, and shortly afterwards received the pallium. He was an eloquent, devout and sagacious man. In his zeal for religion, he granted to the church of Armagh many valuable books, besides rich vestments and an annual pension of twenty marks, payable out of his manor of Termonfechan,⁴ during the period of twenty years. The sum was to be appropriated to the repairs and adornment of the church; and to the same use he granted a tenement in the town of Termonfechan, and the manor of Dromiskin, containing seventeen ploughlands, which he had purchased from Roger de Thornton and Isabel his wife.

MacMælisu set himself against the practice, begun at the earliest opportunity by the English monarch, of appointing Englishmen to Irish sees. He even, for a long time refused to confirm Saint Leger bishop of Meath; and, when that prelate went to Rome to prosecute his appeal, he seized upon the temporalities of his see. It was five years before the bishop could receive consecration and the restitution of his rights. MacMælisu rendered himself obnoxious in various ways to the King of England, and he formed an association^o of a singular nature amongst the clergy, under the sanction of a solemn oath. By this oath, they bound themselves, reciprocally, to defend one another, in every instance, in which their rights or power should be invaded, before all judges, secular and ecclesiastical. They were also to reimburse such of their agents as might suffer loss in advocating or advancing their cause. If any bishop chose to excommunicate any person, a similar anathema was to be fulminated by them all. A heavy penalty, payable to the Pope, and another to the society, were to be levied off every member who should fail in the strict fulfilment of this extraordinary compact.⁵ This association was formed in the Franciscan convent at Trim, on the Sunday after St. Matthew's day, in the year 1291. Nicholas died on the tenth of May, 1303. The *Annals of Ulster* laud him as the most pious ecclesiastic of Ireland in his time.

¹ *Prvn. Papal Usurp.* vol. 2, p. 240. ² *Tower Records.* Pat 8 John, Mem 3, dors test 30 Aug.
³ *Annal Minor.* tom I, p. 605 A.D. 1241, No. 28.
⁴ Termonfechan Castle, situated three and a-half miles north east from Drogheda, was the sanctuary of Saint Fechan, abbot of Foure, in the county of Westmeath. Termonfechan manor belonged to the

see and at the castle in the centre of the village, the primates of Armagh formerly resided three months in the year. Since the days of Archbishop Ussher this custom has ceased. There was an abbey here for canonesses regular, which was confirmed by Pope Celestine III. A.D. 1195.—*Grase's Ant. of Ireland*, vol. 2, p. 18. ⁵ Ware's *Bishops*, p. 69.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

4 ELECTION OF MACGILLAWEEB.—We have now arrived at a crisis in the history of the primatial see, which has not received the attention from historians that its importance deserves. This was the first attempt, though fortunately an unsuccessful one, to place an Englishman in the see. It was the policy of John and his successors, by forcing English clerics into the cathedral chapters in Ireland, to secure the election of their own countrymen to the bishoprics, and thus bring the Irish church under the dominion of the English crown, and plunder it legally by enjoying the revenues during vacancies. The present outrageous transaction has been wilfully misrepresented by certain historians, with a purpose to serve, but can easily be settled by reference to the State Papers, which, when they wrote, had not been made available to the general public.

Primate O'Connor died in 1201, and the suffragan bishops of Armagh proceeded to an election. As we see in the text, there were four candidates, three Englishmen, or rather Anglo-Normans, and one Irishman. It is not at all likely that anyone of the three former was canonically elected by the Irish suffragans, especially as Eugene had the support and favour of the clergy and people, and was held in great estimation. But John who, about the same period, gave permission to the Chapter of Waterford to elect a bishop, provided they elected an Englishman, was determined to put an Englishman into Armagh, and after the election, appealed to the Pope. The contest dragged on for three or four years. In August, 1202, John

renewed his appeal before the papal legate, and shows in his letter that the suffragan bishops of Clogher, Clonmacnoise, and Kells and Ardagh were working in Eugene's interest (*Cal. Doc. Ireland*, vol. I. [A.D. 1271—1251] No. 168). In May, the following year, he nominates Humphrey of Tikehull, one of the candidates, to the see, and commands the suffragans to attend to his promotion (No. 177). He thought that Eugene had desisted in his opposition by this time; but, in a short time, found that he had gone to Rome to explain matters to the Pope. He therefore commanded the suffragans not to receive him as archbishop on his return (No. 178). The following year, while Eugene was still in Rome, Tikehull died, and the king nominated Ralph Petit to the see, and commanded the clergy and laity to consider him elected (No. 200).

These letters were disregarded, perhaps never reached their destination. Eugene was confirmed by Innocent III. and obtained peaceable possession of the see.

In the light of this documentary evidence, it is amusing to read Leland's account of the matter. He begins with the principle that, because donations to bishoprics and abbeys in Ireland had been reserved by the English kings to themselves, King John only "asserted his privilege" when he nominated Tikehull to the see of Armagh. Leland takes no notice of the canonical rights of the Irish bishops and the clergy, to whom from time immemorial belonged the right of election, which right John himself acknowledged by his appeal to the Pope. It was either the

adventurers or the king—but the adventurers never received the right, therefore it belonged to the king. John "incensed at this contempt of his authority," addresses an appeal to the legate: "the king, still more provoked, forbids the clergy to receive Eugene;" and, still resolute "in defence of his rights," nominates the arch-deacon of Meath. He represents "the clergy of Armagh adhering to the Pope, and receiving Eugene;" though, as we have seen, John himself was the first to appeal to the Pope. Thus does Leland distort the plain facts of history in order to defend the tyrannical encroachments of John upon the liberties of the Irish Church, though he is forced to admit that the suffragan bishops, the clergy, and the laity were all in favour of Eugene, and that he himself was a man who "had recommended himself by a long course of exemplary conduct."

b TOOK CHARGE OF THE SEE OF EXETER.—The *Annals of Ulster* inform us that, in 1207, "The successor of [St.] Patrick went to the court of the King of the Saxons to succour the churches of Ireland and to accuse the Foreigners of Ireland." It was on this occasion that John availed himself of his services.

July 19, 1207—The king notifies to the keepers of the see of Exeter, that he sends Eugene, archbishop of Armagh and primate of Ireland, to execute the episcopal office in that see. Mandate that when he passes through the demesne lands of the see, the keepers find him reasonable maintenance, with six horses, and it will be accounted to them at the exchequer.—*Cal. Doc. Ireland*, vol. I., No. 331.

This transaction has been very much misunderstood. Leland represents it in the light of an advantage taken by the Pope, and Stuart (corrected in the present edition) implicitly follows him. But the above document shows that it was the king whom the primate helped on this occasion. Be this as it may, the interdict, under which Innocent III. placed the whole realm on account of John's conduct towards the church, was not fulminated till the following year, so that the primate

did not occupy the questionable position of exercising episcopal functions in direct opposition to the Pope.

Leland and Stuart also misrepresent the import of the money given to John on behalf of Eugene. They state that it was given to mollify the indignation of John, and to get him to recognize Eugene as primate. But the fact is, that it was not given till several weeks had elapsed from the time that John had requested the services of Eugene and had publicly acknowledged him as primate. It was not given for mere restitution to temporalities of the see, but for certain lands and liberties about which there had been litigation.—*Cal. Doc. Ireland*, vol. I., No. 335.

c ARMAGH PLUNDERED AGAIN.—We find that Armagh was plundered once more, nine years later. "1217—A predatory host of the Foreigners of Ulidia went to Armagh which was all plundered by them. O'Fothuelan was the person who guided them; for he had promised to the community of Armagh that the Foreigners would not plunder them whilst he would be with the Foreigners. At the end of a week afterwards, O'Neill the Red and the son of MacMahon came and took a great prey from the Foreigners, viz.:—one thousand and one hundred cows. The Foreigners and O'Fothuelan went after them. The men of Tyrone turned against them and killed fourteen Foreigners, who were clad in coats of mail, including the constable of Dundalk, and O'Fothuelan was slain in revenge of Patrick."—*Annals of Loch Ck.*

d BULL OF INNOCENT III. TO HENRY [de Loundres] archbishop of Dublin [1212—1228]—In 1216, a Bull was issued containing the following clause:—"Sacrorum quoque canonum auctoritatem sequentes, statuimus ut nullus archiepiscopus vel episcopus, absque assensu Dublinensis archiepiscopi, si in archiepiscopatu fuerit, in diocesi Dublin conventus celebrare, causas eciam et ecclesiastica negotia ejusdem diocesis, nisi per Romanum Pontificem vel legatum ejus fuerit eidem injunctum, tractare presumat.

Porro, crucem, vexillum Dominicum, scilicet, per tuam diocesim et episcopatus tibi subditos ante te deferendi, fraternitati tue licentiam impertimur."—Perugia, May 18, 1216. *Crede Mihi*, ff. 81 b, 82 (Ed. Gilbert, Dublin, 1897, p. 10).

e WARE ON THE ELECTION OF BISHOPS IN IRELAND.—"Luke Netterville, next successor to Eugene, seems to me to be the first who had a regular and canonical election; yet the ingredient of *congé d'être*, or the King's licence to proceed to an election, was wanting; which, by the law of England (now received in Ireland) was necessary to complete the title. Whatever power the Pope encroached on this occasion was only in relation to the spiritualities, being such profits, as the bishop received as bishop, and not as a baron of parliament; such as visitation, ordination, and institution duties, and the like. The temporalities, or lay revenues, which the bishop enjoyed as baron of parliament, still remained entire to the Crown, and the provisional bishop had but little to live on, until he obtained restitution to the temporalities by the king's concurrence. So that to make a complete bishop, there were henceforward three interests to be consulted: the king's, the electors', and the Pope's, which could not but occasion many contests and disorders. It is true that the Pope endeavoured to wrench the grant of the temporalities out of the Crown. Hence it became the constant practice, at the time that bishops received their temporalities from the king, for them to renounce, by a solemn writing, all right to the same by virtue of any papal provision, and to acknowledge them as held only by the king's bounty. And these things continued until the Reformation."—Harris's *Ware*, vol. I., p. 63.

f ELECTION OF NETTERVILLE.—1217. Aug. 13—The king to the clergy of Armagh. Master Luke, archdeacon of Armagh, has come to the king with a decree of the chapter as elect of their church. As this election is contrary to the custom of the kingdom, licence to elect not having been obtained, the king sends back Luke to

them, granting them free power to elect; and prays if it seems meet to them, that they may elect him as a man of honest conversation and fame—a man who had been useful to the king and the kingdom. Oxford.—*Calendar of Doc. relating to Ireland*, vol. I., No. 797.

g "1220—Lucas de Netterville came to Ireland, and brought with him the primacy of all Erin; and he was the first Foreigner who obtained the primacy of all Ireland."—*Annals of Lough Cé*.

h NETTERVILLE WAS BURIED.—Although Ware asserts he was buried in Mellifont, the *Liber Niger* of the archbishops of Dublin gives a different account:—"In the year 1224 he began to build an abbey in Drogheda for the Friars Preachers, in which he was buried, on April 27, 1227.—*Liber Niger*, ad annum 1217.

i ALBERT OF COLOGNE.—*The Annals of Ulster* informs us that the Lord Alberic was consecrated in England. "This can only signify that Albert (of Cologne) was in England when appointed primate. On Jan. 3, 1241, Henry III. granted him letters of protection in going to Ireland.—(*D.I.*, i, 2503.)

"He had been bishop of Bremen. Albertus, Livoniensis episcopus, obiit. Et Bremensis ecclesia, jure suo potita, Albertum, Bremensem scholasticum, in episcopum elegit; qui postea factus est Primas in Hibernia.—*Annal. Stadenses*. A.D. 1228-9. *Mou. Germ. Hist.—Script.*, xvi. 360.) Subsequently he became a Dominican and was Provincial in England at the date in the text."—*Annals of Ulster*, vol. ii., p. 297, note.

In 1242, the annals inform us that the primate went into "Saxon-land." The object of this journey appears from a mandate of Henry III. (St. Sever, May 6, 1243) to the justiciary of Ireland. A[lbert], archbishop of Armagh, had lately come to the king in Gascony, demanding, in right of his church, restitution of Drogheda, Louth and other vills, and of the manor of Nobber (co. Meath), this last having belonged to Hugh de Lacy, late Earl of Ulster. Fitzgerald was commanded to take with him the treasurer of Ireland

and the seneschal of Meath and enquire into the archiepiscopal rights; which the king neither will, nor ought to, subtract from. *Cal. Doc. Ireland*, vol. I, No. 2618.

In 1244, the king wrote to him, complaining that he had done subversive of the kingly crown and dignity. "The archbishop has given two subjects of complaint to the king, first because obtained from the Pope that the king's subjects should be sued out of the realm concerning lands and advowsons of churches; and secondly, because his petition makes no mention of the king's privilege." (No. 2717)

It was probably these difficulties with the king that made Albert tarry at Lyons after the General Council, and resign his see into the hands of the Pope. On Mar. 5, 1246, the king writes:—"It having been intimated to the king as certain that the see of Armagh is vacant by the resignation of the archbishop, the king commands John Fitz Geoffrey, justiciary of Ireland, to take into the king's hand all the lands and possessions of the archbishopric and safely keep them till further orders (No. 2812.)

The Annals inform us that in this year, "Alberic [Albert] the German, archbishop of Ard-Macha, proceeded to Hungary [Prussia]," and from the *Annales Stadenses* we learn that he was sent (May the third) by Innocent IV. as archbishop to Prussia and Livonia, that in the following year, he took charge of the see of Lübeck, and after some time was translated as archbishop to Riga in Russia.

He is probably the archbishop of Armagh at whose joint request with two others named, mandate was issued by Innocent IV. July 13, to provide a clerk with prebend, or other benefice, in the city or diocese of Maestricht.—*Calendar of Papal Registers*, I. p. 272).

Dr. Burke in the *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 458, makes mention of a certain Henricus, a Dominican provincial of England, made archbishop of Armagh in 1245, and omits Albert from his list of Dominican bishops of Ireland. As most of the details given of Henricus correspond to those of Albert's career, they are evidently iden-

tical persons, the name *Albericus* probably having given rise to the confusion. Further details, coupled with the name of Henricus, are, that he was sent to the Russian court as legate, with the charge of extinguishing the Russian schism, and that his mission, being for the time successful, the Pope, at the Russian king's solicitation, empowered him to reconcile the whole nation with the Catholic Church. He died on July the first, 1254. Math. Westm. Math. Paris.

J. PRIMATE REGINALD.—Friar Reginald, papal penitentiary and afterwards archbishop of Armagh, a very religious man, told how he was present in the convent at Bologna, when the procurator, coming up to St. Dominic, began to complain that he had nothing but two loaves to put before the community, which at that period was very numerous, for their dinner; how St. Dominic, in imitation of Christ, told him to cut up the loaves into small pieces, and then having given a blessing, put his trust in the Lord, who is rich in blessings to all who invoke Him. And he told how St. Dominic commanded the server to go round the refectory and put two or three small pieces before everyone, and how when he had done this, and found something still remaining, he went round a second and a third time, and still some bread remained. And he told how when all had enough, some bread still remained after the repast.—*Vitas Fratrum* I. ii., cap. xx.: a contemporary manuscript.

He was one of the twelve friars sent by St. Dominic in 1221 to establish the Order in England. After three years he came over to Ireland for the same purpose, and in a few years he succeeded in establishing the Order in several of the principal towns of the country. He afterwards returned to Rome, and was made one of the papal penitentiaries by Gregory IX., in 1237. After the resignation of Albert, the king, in order to be beforehand with the Pope, hurried on the election.

[April, 1246.] Having learnt that the Pope by all means intends to ordain to the Archbishopric of Armagh, the king gives power to John Fitz Geoffrey, justi-

ciary of Ireland, in lieu of the king, to grant to the chapter of that church licence to elect, and to assent to the election.—*Cal. Doc. Ireland*, vol. i., No. 2829.

In spite of the king's desire, Reginald was appointed, as we gather from the *Annals of Ulster*: 1247. "Raighned was instituted into the arch-bishopric of Ard-Macha in Rome." "The apparent inconsistency of this and the final (additional) entry of the preceding year [viz., that the bishop of Rath-Luraigh was chosen to be archbishop], is explained by the letter, dated Lyons, Oct. 8 (1246) of Innocent IV., directing the Dominican Prior of Drogheda and the Franciscan Guardian of Dundalk to serve citations in the matter of the Armagh succession. When the see became vacant (by resignation of the German, Albert), the chancellor, against the consent of the rest of the chapter, postulated Germanus, bishop of Rathluraigh (Derry). The archdeacon appealed to the Pope, who through the aforesaid Prior and Guardian enjoined all concerned to appear before the Curia, on, or before, the next *Letare Jerusalem* Sunday (the fourth Sunday of the following Lent, March 10, 1247). (Theiner, *ubi sup.*, p. 45. The present entry of the *Annals* shows that the election of Germanus was set aside and Raighned [Reginald?] made archbishop."—*Annals of Ulster*, vol. ii., p. 308, note.

After his consecration in Rome, in 1247, where he was residing, he came back to Ireland the following year:—Raighnedh, archbishop of Ard-Macha, came from Rome with the Pallium, and Mass was said by him in it, on the feast of [SS.] Peter and Paul [Monday, June 29] in Ard-Macha.—*Annals of Ulster*.

In June, 1252, letters of protection for one year, equivalent to leave of absence, were issued for Reginald, gone to the court of Rome.—*Cal. Doc. Ireland*, vol. ii., 60.

They were extended the following year till November (No. 196), at which time Reginald appears to have returned to his see. The year following he came into conflict with the king over an election to the

see of Meath (Nos. 315, 352). Letters of protection were again issued for him in July, 1255, gone to the court of Rome by the king's licence (No. 354). The king being jealous, however, at his constant intercourse with Rome, Alexander IV. wrote to him and explained that Reginald was doing nothing against his kingly prerogatives, and requested the king not to believe his detractors. He died in Rome in 1256, leaving as his executors, Patrick O'Scanlan, bishop of Raphoe, Miles de Dunstable, bishop of Ardagh, and Bertram, archdeacon of Armagh.

§ LOUTH ADDED TO ARMAGH.—In the earlier centuries, Louth had a bishop of its own, and the succession lasted to 1044. It was then merged into the diocese of Clogher. In the thirteenth century, more than one attempt was made to merge the whole diocese of Clogher into that of Armagh. When Donat O'Feery, bishop of Clogher, was postulated for Armagh, King Henry the III. authorized the union and asked the Pope to give his consent to it.—(*Cal. Doc. Ireland* vol. I, No. 1559.) The proposal was not carried into effect, and it seems to have been a great cause of disunion between the archbishop of Armagh and the new bishop of Clogher, as the latter ten years afterwards, made a bitter complaint to the king about many grievous injuries which, he alleged, had been inflicted on his diocese by the archbishop.

Another attempt at union was made immediately after Albert of Cologne had succeeded to the see, and Gregory IX. appointed a commission to enquire into the proposed union.

1 ABRAHAM O'CONNELLAN.—1257, Abraham Ua Conallan went to Rome after his election to the archbishopric of Ard-Macha.—*Annals of Ulster*.

1258—about Feb. 6—The king to Alan la Souche, justiciary, and Master William de Bakepuz, escheator of Ireland. As Master Abraham, late archpresbyter in the church of Armagh, who had been promoted to the archbishopric thereof, is detained at the court of Rome by affairs of his church, the Pope had prayed the

king to restore the temporalities to him. Granted.—*Cal. Doc. Ireland*, vol. ii., No. 569.

March 16.—The Pope having confirmed the election made in the church of Acqs [*Aquiacana ecclesia*] of Master Abraham, formerly canon of Armagh, as archbishop of the latter church, to which election the king had previously given the royal assent, and the Pope having consecrated him, the king accepts the confirmation and consecration (No. 571).

1258.—Abraham, archbishop of Ard-Macha, obtains the pallium from the Roman Curia and celebrated Mass there-with on [Sunday] the 4th of the Nones [2nd] of June, at Ard-Macha.—*Annals of Ulster*.

m PRIMATE O'SCANLAN.—The following entries about him in the *Annals of Ulster* show the sphere of his activity:—

1253—Mael-Padraig Ua Sganuill of the Preaching Order was chosen by the archbishop of Ard-Macha, by advice of Pope Innocent, to the bishopric of Rath-both [Raphoe.] And the same archbishop constituted him his Vicar in the Province of Ard-Macha, after he was consecrated in the Monastery of the Friars Minor of Dundalgan [Dundalk] on the first Sunday of the Advent of the Lord [Nov. 30.]

1255—Donatus, namely, the eighth abbot that was in the Monastery of Paul and Peter in Ard-Macha, rested, and Patrick O'Murray, namely, prior of the same house, was chosen to the abbacy and he was blessed by the hands of Mael-Patraic [Ua Sganuill,] bishop of Rath-both.

1261—Patrick (that is Mael-Padraig) Ua Sganuill, bishop of Rath-both, was elected unanimously as archbishop of Ard-Macha, and he defended at the Apostolic See the election made of himself.

1262—Patrick, that is Mael-Padraig Ua Sganuill, archbishop of Ard-Macha, said Mass with the Pallium on the morrow [of the feast] of John the Baptist [Sunday, June 25] in Ard-Macha.

1264—Friars Minor were brought to Ard-Macha by the archbishop, namely, by Mael-Padraig Ua Sganuill and the same person, that is Mael-Padraig, made a ditch round Ard-Macha this year.

1265—Friar Patrick O'Sganuill, archbishop of Ard-Macha, held a general chapter in Drochet-atha this year (the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th week-day) [Sunday, Nov. 1] after the Feast of All Saints.

1266—The larger church of St. Patrick in the city of Armagh was commenced by the archbishop of Armagh, namely, Mael-Padraig Ua Sganuill.

The cemetery of the Friars Minor of Armagh was consecrated by the same Patrick, archbishop and the lords [bishops] of Raphoe, Down and Connor.

1268—Mael Padraig Ua Sganuill, archbishop of Ard-macha, went to the house of the king of the Saxons this year and came from the east again the same year with great power. Michael Mac-an-tshair (Carpenter) official of Ard-Macha, was consecrated bishop in Clochar by the archbishop of Ard-Macha, on the morrow of the Nativity of Blessed Mary [Sept. 8.]

1270—The successor [St.] Patrick, namely, Mael-Padraig Ua Sganuill, rested in Christ.

In 1263, Urban IV. wrote to him urging him to collect the papal taxes and to enquire into what had been collected by John de Frusinone, the Pope's former nuntio in Ireland. The Pope believes the archbishop to have been negligent in these matters, and recalls to his mind, that when the archbishop was in Rome he made a verbal promise to look after them well.—Theiner. *Vetera Monumenta*, p. 91.

About the same period Pope Clement IV. urged on the collection of money for the Crusades. In the accounts rendered by the Dominican collectors, we have the following item regarding Armagh. Thomas, bishop of Lismore, writes that he has received in 1266 from Friar Clement, of the Dominican convent of Drogheda, eleven pounds sterling, twelve solidi and eight-pence collected by him among the Irish of the Province of Armagh. Theiner, p. 109.

The synod of Drogheda appears to have been convened principally for the purpose of asserting the primatial right of visitation, especially with regard to the diocese of Meath, about which there had previously been a great deal of litigation.

O'Scanlan also published at this synod the privilege granted in 1255 by Alexander IV. to the Archbishop of Armagh, that the latter should visit the province of Tuam every five years and continue twenty-seven days in the visitation. (Theiner, p. 68 et seq.) In the former septennial visits the continuation was unlimited.

The object of O'Scanlan's journey to England, in 1268, was probably to expose the grievances which the bishops and clergy of Ulster suffered at the hands of Walter de Burgh, earl of Ulster. For, in a letter written to the earl, Dec. 22, 1269, the king complained that "the earl had dragged into his court the archbishop of Armagh and the bishops and abbots of that county, compelling them and their tenants to answer regarding their holdings and in other pleas belonging to the crown, as if they were subject to the earl which they are not. The earl further usurps the custodies of abbeys when vacant, arbitrarily extorts amerciaments from prelates and inflicts other enormities on them."—*Cal. Doc. Ireland*, vol. ii., No. 860

n PER VIAM COMPROMISSI.—Among the many forms for the election of bishops, mentioned in the Decretals of Gregory IX. (*Tit. de Electione*), one is *per compromissum*; when the electors, unable to agree, transfer the power of election to three or more persons generally bound by oath.—Du Cange.

Three alternative modes of election (to the exclusion of casting lots) are prescribed in Canon Law (cap. *Quia propter*, 42, de Elect.): (1) *Scrutiny*, when three of the electors are chosen to collect the suffrages; (2) *Compromise*, when all the electors depute one or more, whether of their number or otherwise, to make the selection; (3) *Inspiration*, when all the voters, as if inspired, name the same person. (The best known instance of the third method is the acclamation of St. Ambrose, still a catechumen, as bishop, in the church of Milan)

Adoption of the second or third would have obviated the frequent protracted and bitter suits, enriching advocates and im-

poverishing disputants, arising from the first.

o CONFEDERATION OF THE CLERGY.—

This was not a union of Irish against English clergy, as some might suppose from the fact that it was formed by Nicholas MacMalisu. It was a combination of the bishops in Ireland, both of Irish and English blood, against the tyrannical encroachments of the secular power upon their rights and liberties. The names of nine suffragan bishops of Armagh follow that of the primate, and the names of the three other archbishops of Dublin, Tuam and Cashel, are followed by those of eighteen suffragan bishops of those provinces. The object of the association is stated in the following words:—"Episcopi confederati, ut resistant sumptibus communibus quominus laici se intromittant in rebus ecclesiasticis."

The confederation was the only means left to the clergy of Ireland to assert their rights and liberties against the intolerable oppression of the State. The archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, amongst others, had sent petitions to the king, two years before this, demanding the peaceable exercise of immemorial rights, but the answers received were so discourteous and unsatisfactory, that they saw that it was only by combination they could save their liberties.

The hostile spirit of the English government to Irish clerics at this period, and their intermeddling spirit with the concerns of the Church, is well illustrated by the following item taken from a memorandum on the state of the Irish exchequer, forwarded to the king about 1285—"And it would be expedient to the king that no Irishman should ever be an archbishop or bishop [?], because they always preach against the king, and always provide their churches with Irishmen, . . . so that an election of bishops might be made of Irishmen to maintain their language; and not of others . . . *ad fundendam linguam*. In like manner the Dominicans and Franciscans make much [*faciunt multa*] of that language."—*Cal. Doc. Ireland*, vol. iii., p. 10.



CHAPTER IX.

PRIMATES OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

Primates Walter and Roland Joyce—Descent of Edward Bruce on Ireland and Battle of Faughard—Contests between Armagh and Dublin—Primate Richard Fitz-Ralph—His Controversy with the Mendicant Friars—Primate Sweetman—*Black Statute* of Kilkenny—Irish Parliament refuses Supplies—Irish Representatives summoned to Westminster—Primate Colton.

Supplementary Notes—Ecclesiastical Taxation of Armagh—Primate Joyce and the Statute of Kilkenny—Battle of Faughard—Resignation of Roland Joyce—Primate Seagrave publishes Excommunication of Louis of Bavaria—Primate Sweetman's Constitutions about Concord between English and Irish—Primate Colton.



AFTER the decease of Nicholas MacMælisu, the see was vacant till 1306,^a when John Taaffe was consecrated by provision of Pope Clement V., dated August twenty-seventh of that year. He died at the papal court shortly afterwards, having never seen his diocese after having received the mitre.

Clement V. then appointed to the see, on August sixth, 1307, Walter de Jorse (or Joyce),^b a Dominican friar and confessor of King Edward II., who was consecrated by Nicholas, bishop of Ostia, and shortly afterwards received the pallium from Landulph, cardinal-deacon

of St. Angelo.¹ He is described by Antonius Sinensis in his "Chronicle of the Dominican Order," as a man of profound learning and great wisdom. But Donald O'Neill, who styles himself king of Ulster and true heir, by hereditary right, of all Ireland, entertained a very poor opinion of this primate. For in a letter which he despatched to Pope John, about the year 1318, in which he gave a copious account of the injuries which, he said, his country had received from the English monarchs and certain English prelates, he styles the archbishop of Armagh "a man of little discretion and no knowledge."⁴ Various works were written by Joyce, amongst which were:—*Promptuarium Theologiæ*, *De Peccatis in genere*, *Questiones variæ*. He resigned the see in 1311, and was succeeded on November the thirteenth of the same year by (his brother) Roland, who was also a member of that Order. Roland received the pallium on January the thirteenth, 1312.

A very violent contest took place between Roland Joyce and the archbishop of Dublin, concerning the primatial right, and the power formerly exercised by the primate of Armagh of having his cross carried before him in the diocese of Dublin.

On the feast of St. Augustine of Canterbury, May the twenty-sixth, 1315, Edward Bruce, brother to the hero King, Robert Bruce, invaded Ulster with a considerable army. He wasted the see of Armagh, and reduced its archbishop, Roland Joyce, to a state of extreme poverty, by the continual incursions of his soldiers. Active, hardy, and adventurous, Bruce fought many battles and performed various hazardous exploits, which cannot be narrated in this present work. During the stay of this adventurer in Ireland, the people were afflicted with the combined miseries of faction, war, and famine.

Primate Joyce was present at the battle of Faughard (near Dundalk), Saturday, October 14, 1318, in which Bruce was defeated by an English army under the command of Sir John Bermingham.

"To this conflict there came," says Christopher Pembridge, "on the part of the Scots, Lord Edward Brus (who named himself king of Ireland), the Lord Philip Mowbray, the Lord Walter Soulis, the Lord Allan Stewart, with his three brethren; also Sir Walter Lacy, Sir Robert and Sir Aumar Lacy, John Kermerdyne, and Walter White,

and about three thousand others. On the English side, the Lord John Bermingham, Sir Richard Tuit, Sir Miles Verdon, Sir Hugh Tripton, Sir Herbert Sutton, Sir John Cusack, Sir Edward and Sir William Bermingham, and the primate of Armagh. Besides these, Sir Walter Larpulk and some choice soldiers from Tredagh (Drogheda), under the command of Sir John Maupas,"^a joined the English."^d

The primate of Armagh, before the battle commenced, gave public absolution to the English soldiers. Leland states that he took a most active and conspicuous part in this battle, moving from rank to rank, bestowing benedictions on the soldiers, stimulating them to deeds of valour, and pronouncing a plenary absolution of sins to all who should die combating in so honourable a cause. Doubtless such zealous and animated conduct must have had a powerful effect on the minds of the soldiery, who probably deemed that the powers of heaven would be thus engaged on their behalf, and that, if they survived the battle, victory and triumph would be their glorious reward; but if they fell, immortal happiness awaited them in paradise.

The battle closed. "The English," says Pembridge, "gave the onset." John Maupas and Edward Bruce fought hand to hand. The valiant Scot fell before his opponent, who, pierced with mortal wounds, sank, a victor in death, on the dead body of his prostrate enemy. After a desperate contest, the Scottish army was totally routed with the loss of two thousand men.^e

Roland, who had resigned his see into the hands of the Pope in 1322,^f was succeeded, on the sixteenth of March, 1323, by Stephen Seagrave,^g rector of Stepney church, near London. This prelate was the descendant of a noble family, and had been chancellor of the University of Cambridge. In the year 1328, King Edward III. wrote letters in his favour to Pope John XXII., in which he commends him highly for his noble extraction, sound morals, eminent knowledge and zealous discharge of his ecclesiastical duties.^h Primate Seagrave died in England, in 1333.

David Mageraghty, who succeeded, was restored to the temporalities on the sixteenth of March, 1334, and died on the sixteenth of May, 1346. Pembridge says that this prelate, "having been called to the parliament at Dublin, made provision for housekeeping at the

monastery of Saint Mary near Dublin, but because he would have his cross borne before him, he was impeached by the archbishop and his clergy, who would not permit him to keep house there." The king, however, issued writs to the archbishop and corporation of Dublin, commanding them to refrain from molesting the primate.⁶

On the thirty-first of July, 1346, Richard Fitz-Ralph,⁸ who had been chancellor of the University of Oxford, was consecrated at Exeter, archbishop of Armagh, by John de Grandison, bishop of Exeter and three other bishops. He is said to have been born at Dundalk, but there is some probability that he was a native of Devonshire.

Fitz-Ralph was a very learned and excellent prelate. He was an author of repute, and wrote eighteen treatises on Theological and other subjects.

A very warm controversy arose between this prelate and the Mendicant Friars, who, at that period, were very active in his diocese. The following propositions maintained by Fitz-Ralph, in a series of sermons delivered by him in London, about the year 1356, will demonstrate the nature of their controversy. They are as follows:—

First—"Christ whilst on earth was always poor."

Second—"He never begged voluntarily."

Third—"Nor taught men voluntarily to beg."

Fourth—"He taught that men ought not voluntarily to beg."

Fifth—"No man consistently with prudence and sanctity can bind himself by vow to perpetual beggary."

Sixth—"Voluntary poverty is no necessary part of the rule of the Friars Minor."

Seventh—"The bull of Pope Alexander IV. does not impugn the above conclusions."

Eighth—"Confessions ought rather to be made in the parish church than in the churches of the Mendicant Friars."

Ninth—"And they should be made to the bishop rather than to the Mendicant Friars."⁷

The guardian of the Franciscan convent of Armagh and the provincial of the Dominicans, offended with these propositions, cited the primate to appear before the Pope at Avignon, where he died on

the sixteenth of December, 1360.⁸ The bones of this divine were translated, in the year 1370, to Dundalk, where he was denominated a saint, and styled Saint Richard. His relics were said to have wrought miracles. In a synod held in Drogheda, on the twentieth of June, 1545, it was ordained that the festival of Saint Richard, archbishop of Armagh, should be celebrated with nine lessons, on the morrow of the feast of SS. John and Paul (June twenty-seventh).⁹

A writ, dated Kyldroght, the twenty-eighth of April, 1355, was directed to Primate Fitz-Ralph, commanding him to go and treat with Hugh O'Neill of Ulster, who was preparing to march with a multitude of Irish to Dundalk and other parts of Louth, to seek redress from the English for injuries which they had inflicted on him.⁹

About this period John Pembridge lived, who was the author of the greater part of those valuable Annals, annexed by Camden to his "Britannia." William Occam, Provincial of the English Cordeliers, called by subsequent writers, *The Unique and Invincible Doctor*, lived in the same period, and died about 1350.

On October the ninth, 1361, Milo Sweetman, treasurer of the cathedral of Kilkenny, a man of prudence and learning, was advanced to the see. In the same year, a pestilence, called the "King's Game," raged in England and Ireland, which swept off multitudes of men, but few women. It commenced about Easter, and without doubt its deleterious effects were as severely felt in Armagh as in other portions of the country. This pestilence was followed, in the year 1370, by another still more calamitous and deadly, in which, says Camden's annals "died many noblemen and gentlemen, citizens also, and children innumerable."

In 1367, a parliament was summoned by the Duke of Clarence, and met at Kilkenny. In this both Lords and Commons sat together, and passed what is known as the *Black Statute of Kilkenny*. By this curious Act, marriage and gossiping, or nursing with the Irish, were pronounced treason in English subjects. Those who adopted any Irish name, or used the apparel or language of the country, were to forfeit their lands. The English were not to permit the cattle of the Irish to *creaght* or graze upon their grounds. Irishmen were not to obtain any ecclesiastical dignity or benefice, nor were to be admitted

as subjects into any monastery situated among the English. The Brehon Laws were not to be used by the English.'

Human ingenuity could not have devised a more effectual plan for preventing any friendly intercourse between the two peoples. Separated from each other by diversity of law, language, and habits of life, it was impossible that they should ever blend together and form a united and happy people.

Sometime in the year 1376, the weak and disordered state of the Irish government gave rise to a singular transaction, in which the Primate Sweetman particularly distinguished himself. The English parliament finding Ireland to be a great burthen on its finances, demanded that a strict enquiry should be made regarding the deficiencies of the Irish exchequer.¹⁰ The king complied with their solicitations, and Nicholas Dagworth was sent to Dublin, with orders to investigate the subject most minutely, as well as to stimulate his majesty's ministers to exert themselves for the interest of their sovereign. Directions were also given that a parliament should be forthwith assembled, whose object should be to provide, by subsidy, for the exigencies of the Irish establishment, and for the aid of the king in his foreign wars.

The parliament having accordingly assembled, refused the supplies, pleading in excuse, the poverty of the nation and its inability to raise the required subsidies.

The king, irritated at this refusal, summoned by writs both the clergy and the laity. The bishops were peremptorily ordered to select in each diocese two clergymen as their representatives. The Commons were directed to choose in each county two laymen, as the representatives of the Lords and Commons. The cities and burgesses were commanded to depute, in a similar manner, two citizens or burgesses; and the whole of this elected body were to meet the king and his council in England, to form regulations relative to the government, and to the subsidies which his majesty required in aid of his foreign wars.

The answer of the archbishop of Armagh is remarkable and well worthy of being recorded. "We are not bound," said the prelate, "agreeably to the liberties, privileges, rights, laws and customs

of the church and land of Ireland, to elect any of our clergy, and to send them to any part of England, for the purpose of holding parliaments or councils in England. Yet, on account of our reverence to our lord, the king of England, and the now imminent necessity of the land aforesaid, saving to us and to the Lords and Commons of the said land, all rights, privileges, liberties, laws and customs before-mentioned, we have elected representatives to repair to the king in England, to treat and consult with him and his council. Except, however, that we do by no means grant to our said representatives any power of assenting to any burdens or subsidies to be imposed on us or our clergy, to which we cannot yield by reason of our poverty and daily expense in defending the land against the Irish enemy." "

An answer similar in spirit and effect was returned by the nobles and commons of the county of Dublin.

After these declarations had been formally made, the Irish representatives repaired to Westminster, and their wages were paid by the dioceses, counties and boroughs which had elected and deputed them.

It is probable that this body of Irish representatives was utterly incompetent, under the limited powers granted to them by their constituents, to vote the subsidies demanded by Edward. If this had not been the case, it is likely that the English and Irish parliaments would have then coalesced and been ever after regularly held as one body, at Westminster, and thus a legislative union between the two countries would have been effected four hundred and twenty-four years before the period in which it has actually taken place. The decided conduct, however, of the primate of Armagh, and of the other bishops, aided by the nobility and commons of Ireland, seems to have prevented the adoption of this important political measure. It does not appear that the Irish representatives, when convened at Westminster, did anything of moment, inasmuch as history has not narrated their acts, having probably found nothing of consequence to record.

Some persons, who viewed with an envious eye the great landed property annexed to the abbey of SS. Peter and Paul, in Armagh, represented the Canons Regular of that institution to the king as a

body of mere Irish, who spent the proceeds of their endowments in entertaining their countrymen. Edward III., therefore, seized a carucate of their land in the Curragh, near Dundalk. Of this he granted a life-interest to James Billen. However, in the succeeding year, an inquisition was held, and the jury pronounced that the members of the community were *probi et legales*, true and loyal subjects. The lands were of course restored to the abbey.

Milo Sweetman died in his manor at Dromiskin, on the eleventh August, 1380, and was succeeded by John Colton,ⁱ a native of Torrington in the county of Norfolk, who, having been made archbishop of Armagh, by provision of the Pope, in 1381, was restored to the temporalities on the ninth of March, in the following year. This prelate seems to have been possessed of considerable talents. He was a doctor of canon law, and had been first master of Gonville Hall, Cambridge, in the year 1348. After this period, he was dean of Dublin, and for a time chancellor and lord-justice of Ireland. His abilities recommended him to the notice of Richard II., who employed him in an important negotiation at the court of Rome, together with John Whitehead, B.D., and Richard Moor, vicar of Termonfechan. Primate Colton annexed to his see the convent of Benedictine monks of Saint Andrew, in the county of Down, commonly called Black-Abbey, which he purchased from the abbey of Saint Mary de Lonley, in Normandy, to which it had been an affiliated cell.

Bayle says that he wrote an account of the causes and remedies of the schism which then existed between Urban VI. and Clement VII.; and some provincial constitutions published by him are still extant. He died in April 1404, and was buried in St. Peter's church, Drogheda, having a little before his decease resigned the see.

ⁱ Rymer, tom. 3, p. 5. ² Camden's Annals, p. 178. In the year 1739, a great gun was dug up near Dundalk church, which, it is alleged, was left there by Lord Bermingham, after the defeat of Bruce. If this is true, the use of cannon must have been known at an earlier period than is generally conceived. This piece of artillery was encircled and secured with several hoops.

The fugitive Scots of Bruce's army are said to have lost or to have buried considerable quantities

of coined money, in their flight across the country. On the twenty fifth of August, 1814, a man who was labouring in a field in Castlelenaghan, within five miles of Newry, dug up a large cow-horn, full of old silver coins. On some of these, in my possession, the words

ROBERTUS DEI GRA: REX SCOTTORUM

are perfectly legible, and the king's face in profile is distinctly visible. He is crowned, and a waving

line, not inelegantly designed, which terminates at each side of the neck, surrounds his head. Between this line and the visage of the monarch, a sceptre appears parallel to his face. These are all enclosed in a complete circle, which is itself inscribed with the king's title. On the reverse is a cross, the lines of which are nearly diameters of the coin, and cut two concentric circles, whose common centre is also that of the cross. In the vertical angles, are four stars, each of which has five irradiations. The outer circle contains the following inscription:—

DN̄S: P̄TECTOR M̄S ✠ LIBATOR M̄S,
Dominus Protector meus—Christus Liberator meus.

The inner circle contains the words

VILLA EDINBURGH.

Some of the coins bear the *imprimatur* of David. In these the words *SCOTORUM* is written with a single *r*.

4 *Scotochron*, Johan. Fordun, vol. 3, p. 908 et seq. 5 Rymer, tom. 4, p. 7. 6 Pryn, p. 409. 7 *Defensorium Curatorum*. 8 *Regist. Dowdall*, p. 89. 9 *Rot. Pat. Birm. Tur.* 29 Edw. III. d. No. 83. 10 *Rot. Tur. Birm.* 29 Edw. III. 11 *Leland*, vol. I., p. 328. The first regularly convened parliament was held in Ireland A.D. 1295, but parliamentary acts had been made before that period.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

a ECCLESIASTICAL TAXATION OF IRELAND.

—The returns of papal taxation in Ireland at the beginning of the fourteenth century supply many details about the state of the dioceses and parishes which would otherwise have perished. The king, in his writs, calls the assessment of 1302, *Decima Papalis*, and appoints Richard de Bereford, treasurer of Ireland, sub-collector under the bishop of London and

Bartholomew de Ferentino, both of whom were the Pope's agents on this occasion.

In 1306, the king, being again in want of money, applied to Clement V., and obtained from him a grant, for two years, of the ecclesiastical Tenth within his dominions, and Richard de Bereford, treasurer of Ireland, and William de Ryvere, canon of Sarum, were appointed sub-collectors for Ireland. The taxation for the diocese of Armagh was as follows:

1302—6. ECCLESIASTICAL TAXATION OF IRELAND—PROVINCE OF ARMAGH.

TAXATION AMONG THE IRISH OF THE DIOCESE OF ARMAGH.

CHURCH.	VALUE.	TENTH.
Dilirlulan (now Derryloran, <i>alias</i> Cookstown, county Tyrone) ...	2 marks 4s. 2d.	3s. 1½d.
Lessun (Lissan, counties Tyrone and Derry) ...	1 mark 4s. 6d.	2½d.
Dissertdacrud (Desertcreight, county Tyrone) ...	2 marks 3s. 4d.	3s.
Ardebo (Ardbo, counties Derry and Tyrone) ...	2 marks	2s. 8½d.
Anathfatheri (Donagherry, county Tyrone, <i>alias</i> Stewartstown) ...	2 marks 3s. 4d.	3s.
Argulle (Errigal Keerogue, county Tyrone) ...	2 marks 4s. 5d.	3s. 1½d.
Donnaghmore (county Tyrone) ...	2 marks	2s. 8½d.
Termeconyn (Termon Maguirk, county Tyrone) ...	2 marks 4s	3s. 0½d.
Ardetrea (Ardtrea, county Derry), ...		

CHURCH.	VALUE.	TENTH.
Dav'lynedru'ca	5s. 7d.	6½d.
Disertlyn (Desertlyn, <i>alias</i> Money more, county Derry)	1 mark	16d.
Kildressce (Kildress, county Tyrone)	½ mark	8d.
Fonyglassce	Nothing	
Karmes-gell (Carnteel, <i>alias</i> Aughnacloy)	½ mark	8d.
Dunagheressca	Nothing	
Drumglassce (Drumglass, <i>alias</i> Dungannon, county Tyrone)	1 mark	16d.
Tulaghschenken (Tullyniskan, county Tyrone)	10s.	12d.
Clondeo (Clonoe, county Tyrone)	10s.	12d.
Dru'cath (nothing, despoiled)	5s.	6d.
Taulagda (Tamlagh, county Tyrone)	nothing, despoiled	
Drumlada	nothing, despoiled	
Drumglu'cassi	½ mark	8d.
Taffdulta (Magherafelt, county Derry)	½ mark	8d.
Ekellisill (Killeeshill, county Tyrone)	40d.	4d.
TAXATION OF THE CHURCHES OF ARMAGH:—		
The Dean of Armagh is possessed of (the middle part is destroyed)		
The Church of Kilmore (-Oneilland)	2 marks 3s. 9d.	3s. 0½d.
Thamclache Dalig [Tamlacht-gliadh,*Tartaraghan Oneilland W. barony, county Armagh]	3 marks 6s.	4s. 7½d.
Church of the Villa Ocanloun (O'Hanlon)	12 marks 8d.	15s. 0½d.
Killsaleny	1 mark 3s. 10d.	20½d.
Tungenethe (Tynan, Tiranny barony, Armagh)	21s.	2s. 1½d.
Dirmisce (Derrynoose, Armagh barony)	2 marks 18d.	2s. 9½d.
Clonfecyna (Clonfeacle, Oneilland E. barony)	3 marks	4s.
Plebs Oregynany (Tiranny barony, Armagh)	1 mark 4s. 6d.	21½d.
Plebs de Montyrnyrone	1 mark 3s. 6½d.	20½d.
Plebs de Schilnegynche	1 mark 5s. 7d.	22½d.
Plebs de Ochedigan [O'Hagan]	1 mark 3s. 5½d.	20d.
Church de Garthfylding	1 mark 4s. 6d.	21½d.
Abbey of the Apostles Peter and Paul, near Armagh	10½ marks 27d.	14s. 2½d.
Plebs Maclogigid	Nothing, because contained above in the Parish of Thamelache [Tartaraghan]	
Plebs Mabrem... ..		
Total Taxation among the Irish	£10 13s. 7d.	£4 16s. 0½d

—*Cat. Doc. Ireland*, iii., p. 202-3.

* For proof of this reading, see the entries relative to Roger Sampford, note g, p. 118.

Whether owing to the original copyists or the so-called editors, the names are so corrupt as to render identification impossible in many cases. Montyr is *Maintir* (people), Schil, *Sil* (descendants); Plebs is the Latin of *Maintir*. Both Irish words represent the districts as well as the ruling septs.

b PRIMATE WALTER JOYCE.—He was one of six brothers, all of whom entered the Dominican Order, and one of whom, Thomas, was cardinal of Sancta Sabina. He taught for some time in Oxford University. In 1503, friar Michael MacLaughlin (afterwards bishop of Derry, 1319—1324), lector of the Franciscan Abbey in Armagh, had been elected *per viam compromissi* by the Dean and Chapter, but, not having been approved of by the Pope, Denis, dean of Armagh, was appointed in his place. He, having declined the honour and resigned his appointment at once into the hands of the Cardinals Peter of Sancti Viti in Marcello, and Thomas of Sancta Sabina, John Taaffe was appointed, but his death shortly afterwards led to the appointment of Walter Joyce.—Theiner, p. 176. In the brief of his appointment, Clement V. declared that he had decided to reserve the nomination to all archiepiscopal sees to himself. This is undoubtedly a turning-point in the history of the primatial see. Henceforward we shall seek in vain for canonical elections to the see, and if any are attempted, we shall find that they are annulled. For a resumé of the varying discipline of the Church on this point, we give the following from the *Catholic Dictionary*, p. 93 (new edit., 1897):—

"In the Latin Church popular election continued, at least in form, till the eleventh century. After that the bishop was elected by the clergy of the cathedral church, the confirmation resting, as before, with the metropolitan. Gradually, from the eleventh century onwards, the right of confirmation passed from the metropolitan to the Pope. Later on from the time of Clement V., the Popes reserved the whole appointment of bishops in certain cases, and at last in all cases, to themselves. This last state of things, however, did not continue. The Popes restored in some countries the right of electing bishops to the Chapters, and the right is still continued in Germany (except Bavaria and part of Austria) and in Switzerland. In other countries the Pope has given to Catholic sovereigns the right of nominating to vacant bishoprics.

Such rights have been conceded to the Kings of France, Portugal, Spain, Naples, and Sicily, Sardinia, to the emperor of Austria, with certain exceptions; and by the Concordat of 1817, to the king of Bavaria. Even Protestant governments in Germany are permitted to inspect a list of names proposed provisionally by the Chapters, and to exclude such names as are displeasing to them. In England, the choice of bishops belongs simply and exclusively to the Pope. . . .

"It is evident from what has been said that the discipline of the Church, with regard to the appointment of bishops, has varied from age to age, and that the Holy See now exercises a more immediate control over the matter than was usual in the primitive or even the mediæval church. From the first, however, the Pope possessed the full power of governing the whole Church. No one is, and no one ever could be, a Catholic bishop, unless either expressly or tacitly recognised by the Pope. Varying circumstances made it prudent for the Pope to exercise his control in a lesser or in a greater degree, but the principle of government has remained the same. The Pope, by the law of Christ, is the Head of the Church. On the other hand, patriarchs and metropolitans [archbishops] are of ecclesiastical institution; they could therefore possess no inherent right to confirm bishops, and they suffered no wrong when the Pope withdrew it from them."

"By degrees the Popes drew to themselves the right of institution which had formerly belonged to the metropolitans, and by means of "provisions" appointed to a great number of bishoprics. Nor did the monarch view the alteration with displeasure. He generally found the Pope more tractable than the chapters; and, if he occasionally acquiesced in the papal choice, might in time expect that equal attention would be paid to his own recommendation. He was probably a gainer by the change."—Lingard: *History of England*, ad annum 1377.

It is significant to note how from this time forward till the Reformation, only

an. David Mageraghty, ruled Armagh. All the others, with the exception of De Spinellis, the Italian, were either English or Anglo-Irish. This was the influence of the English government at the papal court, at which the Irish had no representatives.

In August, 1307, Walter Joyce obtained leave to contract a loan of 4,000 florins, most likely to meet his expenses at the Apostolic See. On his way home, he made a solemn renunciation, in presence of King Edward II., of those clauses in the papal brief which might be prejudicial to the regal prerogatives. After his resignation, Clement V. wrote to the administrators of the diocese, commanding them to pay him a pension of £50 sterling out of the revenues of the see, declaring to them at the same time that Walter had resigned of his own free will, for certain legitimate reasons which he had explained.—Theiner, p. 184.

C PERSON OF SMALL DISCRETION AND NO KNOWLEDGE.—The full extract is as follows:—"Moreover, by the common counsel of that king of England, and certain English bishops (the principal of whom was a person of small discretion and of no knowledge, the archbishop of Armagh), an iniquitous statute has been lately enacted in the city of Kilkenny in Ireland, in the following unnatural terms:—"It is ordained that all religious houses in English parts of Ireland are prohibited from receiving as members any persons except those of English blood. And if any shall do otherwise, our lord the king shall deal with them as with persons guilty of contempt for his orders; and the founders and patrons of these institutions shall proceed against them as disobedient and contumacious in resisting the present ordinance, promulgated by authority of the council of the whole land of Ireland, under the government of the English."

The parliament referred to by Donald O'Neill was held by Sir John Wogan, on the Monday, the Octave of the Purification, Feb. 9, 1310.—*Rot. Pat.* 3 Ed. ii. 45.

The archbishop spoken of was Walter Joyce. Dowling in his *Annals*, followed

by the writer of the *Book of Howth*, gives the date of this parliament as 1311, which is plainly inadmissible, and attributes a contention in the parliament about the primacy, between the archbishops of Dublin and Armagh, to John Lecky and Roland Joyce, instead of to John Lecky and Walter Joyce.

The particular statute of which we are speaking was very soon seen to be the cause of an increase of the evil which it was made to put an end to, and was informally repealed almost as soon as it was enacted. The archbishop, to whom Donald O'Neill refers in such opprobrious terms, at once wrote to the king to have the statute formally repealed, and on the twenty-second of May, a reply was received as follows:—

"The king to all to whom (these present letters) shall come, greeting:

Although by our Council of Ireland and by divers magnates of the same land, in our Parliament at . . . for various causes, we have established that no *mere Irishman* shall be admitted in religion [religious Orders] amongst the English, in a land of (the king's peace or in . . .) parts of Ireland, on account of the discords frequently arising between such English and Irish, believing from this that greater tranquillity and peace in the holy Church of God and to the faithful people of Christ would in future times happen. Now also, we have learnt by the testimony of the venerable father, friar W[alter], by the grace of God, archbishop of Armagh, and of the discreet man, Master Philip Erdesleye, the official of the aforesaid father, that by the aforesaid statute, to the holy Church of God and to the people, no profit has arisen, but greater damage, hatred and discord; we, at the suit and testimony of the aforesaid archbishop and official and at the request of some of the magnates of the land aforesaid, do revoke the statute aforesaid and we grant that as well English and Irish and others of whatsoever nation, who, being inspired by divine grace, under regular habit and desirous of serving God, in any religious house within our land

aforesaid may be admitted to a religious habit and in the same habit may be professed, as before the aforesaid statute was accustomed to be done. In testimony of which we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness, J. Wogan, our justiciary of Ireland: Dublin, May 22, in the third year of our reign." Cf. *Journal of R.S. of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. I., part iii., p. 510 et seq.

Cox states, on the authority of a record in the Tower of London, of 1321, that no person was admitted into the abbey of Mellifont, unless he could swear that he was not of English blood, (*Hib. Anglica*, p. 100) and the General Chapter of the Cistercian Order, two years afterwards, had to express its detestation of the damnable divisions introduced into Ireland, and warned all abbots, especially those of Ireland, of whom grievous complaints had been made, to admit fit persons of whatever nation they were. In 1324, Edward II., who, as we have seen, had at once repealed the obnoxious statute made in Kilkenny, complained to the Pope that the Irish refused to admit Englishmen into their monasteries. (Rymer, vol. II., p. 554). And in 1337, Edward III., while ordering that a distinction should be made between loyal and disloyal Irish subjects, giving leave to the former but not to the latter to enter the English monasteries in Ireland, referred to the fact that his father had revoked the statute made on the subject in Kilkenny. It does not come within our scope here, to explain the re-enactment of the law in 1336, which is known in history as the *Black Statute of Kilkenny*.

d BATTLE OF FAUGHARD.—Edward Bruce, the destroyer of Ireland in general, both Foreigners and Gaidhil, was killed by the Foreigners of Ireland by dint of fighting at Dun Deigan. And there were killed in his company MacRuadhri, king of Inis-Gall (Hebrides), and MacDomnaill, king of Antrim Gaidhil (Argyle), together with slaughter of the Men of Ireland around him. And there was not done from the beginning of the world a deed that was better for the Men of Ireland than that deed. For there came death and loss of

people during his time in all Ireland in general for the space of three years and a-half, and people undoubtedly used to eat each other throughout Ireland.—*Annals of Ulster*.

The date of the battle is accurately determined by the criteria in Clyn: "1318, on the feast of blessed Calixtus, Pope and Martyr [Oct. 14], on the morning of Saturday."—*Annals of Ulster*, vol. II., p. 433, note.

e RESIGNATION OF ROLAND JOYCE.—Ware attributes this act to grief from the impoverishment of his see from the ravages and devastations of Bruce and his Scots, and the perpetual demand of the Pope for the fees of his promotion. But the true reason seems to be the grave charges brought against him by the Chapter of Armagh and Odo, abbot of the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul, charges which it is pretty evident he could not refute, and allowed judgment to go by default, by resigning his see. He showed himself to be of a very different character to his brother Walter, notably in the matter of the contest to the primacy. Walter, who contended with Lecky, archbishop of Dublin, in Kilkenny, both parties urging their respective claims with zeal and warmth, withdrew shortly afterwards from the contest, by getting a writ, authorizing him to answer by attorneys to all summonses for the provinces of Dublin and Cashel (Rymer, iii., p. 86). Thus the primate relieved himself from the necessity of appearing on debatable ground.

But Roland was determined to renew the contest, and we read in Camden's *Annals*, under the date 1313, that "Prier Roland Joce, Primat of Armagh, arrived in the isle of Houth the day after the Annunciation of the blessed Mary; and in the night got privately out of his bed, took up his crozier and advanced it as far as the Priory of Grace-dieu, where he was encountered by some of the archbishop of Dublin's servants, who made him leave his crozier, and drove the Primat himself out of Leinster."

On August the sixteenth, 1322, a papal mandate was issued to the bishops of

Meath, Down, and Connor, empowering them to enquire into grave charges brought against Roland, archbishop of Armagh, and to cite him to appear personally at the Apostolic See. He had incurred excommunication for not paying the papal dues, and had lain under it for five years. He had refused to obey the nuncios, Cardinals Jocelin and Luke, when ordered by them to publish the papal excommunication against Robert Bruce. The churches in his diocese were in a most neglected condition, notably the Cathedral of Armagh, which he had allowed to become a depository of victuals and merchandise, and which was more like a barn than a church. Owing to his ignorance of the Irish tongue, he was not able to publicly reprove the evil-doers in his diocese, etc., etc. In the meantime, the above-mentioned bishops, or one or other of them, were to administer the affairs of the diocese, while judgment was pending. —Theiner, p. 223.

PRIMATE SEAGRAVE.—Stephen, who was appointed by provision of John XXII., on March the sixteenth, 1323, obtains prolongation, on April thirtieth, of the time of his consecration, from next Ascension (May fifth). On April twenty-eighth, 1324, Stephen, archbishop of Armagh, who had been consecrated by Raynald, bishop of Ostia, is directed to proceed to his diocese. —Theiner, p. 228.

On June twenty-fifth, 1325, Stephen informs the Apostolic See that he has published in his diocese the process against Louis, Duke of Bavaria, which the archbishop had received from the Pope at Avignon, on the eighteenth of September, the previous year. He declares that he had called together the bishops of Derry, Clogher, and Dromore, and the clergy and laity of his diocese, into the cathedral of Armagh, and had there caused to be publicly read the apostolic mandate, and explained both in English and in Irish, and had ordered his suffragans to publish it, in a similar manner, throughout the province.

The names signed as witnesses were :—

Michael [bishop of] Derry [MacLoughlin, 1319–24].

Nicholas [bishop of] Clogher [MacCasey 1320–1356].

Florence [bishop of] Dromore [MacDonagan—1309—?].

Nicholas, abbot of Mellifont.

Roger, abbot of the Monastery of SS. Peter and Paul, Armagh.

Denis, dean of the Church of Armagh.

David, precentor of the same Church.

Donald [O'Hanlon], king of Oriors [county Armagh].

MacMahon, prince of Oriel [Louth, Monaghan, and part of Fermanagh, died 1342].

--Theiner, p. 229.

The name of the notary who drew up the instrument deserves mention, as it shows how patronage was managed in the Curia at the time. It was Bindus Bandini, of Vacchareccia, of the diocese of Fiesole!

On December eighth, 1326, the Pope, on the petition of the bishops of Clogher and Derry, orders enquiry to be made as to whether revenues from certain religious houses and parishes could be transferred to the see of Armagh, reduced to the greatest poverty, owing to the two late archbishops. They were also to make enquiry as to whether any suffragan diocese could be united to it for the same reason. —Theiner, p. 234.

David Mageraghty, dean of Armagh, who succeeded Seagrave in the see, was elected by *Inspiration* (see note, p. 103) by the Chapter. The elect and the capitular proctors proceeded to the Curia, at Avignon, to obtain confirmation of the nomination. After having been examined and approved of by three deputed cardinals, David was appointed by John XXII. on July fourth, 1334. On July twenty-sixth, having been consecrated in the meantime, he was directed to proceed to his diocese. —Theiner, p. 263.

The papal nuncio in England, Pelegrini, having fulminated censures against Archbishop Mageraghty, to recover 700 marks, fourteen arrears of 50 marks, payable at the triennial visitation to the Apostolic

See, Clement VI., on the petition of the archbishop, who pleaded inability to pay, directed (August third, 1344) security to be taken for the sum, the process discontinued and absolution imparted.—Theiner, p. 281.

g PRIMATE FITZ-RALPH.—On appointing Fitz-Ralph, dean of Lichfield, to the see of Armagh, Clement VI. declares that the Chapter of Armagh, ignoring the fact that the Apostolic See had reserved this appointment to itself, has elected Fitz-Ralph as archbishop, and that Fitz-Ralph himself, equally unconscious of the reservation, had consented to the election. Nevertheless, lest the diocese should remain long without a pastor, the Pope appoints him archbishop. Theiner, p. 286.

On August 29, 1347, the Pope commissions the bishops of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise to convey the pallium to Primate Fitz-Ralph, who had sent Roger Sampford, canon of Armagh, to petition for it. Theiner, p. 288.

Regarding Sampford, two interesting documents are preserved:—(1) 1343, Aug. 21, Clement VI. issued a mandate, at request of David [Mageraghty], archbishop of Armagh, to the abbot of Melhus and the deans of Lichfield and Armagh, to provide Roger Sampford with the church of Tamlachan [sic], value 3 marks, in the archbishop's gift; Roger having gone six times to the Curia on business of the said see.

(2) The mandate took effect *ex nunc*: Roger, who had been six times to the Curia on Irish business, was provided, again at the instance of the archbishop, with a canonry of Armagh, with expectation of a prebend, notwithstanding that he has provision of the church of Tamlachan, in same diocese.—(*Calendar of Papal Registers*, m., pp. 96, 100.)

The church in question is the *Thamlache Dalg* [?] (Tartaraghan, Oneill and W. barony, county Armagh) of the *Papal Taxation* (*supra*, note a).

Judging from the name, Sampford, like many other members of Irish Chapters at the time, was either English, or Anglo-Irish.

1350.—The archbishop of Armagh petitions:—

1.—For faculties for persons of both sexes to choose confessors who shall give them plenary absolution [Indulgence] at the hour of death.

Let a hundred be named.

2.—For eight more notaries for the Province, as there are only six at present.

Granted for six.

3.—For faculties to grant dispensations in the third and fourth degrees.

Granted for thirty, in the fourth degree.

—*Calendar of Papal Petitions*.

January 11, 1351.—Richard, archbishop of Armagh, had declared that his revenue did not exceed £400 per annum. The Pope gives him leave to incorporate, into the temporalities of his see, four churches in Ireland having the cure of souls.—Theiner, p. 295.

1366.—To the bishop of Limerick. For confirmation of the election of Patrick O'Corry to the deanery of Armagh, value 200 gold florins, void by the death of Christopher O'Fearghila [O'Farrell], there being a doubt whether it was reserved by Innocent IV.—Granted.

—*Calendar of Papal Petitions*.

h CITED THE PRIMATE. The Pope committed the examination of his cause to four cardinals, viz., William, bishop of Tusculum; Peter, cardinal of St. Martin in Montibus; Helias, cardinal of St. Stephen on the Cœlian Hill; and Francis, cardinal of St. Mark; and wrote to all the archbishops and bishops of England, not to make any innovation against the friars during the suit. The controversy continued a long time; Fitz-Ralph was silenced, the Pope maintained the rights of the friars in relation to preaching, confessions, and free sepulture.—Harris's *Ware*, vol. i., p. 82.

The place where he died is disputed. The *Annals of Ulster* curiously record that "The Primate of Armagh, vicar of Patrick, rested in Christ."

The synod of Drogheda, in 1545, in which it was decreed that the festival of *Saint Richard*, archbishop of Armagh, should be celebrated, was held by George

Dowdall, at that time schismatical archbishop of the see.

STATUTE OF PRIMATE SWEETMAN.—In striking contrast to the spirit which animated the framers of the Statutes of Kilkenny, is the constitution of Primate Sweetman quoted by Primate Colton among the provincial constitutions of the latter. We subjoin a translation:—

"Also, according to [the constitutions of] Milo [Sweetman] we enact and ordain, under pain of disobedience and excommunication, that all our suffragan bishops shall labour as much as they can in preserving the peace between the English and Irish of our Province of Armagh, shall preach concord among them, and compel, by ecclesiastical censures, all and everyone of his subjects to keep the peace. If anyone, however, should become a sower of discord among the aforesaid English and Irish, he shall not only be suspended from his functions, but shall be excommunicated ipso facto."—Swayne's Register, Book iii., fol. 3a; Reeves's transcript, p. 555.

PRIMATE COLTON.—On the death of his patron, Edmund of Gonville, 1350, he was promoted by the bishop to the rectory of his native parish. Twenty-seven years afterwards, his name is associated with the prebend of Bagthorpe in the cathedral of York; but in the meantime, his chief promotion lay in Ireland, for in 1373 he was appointed Lord Treasurer, and in the year following was advanced to the deanery of St. Patrick's in Dublin. The former of these offices he surrendered in 1379 for the Seals, which he held for three years. His honours and emoluments were moreover augmented in 1381, when he was elected to the station of Lord Justice, then vacant by the death of Edmund Mortimer,

with an annual fee of five hundred pounds, afterwards increased by a further allowance of two shillings a day in consideration of his great services and hospitality. As Chancellor, his salary was forty pounds a year, with an additional pension of two shillings a day. Upon the death of Milo Sweetman, the primate, which took place on the eleventh of August, 1380, the temporalities of the see of Armagh were seized to the Crown, and Dean Colton was appointed their farmer, in which capacity he delivered into the Exchequer a sum of £366 13s. 10d., which had accrued during the eighteen months of the vacancy.

He was a man of great talent and activity, and his love of enterprise found an ample field for its exercise in Ireland. In 1374, he received by the King's writ, a sum of fifty pounds for the various services he had rendered to the Crown and the injuries he had sustained at the hands of the Irish rebels. As an instance of the former, it may be mentioned that in 1372 he levied at his sole cost a body of twenty-six knights, and, being reinforced by the well-affected of the district, marched against O'More and O'Byrne, and compelled them to retire with severe loss.

Nor was this remarkable man less distinguished in an ecclesiastical than a civil capacity; he was of high reputation for virtue and learning, dear to all ranks of people for his affability and sweetness of temper; while, in discharging the functions of his exalted office in the church, the same energy and decision which marked his political life were here conspicuous also.—Reeves: Introduction to the *Metropolitan Visitation of Derry*, pp. 1, 2, 3.



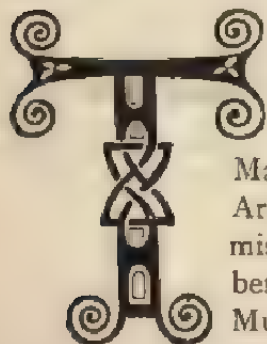


CHAPTER X.

PRIMATES OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

Provincial Council Summoned by Primate Fleming—Another by Primate Swayne—Primate Prene removes the Cross from Raphoe—Primate Mey refuses to attend Parliament—Primate Bole receives a Grant from Henry O'Neill—Provincial Synod Convened by Primate Octavian—Career of Lambert Simnel in Ireland—Octavian Loyal to Henry VII.—Disgraceful ending of the Imposture—The Earl of Kildare received back into favour—Death of Charles Maguire the Annalist.

Supplementary Notes.—Primate Fleming and St. Thomas's Hospice at Rome—Primate Swayne refuses to attend Parliament—Excommunication of the Dean and Chapter of Raphoe—Duke of York asked for aid in rebuilding the Cathedral—Primate Bole collects the Crusade Money—The question of the Primacy again—Connection of the Culdees with Armagh Cathedral—Indulgences granted by Primate Octavian—His Letter to Henry VII. about the See of Dromore.



THE next primate was Nicholas Fleming, a canon of Dublin, appointed by "provision" of Boniface IX., on April 18, and consecrated on the first of May, 1404. About this period the cathedral of Armagh was burned. The primate therefore, by commission, dated at Ardee, on the sixteenth of September, 1405, "appointed Philip Walsh and David Mullaghlin to be his church's proctors, for collecting the alms of the faithful for the fabric of the church lately consumed by an accidental fire; and to ask and receive the first-fruits." From the words of the commission, we may form

some idea of the kind of aid granted by the laity to the church, in cases of sudden emergency or unexpected disaster.¹ Primate Fleming "summoned a provincial council, on the twentieth of August, 1411, which was held in St. Peter's church, Drogheda, on the twelfth of October," and he assisted by proxy at the General Council of Constance, in 1415. His provincial constitutions and part of his register are yet extant. He died in June, 1416, and was buried in St. Peter's church, Drogheda.

John Swayne, rector of Galtrim, in Meath, was appointed, by provision of Martin V., archbishop of Armagh, at Rome, on January the seventeenth, 1418, and received the pallium on February the fourteenth. In 1420, on the Monday after St. Ambrose's day, this prelate and Sir Christopher Preston were deputed by the Irish parliament² to lay before King Henry V. an account of the state of Ireland, and the grievances under which it laboured. These were set forth in certain articles, digested and arranged in Norman-French, by the parliament which was held in Dublin by the earl of Ormond.

Primate Swayne held a provincial synod at Drogheda, on the thirteenth of October, 1427, assisted by Laurence, bishop of Raphoe, and Donat, bishop of Kilmore, who appeared in person; and by the proxies of the bishops of Down, Clogher, Ardagh, and Derry.³

It is probable that the revenues of the see were at that period insufficient to support the primatial dignity, for we find that "on the sixth of April, 1427, the king granted Swayne forty pounds out of the treasury, for his services to the State, and on the tenth of January, 1429, he had a grant of twenty pounds a year out of the exchequer, during pleasure, conceded to him by Henry VI., with the assent of Sir Thomas Straunge, knight, deputy to Sir John Sutton, knight, L.L., and others of the privy council, of which he was himself a member." Primate Swayne founded a chapel and choir in St. Peter's church, which he dedicated to St. Anne. "Oppressed with years, he resigned the see in 1439, into the Pope's hands. On this occasion, John Lyde and Henry Cusack, priors of the priories of St. Mary's of Louth, and of St. John Baptist's of Ardee, were appointed *subcustodes*, or guardians, of the spiritualities, or vicars-general specially deputed by the dean and chapter.³ Swayne died a few years after he had

surrendered the see, and was buried in St. Peter's church, Drogheda.

John Prene, LL.B., archdeacon and official of Armagh, was, by provision of Pope Eugene IV., appointed archbishop of Armagh, on Friday, April sixth, and was consecrated about the end of November, 1439. This prelate was obstructed by the archbishop of Dublin in having his cross borne before him through that diocese, and therefore refused to attend personally in parliament.

In the year 1442, Primate Prene removed a stone cross, of uncertain antiquity, from Raphoe to Armagh. In the *Annals of the Four Masters*, it is said that this stone had restored one Hugh Matthews to his eyesight. Now, after the death of Laurence O'Gallagher, bishop of Raphoe, in 1438, Prene was guardian of the spiritualities and temporalities of that see. But O'Donnell, prince of the Clan O'Donnell, conspiring with the dean and chapter, usurped the profits of the bishopric. Displeased with this usurpation, the primate prosecuted the offenders to excommunication, and interdicted O'Donnell as an obstinate heretic.¹ He not only deprived the dean and chapter of their benefices, but removed the stone cross which stood in the cathedral of Raphoe to the church of Armagh. We have already seen that, long before this period, various other crosses had been erected in the city of Armagh; it is therefore doubtful whether that now in question was the one which lately stood in the centre of Market street, as traditionally asserted and believed.

John Prene was for some time sick, in his manor of Drumiskin, from which he was gently carried between two horses, on the twelfth of June, 1443, to his manor of Termonfechan, where he thought the air was more pure and salubrious. On the thirteenth he died, and was buried on the fifteenth, after celebration of a solemn mass, in the choir or chancel of St. Fechan's church of Termonfechan, in the presence of a multitude of clergy and people. During the vacancy which ensued, John Lyde, prior of Louth, and his colleagues were appointed *subcustodes* of the spiritualities and spiritual jurisdiction of the see among the English (*inter Anglicos*).²

On the decease of Archbishop Prene, Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, brother to the illustrious hero, John Talbot, Lord Furnival, was elected primate by the dean and chapter of Armagh, but declined

to accept the proffered change from his own diocese to Armagh.

John Mey, LL.B., official of the court of the bishop of Meath, vicar of Delvin and Kilmessan, and cleric of Armagh, succeeded to the see of Armagh, by provision of Pope Eugene IV., on Monday, August the twenty-sixth, 1443, and was consecrated on the twentieth of June, 1444. He also was obstructed in the exercise of his primatial right, in the diocese of Dublin, and therefore refused to attend in parliament. By a deed dated at Armagh, the nineteenth of November, 1455, Primate Mey, with the consent of the dean and chapter, annexed his mensal tithes of Rathcool, for ever, to the choir of Saint Anne's chapel, in Saint Peter's church, Drogheda. To this he added his mensal portion of tithes in Drummyng church (Dromin, county Louth) in pure alms. The object of these donations was that a greater number of priests might be maintained to pray for his soul, and the souls of his predecessors and successors, and of all benefactors to the same church. In a similar spirit, forty days indulgence was granted by him to all persons who should contribute to the providing of a great bell, and the making of some windows in Saint Patrick's cathedral, Dublin.⁴

Primate Mey was, for a time, lord-deputy to James Butler, earl of Ormond, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, but, the English cabinet having been dissatisfied with this appointment, Ormond was commanded to do the duty himself, and on his refusal was superseded, and the government committed to Thomas, earl of Kildare. Mey died in the year 1456.

John Bole, abbot of Saint Mary's monastery, Navan, and bishop-elect of Derry, was appointed on Monday, May the second, 1457, by Pope Calixtus III. to succeed John Mey in the see of Armagh. He held a provincial synod in Saint Peter's church, Drogheda, on the ninth of June, 1460. This prelate obtained from Edward IV. a confirmation of the privileges of the see of Armagh. The mode by which funds were obtained in the fifteenth century for the repair of religious and other public edifices may be exemplified by reciting some of John Bole's acts. Whilst yet abbot of Navan, he obtained a grant of indulgences from Pope Nicholas V., which was published on Pentecost Sunday (June ninth), 1455, for pilgrims who should offer

oblations at his abbey. In the year after his promotion to the primacy, Arthur MacKearny, "of Armagh, carpenter, intended, for the salvation of his soul and that he might avoid imminent dangers, to build a wooden bridge over Kilcrewe river, and a chapel at the place. Having in part begun the work, and prepared much timber, he found himself unable to complete it at his own expense, nor without the aid of charitable Christians. For this end, the primate, on the twentieth of June, 1458, granted forty days indulgence, out of the treasures of the church, to all who should contribute to the finishing of the work."

It is a curious fact that, in 1458, "Henry O'Neill, captain of his nation and prince of the Ulster Irish, granted and confirmed by deed, to John Bole, archbishop of Armagh, and his successors, and to the church of Armagh for ever, all his lands and possessions of Moydoyn, in his lordship of Moydoyn Clondawyll [Eglish, Tiranny barony, county Armagh], in the diocese of Armagh, in the honor of God, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and Saint Patrick, apostle and patron of Ireland, for the salvation of his soul, and the souls of his parents, and for obtaining the special blessing of the church of Armagh for ever."⁶ The church appears to have totally forgotten this donation of O'Neill's; and the special blessings with which his soul was to have been for ever greeted are no longer uttered. So futile are the hopes and cares of man, when he calculates on the gratitude of posterity, and seeks to prescribe laws to future ages.

"On June the nineteenth, 1458, Primate Bole granted a license to the Prior and Culdees of his church of Armagh, upon their request to choose an able and fit confessor to hear their confessions and to grant them absolution." The primate died on the eighteenth of February, 1470.

John Foxall, a Franciscan, was appointed by papal provision, archbishop of Armagh, on Monday, December the sixteenth, 1471. The king, in 1475, appointed him arbitrator between John, earl of Ormond, and the earl of Kildare, whose quarrels at that time were distracting the country. Before the bishop could effect this reconciliation, Ormond went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and Kildare died. Primate Foxall himself apparently died that very year, having never visited his diocese.

Edmund Connesburgh, promoted by Pope Sixtus IV., June the fifth, 1475, succeeded him in the see of Armagh. This prelate was found tardy by the Pope in paying the fees of his bulls. He therefore specially appointed Octavian de Spinellis, a Florentine, nuncio of the apostolic see, "his general governor, in spirituals and temporals, of the metropolitan and cathedral church of Armagh and primacy of Ireland," "because," as is there stated, "the said Edmund, prelate elect, had never redeemed the apostolic letters from the hands of the merchants to whom he had procured them to be assigned, and because on account of other impediments he never could obtain possession of the church." Teased by the Pope's demands, and weary of Octavian's administration of the see, Connesburgh, on the tenth of November, 1476, agreed to resign the primacy to his holiness, by his proxies, John de Gerona and Anthony de Palatio. He, however, stipulated to retain the episcopal dignity received at his consecration, and a pension during life of seventy marks current money of Ireland, or the value in Irish commodities.

Octavian de Spinellis (Spinelli),^e LL.D., was advanced to the see by Pope Sixtus IV., on Friday, July the third, 1478. He held many provincial synods, which are inserted in his register, viz., ten at Drogheda, in the years 1480, 1485, 1486, 1488, 1489, 1495, 1496, 1499, 1504, 1507; in Ardee three, in the years 1492, 1496, 1497. In that held in Ardee, on the thirteenth of September, 1492, "certain statutes made and published in a synod or convocation of the English and Irish clergy of the diocese, held in the church of Saint Nicholas of Dundalk, on the twenty-ninth of October, 1479, were confirmed. The synod held in Drogheda, on the eighth of July, 1504, was interrupted by "the plague which then raged in that town, and the meeting was adjourned to Ardee till the eighth of the following month."^a Here it was suddenly dissolved, the contagion having also extended to that quarter.

The adherents of the York family who, at this period, were contemptuously treated by the reigning monarch, were ready to join in any plan for his overthrow. In Ireland the people were hostile to the house of Lancaster, and the earl of Kildare, the lord-deputy, had proved himself a zealous and powerful friend of the late king, Edward.

Henry VII., therefore, commanded him by letters, in the year 1486, to repair to England. But Kildare fully comprehending his motives, induced the Lords of the realm to state to his majesty that his departure might prove very prejudicial to some affairs of high moment to the country, which were at that time in actual progress through parliament; and to pray that he might be suffered to remain till the conclusion of the business. Amongst the clergy who signed the letters written to the king on this occasion, we find the name of Octavian, archbishop of Armagh, and of Fitzsimmons, archbishop of Dublin. The earl thus powerfully supported, postponed his visit to England, in hopes of being eventually able to serve the house of York.

Meanwhile Lambert Simnel, a youth of very humble parentage, but of pleasing manners, ingenuous aspect, and princely deportment, had been instructed by Richard Symon (or Simonds), an Oxford priest, to personate Edward Plantagenet, the earl of Warwick, true and only son of George, duke of Clarence, brother to the late king, Edward V. To prepare the way for this imposture, a report had been studiously circulated that the young earl had escaped from the tower, where he had been unjustly imprisoned by the suspicious Henry.⁹

Simnel was acknowledged as her nephew by Margaret, sister to his alleged father, and widow-dowager of Charles the Hardy, duke of Burgundy. John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, Francis Viscount Lovel, and others, joined in the conspiracy, and it was finally determined that the impostor should pass over into Ireland, where it was expected that he would be supported by the lord-deputy Kildare, and the people.

Accordingly Simnel, accompanied by his preceptor, arrived in Dublin, and waited on the lord-deputy, to whom, in a dignified and pathetic strain, he gave an affecting narrative of the indignities and injuries which he pretended to have endured, and stigmatized the character of Henry VII. as that of unprincipled tyrant and usurper.

The deputy, who heard him with respectful attention, believed or affected to believe, the tale, and soon induced his brother, the Irish chancellor, and Portlester, the treasurer, to espouse his cause. These adherents of the fallen house of York spread abroad a report that the earl of Warwick had arrived in Dublin, in order to ascertain

what effect this rumour would produce on the citizens. The people, who had looked upon the earl's father, George, duke of Clarence, a native of Dublin, as their countryman, transferred the affection and respect which they had always entertained for him to the youth whom they deemed his son, and whom they pitied as a persecuted and unfortunate exile. In the impulse of the moment, the citizens immediately declared for the son of their favourite Clarence, regardless of the prior claims of Edward's daughter.

A great majority of the nobility, gentry, and people of Ireland, soon followed their example, and were clamorous in favour of the new prince. Gratified with this general expression of public opinion, Kildare summoned a council, which declared itself satisfied as to the validity of Simnel's claim; and this pretender, in a few days, was proclaimed king, by the name of Edward VI.

In the midst of this almost general defection, Octavian, primate of Armagh, stood firm in his allegiance to King Henry. He was joined in his opposition to Simnel's claims by Edmund Courcy, bishop of Clogher, the Butlers, the lord of Howth, and the citizens of Waterford.

But the king, who had determined to expose the imposture and undeceive his subjects, caused the real Edward Plantagenet, then his prisoner in the tower, to be openly conveyed, amidst crowds of curious spectators, through the city of London, to Saint Paul's church, in a solemn religious procession. In his progress he was accompanied by many of the nobility, who were well acquainted with his person, and could not be mistaken as to his identity. In Ireland, however, this measure was deemed a mere trick, planned by the king to cajole the nation. Notwithstanding this general opinion, Octavian remained firm in his allegiance, and continued to consider Simnel as an impostor. The following letter, written by the primate to Pope Innocent VIII., will give a clear view of his opinion on this subject:—

"The clergy and laity are all distracted at present, with a king and no king, some saying he is the son of Edward, earl of Warwick: others asserting that he is an impostor: but our brother of Canterbury hath satisfied me of the truth, how his majesty hath shewed the right

son of the said Edward to the public view of all the city of London; which convinces me that it is an error willingly made to breed dissension."¹⁰

The pope, having duly considered this letter, granted to King Henry a bull, dated March the twenty-seventh, in which all bishops were commanded to excommunicate rebels, whenever the king should require them to execute that order. This bull was afterwards of considerable use to his majesty both in England and in Ireland.

In May, 1486, the duchess of Burgundy despatched to Ireland two thousand German veterans, under Martin Swart, an experienced officer, accompanied by the earl of Lincoln, the lord Lovel, and other malcontents. Elated by the arrival of this army, the partisans of Simnel publicly crowned the impostor in Christ church, Dublin. The bishop of Meath preached the coronation sermon, and the lord-deputy, the chancellor, the treasurer, and the other great officers of state attended at the solemnity. The crown placed on Simnel's head had been taken from the Blessed Virgin's statue in Saint Mary's Abbey. All the people were delighted with the ceremony, and after the coronation, attended him from street to street, as he was borne through the city in triumph on the shoulders of Darcy of Platten.

The archbishop of Armagh not only remonstrated with the lord-deputy, and endeavoured to dissuade him from this rash measure, but, when he found all his efforts to prevent the coronation unavailing, refused to be present during the absurd pageantry, and finally withdrew altogether from the earl and from those councils where his warning voice had been so totally disregarded.

Simnel now commenced the immediate exercise of the regal functions. Parliaments, acts of council, courts of justice, processes, &c., bore his name. A great council was called by his authority, in which the clergy granted a subsidy to the pope, to obtain absolution from any excommunications which might have been incurred by their proceedings against the king. At this council the primate did not attend.

Elated at his success in Ireland, Simnel and the leaders of his faction passed over with their army into England, there to vindicate by force of arms his claim to the English throne. But on the twentieth

of June, 1487, he was assailed by Henry at Stoke, in Nottinghamshire, and after a very desperate and prolonged conflict, totally and irretrievably defeated.

Lambert Simnel, and his preceptor, Symon, were taken prisoners. The priest was ordered by Henry to be confined in a dungeon for life; but the mock prince, his pupil, was in the first instance made turnspit in the king's kitchen, and in process of time was promoted to the less degrading and more amusing office of falconer to his majesty. Thus ended his dream of glory.

The ridiculous and abortive attempt of the Anglo-Irish lords to place a king on the English throne, exceedingly weakened the power of the English Pale, and terminated in the destruction of some of its choicest troops. Into this gross error they could not have fallen if they had followed the prudent counsel given to them by their primate, the archbishop of Armagh, and of this the people even of Dublin became at last conscious. In a letter which they forwarded to Henry, they threw themselves on his mercy in the following terms:—

"We were daunted to see not only he whom your Highness made ruler over us, to bend or bow to that idol whom they made us to obey, but also our Father of Dublin, and most of the clergy of the nation, excepting the most reverend father, his Grace, Octavian, archbishop of Armagh. We therefore humbly crave your Highness's clemency towards your poor subjects of Dublin, metropolis of your Highness's realm of Ireland."

King Henry not only pardoned the earl of Kildare, as well as the other conspirators, but allowed him to continue in the office of lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The offending ecclesiastics were required to take an oath of allegiance to King Henry, before they could be absolved from an excommunication which he had got the Pope to pronounce against them. The names of the prelates and other ecclesiastics who took this oath, and were absolved in July, 1488, are enumerated by Ware, and Octavian does not appear in the list. But we learn from *Sir Richard Edgecomb's Voyage to Ireland*, that Octavian, as well as the others, took the oath in St. Saviour's Dominican Convent in Dublin.^a

A reconciliation took place in the year 1496, between Octavian,

archbishop of Armagh, and the earl of Kildare, much to the advantage of public affairs, to which their private animosities had been very injurious.

Kildare, at the period of this reconciliation, was again lord-lieutenant. He had been accused before the king of having burned the cathedral of Cashel, and his majesty, having granted him leave to choose his counsel, inquired whom he would select, and advised him to nominate a good pleader, for it was to be feared he had a bad cause to defend. "I will choose," said the earl, "the best counsel in England." "Who is that?" asked the king. "Marry, even your majesty," replied the earl. The king, amused with his *naïveté*, laughed, and when the earl's opponent asserted that "all Ireland could not govern this one man;" "then," said the king, "he shall govern all Ireland." On the sixth of August he was, accordingly, once more reinstated in the office of deputy, and after his reconciliation with the primate of Armagh, acted with zeal and fidelity to his sovereign.

Henry O'Neill who had, as we have already stated, killed his brother Conn, in 1493, was himself slain in like manner by his nephews, Conn and Turlogh, who, in 1498, thus avenged on the fratricide the murder of their father. But Niall, son of Art O'Neill, one of the partisans of the deceased Henry, disturbed the peace of Armagh, Tyrone, and other districts. Against this chieftain, Kildare, at the instance of Turlogh, son of the slain chieftain, Conn, marched into Ulster, where he was joined by the combined forces of O'Donnell, Maguire, and Turlogh. He proceeded through Armagh, in which he experienced no opposition, to Dungannon, where he stormed the fort, and liberated a number of prisoners. He then marched against Omagh castle, which he also took, and in a few days reduced Niall to obedience. In the preceding year, he had marched through Armagh, against the castle of Kennard, which he seized and presented to his friend, Turlogh O'Neill.

Armagh, in 1498, lost one of her chief literary ornaments by the death of Charles Maguire. This eminent annalist, philosopher and divine, was a native of the county of Fermanagh, and canon of the church of Armagh. He wrote "*Annales Hiberniæ usque ad sua*

tempora," which are sometimes called "Annales Senatenses," from a place in the county Fermanagh, called Senat MacMagnus [Shanad, or Bellisle, in Lough Erne], where the author compiled his work. There is a version of portion of these annals extant, I believe, in the British Museum, partly English and partly Latin. They were compiled from ancient documents, and commence A.D. 431, and are carried down till 1498, when the author died. Afterwards they were continued by Roderick Cassidy down till the year 1541. Maguire died of the smallpox, on the twenty-third of March, 1498, in the sixtieth year of his age.

On Saint Patrick's day, 1501, Art, son of Hugh O'Neill, and some Scots had a severe conflict in the vicinity of Armagh. On the side of the defeated Scots, there fell the son of the laird of Aig, three sons of Colla, (son of Alexander MacDonnell), Turlogh, Donagh, and Ludar, as well as sixty common soldiers.

De Spinellis was a man of profound learning and great political sagacity. He governed the see thirty-three years and three months; died in June, 1513, and was buried in a vault which he had built under Saint Peter's church, Drogheda.

1 Registrum Fleming 2 Regist Swayne 3 7 Rymer, tom 12. p. 44. 8 Regist Octavian.
 Regist Prene 4 Regist. Mey. lib I., p. 3. 5 9 Bacon's *Life of Henry VII.*, p. 583, et seq. 10
 Regist Bole, p. 35. 6 Regist Dowdall, p. 141. Ware's *Annals of the Reign of Henry VII.* p. 15.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

α PRIMATE FLEMING.—On the fifth of January, 1406, Nicholas Fleming undertook to pay his tax on promotion, and also the arrears due by his predecessor, John Colton, to the Camera Apostolica.—Brady: *Episcopal Succession*, vol. i., p. 213.

From Fleming's Register we extract the following:—

1404. He grants indulgences to those who contribute to the questors for the hospice of St. Thomas Martyr in Rome, in which both English and Irish pilgrims

were in the habit of getting shelter and hospitality. The questors were to be allowed to address the people at Mass on Sundays and Festivals. He also allows a lady to have Mass in her private oratory, provided she goes to the Mass in the parish church on Sundays and Festivals.

1407.—He grants indulgences to those who contribute towards the hospital of St. John outside the walls of Dublin. The questors for this establishment are to be charitably received by the priests, who are

to exhort their parishioners to give them alms. In the same year, the clergy of Armagh gave £10 at the Parliament in Kilkenny, for the prosecution of the war against the Irish.

1410.—The primate excommunicates the heretics in the diocese of Raphoe.

b PRIMATE SWAYNE.—On being summoned, in 1429, to attend a parliament held in the Province of Leinster, he made answer that he could not personally attend, without violation of the oath he took at his consecration to defend the rights of his see, and that he was hindered by the archbishop and clergy of Dublin from bearing his cross and asserting his primatial rights in that province.—*Rot. in Canc. Hib.*

c OBSTINATE HERETIC.—The primate, styling himself the guardian of the spiritualities, and spiritual and temporal jurisdiction of the see of Raphoe, appointed Odo McCathmaill [MacCawell], canon of Derry, his commissary and subcustos, declaring at the same time that the stone cross of the cathedral of Raphoe should remain in Armagh as long as they persisted in their schism, and that the secular power would be invoked in the case of Henry, the eldest son of O'Neill. *Registrum Prene*, fol. 33, p. 49; *Reeves's transcript*, pp. 149—154.

"At a visitation held by the Primate in Armagh, November seventh, 1442, John, abbot of the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul, of the Order of St. Augustine, came forward and stated that from time immemorial his predecessors possessed the right of visiting the 'Cella Nigra S. Columbæ de Diria ut filialem locum dicto monasterio subjectum,' and receiving three marks proxies. In support of this claim, John, bishop of Derry, declared that he remembered Matheus Mcgraa, abbot of said monastery, to have visited on two occasions the said cell, 'ut sui filialem et subjectam, tanquam Pater Abbas.'"—*Reeves, Primate Colton's Visitation*, p. 56

d PRIMATE MEY.—On March twenty-third, 1448, the archbishop of Armagh heard a case relating to the Culdees, in the house of the Friars Minor, outside the

town, as the plague was raging within.—*Reeves: On the Culdees*, p. 16.

We learn from the registers that in 1449, the archbishop and clergy of Armagh addressed a petition to the Duke of York, for aid in rebuilding the cathedral of Armagh, destroyed by fire.

e PRIMATE BOLE.—June thirteenth, 1457. Callixtus III. to John Bole, archbishop of Armagh.

The Pope makes him his commissary in Ireland, and collector of tithes for the recovery of the city of Constantinople from the Turks. He is to get the full tithe of all benefices, from all archbishops, bishops, monasteries, and other religious houses of men and women. If the Friars Minor and other mendicant friars excuse themselves from payment, the Pope hereby declares that they are not exempt. When penitents are bound to make restitution of goods and the rightful owners cannot be found, their confessors are to induce them to turn the money over to this work of piety. To the laity who give at least *two nobles*, absolution from reserved cases and plenary indulgence may be granted by confessors.—*Theiner*, p. 403.

In 1461, Primate Bole issued a citation to the archbishops and suffragans of Tuam to attend him at a visitation in the metropolitan church on a certain day; and in the same year, a similar citation to the archbishop of Cashel and his suffragans, as subject to him and the Church of Armagh by primatial right.—*Harris's Ware*, vol. i., p. 44.

It is more than probable that these two archbishops did not obey the summons, for by doing so they would recognise the primacy of Armagh. We have seen a very protracted contest going on during this century on this subject, and certain glimmerings of it in the previous century. The foundations were laid early in the thirteenth century by the archbishops of Dublin and Cashel, who made a compact not to acknowledge the primacy of Armagh. We herewith give an extract from it as found in the most ancient register book of the archbishops of Dublin:—

"Notum sit omnibus Christi fidelibus

presens scriptum visuris vel audituris, quod Dublinensis et Cassellensis archiepiscopi, et eorum suffraganei, de communi consilio et assensu capitulorum suorum unanimi, pensatis ecclesiarum suarum utilitatibus, sese sibi ad invicem fideliter obligarunt, sub forma subscripta, videlicet, quod eorum singuli et universi ad ecclesiarum suarum libertatum et possessionum tuitionem contra archiepiscopum Ardmachanum, maxime in causa primatie, salva fide et reverentia Sedi Apostolice et domino regi debita, mutuum sibi consilium prestabunt et auxilium, nec eidem archiepiscopo Ardmachano, absque communi consilio et assensu tanquam primati favebunt, obedient in aliquo vel parebunt. Sumptus quidem omnes in predictis quocunque foro prosequendis equaliter sustinendo et inter Dublinensem et Cassellensem provincias dividendo.

Compromiserunt etiam firmiter omnes supradicti quod quicunque eorum contra supradictam formam quocunque modo venire presumpserit, eandem formam fideliter observantibus, quingentas libras nomine pene persolvat.

Statuerunt insuper omnes supradicti, firmiter decernentes, et sub eadem pena concedentes, quod si aliquis vel aliqui eorum forme prenotate noluerint efficaciter adherere, tanquam a fraterna unitate separati pro scismaticis et excommunicationis habeantur, et in omnibus suis negotiis indefensi penitus relinquuntur.

Ad hec ab eisdem plene provisum est et concessum quod eorum singuli et universi in eum vel eos, qui formam hanc observare contempserint, suspensionis et excommunicationis sententiam libere et sine contradictione valeant promulgare, omnino cessante appellatione, et omni juris remedio, tam canonici quam civilis, si quod eis competere possit expresse renuntiando; ita quod nulli sic excommunicati, vel ob hanc causam ab unitate fratrum separati, nisi de communi consilio predictorum et assensu possint absolvi.

In cujus rei testimonium, huic scripto sigilla sua apponi fecerunt.—*Crede Mihi*, ff. 29 b, 93 (*Gilbert's Edit.*, pp. 60, 61).

f CULDEES OF ARMAGH.—During the

course of this and the following centuries, there is repeated mention of the Colidei and their priors in the Registers, and from incidental notices we collect the following particulars regarding their constitution and office:—(1) The body consisted of a prior and five brethren. (2) The celebration of divine offices was discharged by them, and skill in music as well as eloquence in preaching were considered necessary qualifications for the office of prior, which, subject to these conditions, was in their election. (3) The office of Colideus was accepted as a title for holy orders. (4) The repair of the church was in their hands; and among them was frequently found the office of "Magister operis Majoris Ecclesiae," and of Apparitor. (5) Licence to appoint a confessor was granted to them by the primate under certain conditions. (6) Their consent was [obviously] not required for the ratification of the primate's official acts. (7) They had no voice in the election of the diocesan, except so far as their prior, in virtue of his precentorial position, had a vote in the chapter. (8) They took no part in the custody of the spirituals of the diocese, *sede vacante*. (9) In the order of precedence, as a body, they ranked third in the diocese; the dean and chapter being first, the convent of regular canons of St. Peter and St. Paul being second, they third, and the clergy at large, fourth. (10) Their inferior position was implied in the title of *canonici majores*, which was applied to the non-dignified members of the chapter; while the secular character of their head distinguished him from the *prior claustralis*, who was an officer among the regular canons. (11) Their prior ranked in the cathedral next after the chancellor. (12) Rectories and vicarages, with cure of souls, were generally held by the priors, and occasionally by the inferior members.—Reeves: *On the Culdees*.

g PRIMATE OCTAVIAN.—He is usually known by the name of Octavian de Palatio, apparently from being employed in a Curial office in the *Apostolic Palace*. His surname De Spinellis (Spinelli) occurs once in the *Annals of Ulster* under the

year 1513, and, as far as we know, in no other book. To Ware and all other Irish historians it was evidently unknown.

The circumstances of his appointment leave little room to doubt that he was the nominee of the merchants (probably the great Florentine house of Spini) who, having paid the Curial fees, had impounded the bull which Connesburgh found himself unable to redeem.

In 1476, Octavian grants an indulgence of two months to all who should give subsidies towards the Propagation of the Christian faith and the Crusades; provided they should visit the cathedrals of St. Patrick's and the Holy Trinity (Christ Church), the chapel of St. Mary, near the old bridge, belonging to the Friars Preachers, and that of St. Thomas, and should there say thrice the seven penitential psalms with the litany of the saints, or else sixty Our Fathers and Hail Marys. The subsidies required were, from archbishops, bishops, earls and countesses, two marks each; from abbots, barons and baronesses, one mark and a-half; from nobles of inferior degree, doctors and their wives, one mark; and from all others, half-a-mark. All indulgences from other churches were to cease for eight months.—Mason's *St. Patrick's Cathedral*, p. 139.

We extract the following information from his register:—

Circa 1483.—Complaints were made generally about this time in Ireland against preachers of indulgences, especially the Observantines. It was stated they went about armed with extraordinary indulgences for those who contributed towards the recovery of the Holy Land and the redemption of captives. They gave out that they had power to absolve all papal and episcopal cases. The authority of the bishops was set at nought.—*Regist. Octav.* iii., p. 973.

1491.—Among Octavian's Constitutions at his synod this year was one regarding the celebration of the Octave of Corpus Christi.

1492.—Among the Provincial Constitutions of this year is one against certain exactions made by the clergy.

1495.—George, bishop of Dromore, the procurator of indulgences, granted to those who contribute to the hospital of Sancto Spiritu de Saxia in Rome, is recognised in this capacity by the provincial synod convened this year by Octavian. The bishop was endeavouring to build a hospital of the same kind in Ireland, in connexion with the one in Rome.

1496.—Octavian grants an indulgence of forty days to all pious Christians who give aid to Father Cornelius Gerald, the prior of the Dominican Convent in Drogheda. Gerald had spent a great deal in repairing his church and convent, and had also provided books, lights, vestments, and other requisites to divine service. The alms of the people in his neighbourhood not being sufficient for his purpose, he had resolved to quest in the northern parts of the province of Armagh.—*Regist. Oct.*, vol. iii., p. 898.

1508, July 6.—Octavian grants an indulgence of forty days to all pious Christians who give help to Father Meyler Bratnagh [Welsh] who was blind and weak, and who, with the leave of his superiors, had resolved to lead the life of a hermit. He had partially constructed a cell for himself adjoining the cathedral of Cashel, and wanted means for his support and the completion of his cell.

1508.—Letter from Octavian to Henry VII., regarding the see of Dromore. We give this letter in the old spelling, as an interesting example of the English language as it was spoken and written in Ireland at this period. Equally noteworthy from the pen of a foreigner is the phrase "wilde Irysh men," showing how fully he had imbibed the Anglo-Irish ideas regarding the natives:—

Humbely youre hyghnes besecheth yr contynuell oratour Octavyane, archebisshop of Ardmagh, Prymate of all yr land of Irland, that where the bysshyprik of Dromorens withyn yr saide land of Irland, beynge in my prouynce of Ardmagh enonges wilde Irysh men, which frutes, roots and growndes as well spirituel as temporell, have bene above the sabbine of XL marces of the coyne of this yor land

of Irland which is leasse in the thyrede parte than the coyne sterlyng, for the [e]xile and poverty of the same is voide and desolate and almoste extincted this XXti wynter last paste or moore in so mych that none wyll sue the saide byssshipryk ne abide there appon. it wolde please your mooste affluent grace to commende by your letres unto oure mooste holy fader the poape and to your procurator in rome one Arthure Magind [Maginn] bachelere of the holy canon lawe, natyve of the dyocysse of Dromorens, whom with grete instaunce I have caused to sue the saide byssshipryk att this tyme in relefe of the sowles of the pouer people of the forsaide diocise and of my charge and cure pasturale, to be promoted to the said byssshipryk and that for the love of God and in way of charyte, whom I commende to your mooste noble majestie.—*Registrum Octaviani de Palatio*, fol. 127a Reeves's copy, vol. i., p. 335.

h PRIMATE OCTAVIAN AND SIMNEL.—Writing to Morton or Fox, Octavian says, "Profano coronationis pueri in Hibernia sceleris, me solo excepto, nullus obstitit manifeste."—*Letters of Richard III. and Henry VII.*, vol. i., p. 383.

1488.—The seyd Erle of Kildare, and the Lordes Spiritual and Temporal, came to a Priory without Dublyn, callid All-Hallows; to whom the seyd Sir Richard came, and had with them long communication; and the seyd Sir Richard understanding that certen persons which were noted to be the chief causes of the gret Rebellion late committed in Irlaund, because the King's Grace had sent thither

ther pardons, sett little by their heinous offences, and therefor the seyd Sir Richard hitherto refused for that cause to take either homage or fealty of Justice Plunket and of the Prior of Kilmainham, who were specially noted amongst all others chief causes of the seyd Rebellion; and gret instaunce was made by the seyd Erle and Lordes, that the seyd Sir Richard should accept theme unto the King's Grace, whych in no wise he could graunt unto; and that day both the Erle and the seyd Sir Richard, with many other lordes and gentilmen dined with Walter Yvers and had a gret dinner; and the seyd day at aftirnoon, both the seyd Erle and the seyd Sir Richard, with dyvers lordes spiritual and temporal met together at St. Mary's Abbey without Dublyn; and ther the seyd Sir Richard took fealty and homage for the Kyng of diverse gentilmen; and this day, the archbushopp of Ardmacan came to Dublyn, and came to the seyd Sir Richard into his lodging, and made both his fealty and homage.—*Sir Richard Edgecomb's Voyage to Ireland*, in Harris's *Hibernica*, p. 34.

With reference to the Simnel story it would be well to consult Sir John Gilbert's *Vicerays of Ireland*, Chap. xii., p. 425, et seq. Gilbert holds that the youth called Lambert Simnel was the real Warwick, and that the other youth, paraded by Henry through the streets of London, was the cheat. Gilbert's conclusion, though opposed to all that was previously written on the subject, has never been impugned.



CHAPTER XI.

PRIMATES CROMER, WAUCHOPE, AND DOWDALL.

Silken Thomas bursts into the Council Chamber—Exhorted to Loyalty by Primate Cromer—George Browne begins the Protestant Reformation in Ireland—Strenuously opposed by Cromer—Conn O'Neill takes up arms against Heresy—Defeated by Lord Grey—Parliament of 1541 declares Henry VIII. King of Ireland—Robert Wauchope introduces the Jesuits into Ireland—Appointed Primate by Paul III.—George Dowdall appointed Primate by Henry VIII.—O'Neill renounces his Name—Dowdall opposes Browne and the other Reformers—He flies to the Continent—Recalled by Queen Mary—Armagh burned by Sussex.

Supplementary Notes.—Cromer suspected of heresy and suspended—Career of Doctor George Browne—Plundering of Churches—Dissolution of Abbeys—Notices of the Culdees—Career of Robert Wauchope—Peculiar position of George Dowdall—Appointed Primate by the Pope on the death of Wauchope—His Regulations in the Provincial Synod of 1557—Sussex explains his motives for burning Armagh.



ON October twenty-fourth, 1513, John Kite,^a a native of London, canon of Salisbury and and of Credyngton, Essex, and rector of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, diocese of London, was advanced to the primacy by provision of Leo X. He had acted as ambassador to King Henry VIII. in Spain, and was a man remarkable for beneficence and hospitality. On the twelfth of July, 1521, he resigned the see, and was made bishop of Carlisle in

England. He died in extreme old age, at Stepney, near London, on the nineteenth of June, 1537, and was buried in the parish church there, near the middle of the chancel, northward, under a marble monument, on which is inscribed an epitaph in miserable English rhyme.

George Cromer,^b priest of Chichester diocese and royal chaplain, was, at the instance of Henry VIII., appointed October second, and received the pallium October twenty-fifth, 1521. In July, 1522, he was made lord chancellor of Ireland.

About this period, Kildare and his family were afflicted with a series of most unexpected and dreadful calamities. These, if the advice of Primate Cromer had been adopted, might have been either wholly avoided, or at least in part averted. On the eleventh of June, 1534, Kildare's son, Thomas, who was then lord-deputy, at the head of one hundred and forty horsemen, arrayed in coats of mail, proceeded through Dublin to Saint Mary's Abbey, where the council awaited his arrival. His boisterous followers burst into the council-room, armed as they were, and began to talk aloud with such vehemence as alarmed the lords. Thomas, however, having proclaimed silence, addressed the council in a vehement speech, which was a curious specimen of magnanimity and folly.¹

The archbishop of Armagh, then lord chancellor, who had listened to his strange address with mixed emotions of pity and horror, endeavoured to dissuade the impetuous and ill-advised deputy from his rash undertaking. Moved even to tears, the benevolent primate took the Lord Thomas affectionately by the hand, and in a speech of considerable length and pathos, besought him to preserve his loyalty untainted, and to rely on the wisdom and justice of his sovereign.

Of the primate's speech, which was delivered with much emotion, the Irish horsemen who attended the deputy did not understand a syllable. They, however, imagined that the primate had eulogized their leader in a strain of impassioned poetry, and one of them, a bard by profession, began to pour forth a torrent of verse in praise of their chief, whom he denominated the "Silken Thomas," and vehemently exhorted to linger there no longer. Thus urged, the deputy replied to the primate, and in harsh terms rejected his advice.

Under the impulse of passion, the Lord Thomas surrendered his sword of office, retired precipitately from the council, and prepared for war. In spite of the primate's services on this occasion, the king removed him from the chancellorship this very year.

In 1538, George Browne,^e archbishop of Dublin, and other reformers were appointed commissioners by Cromwell, vicar-general of England, to confer with the clergy and nobility of Ireland, to whom they explained the object of their mission. Here, however, they experienced even *in limine*, a most determined opposition to the measure from Primate Cromer, who treated the attempt to divest the Sovereign Pontiff of what he deemed his undoubted prerogative as detestable and impious.

Under this impression, he convened the clergy of his province, and exhorted them to resist the progress of innovation. Ireland, he said, had, from time immemorial, been denominated the "Island of Saints." It was the peculiar property of the Holy See, from whose grant alone the English monarchs derived their claim to the lordship of the country. Nay, he pronounced a curse against all such persons as should presume to acknowledge the supremacy of the king, and he despatched two messengers to represent to the Roman Pontiff the danger of the church, and to solicit his immediate interposition in defence of his own rights.

Thus Primate Cromer and the archbishop of Dublin became opposed to each other on this important point. The people of Ireland, tenacious of their theological opinions, and firmly attached to the Roman Pontiff, whom they deemed the genuine and acknowledged spiritual head of the Christian church, were little inclined to adopt the doctrines inculcated by Doctor Browne. In the English Pale itself, many were hostile to the claims of supremacy urged by Henry; in the other portions of the country, they were utterly rejected and contemned.

Primate Cromer exerted himself to the utmost against the policy in religious matters of Henry VIII. Countenanced by him, the clergy refused to permit the images and relics of saints^d to be removed from the cathedrals. A special commission arrived from Rome, addressed to Cromer and his adherents, enjoining them to support the

papal authority, and empowering them to absolve from their oaths all such persons as had acknowledged the king's supremacy. These were commanded, under pain of ecclesiastical censure, to confess their guilt within forty days, and enter into a new and solemn engagement to uphold the authority of the Holy See, to resist heretics and their edicts against the Catholic religion, and to declare those accursed who held any power, ecclesiastical or civil, to be superior to that of the Church.

In a letter to the Lord Cromwell, written on the twenty-ninth March, 1538, by Doctor Browne, it is stated that Cromer, whom he calls his brother of Ardmagh, "does underhand occasion quarrels, and is not active to execute the vicar-general's orders," and that he had influenced the duke of Norfolk to assist the clergy in their efforts to prevent any alteration of the laws of the Church in Ireland. In a subsequent letter, Browne gives the version of a declaration sent from Rome to the primate of Armagh and the clergy, which was to be solemnly made and perfected by all such persons as they should absolve under the special commission, to which we have already alluded. Whilst Primate Cromer was engaged in the execution of this Papal mandate, Conn O'Neill, the chief Irish potentate of Ulster, was stimulated in a letter sent by the bishop of Metz, to take up arms against "heresy and the Pope's enemies, and one Thady O'Birne, a friar of the order of Saint Francis, and bearer of a letter from that prelate to O'Neill, was seized by Thomas Browne, on the feast of Saint John the Baptist, and having been pilloried and confined in Dublin Castle, is said to have committed suicide.² This was the usual rumour put out in those days when anyone was secretly done to death in prison. Many sacrilegious acts were committed at this time, amongst which it may be mentioned that Lord Grey burned the cathedral church of Down and defaced the monuments of St. Patrick, St. Brigit, and St. Columba. About the same period, St. Patrick's crozier (called the Staff of Jesus) which William Fitz-Aldelm had conveyed, in the year 1179, from Armagh to the church of the Holy Trinity, in Dublin, was taken out with other relics and publicly burned in High Street.³

O'Neill was now strongly suspected of acting in the interests of

the papal see, and having been joined by O'Donnell, Magennis, O'Cahan, MacQuillan, O'Hanlon, and other northern chieftains, invaded the Pale in August, 1539, and on his march towards the hill of Tara, burned Navan and Ardee and wasted the adjacent country. At Tara, where he had collected an immense prey, he mustered his army and reviewed his troops, of whose numbers he made a proud and ostentatious display. But, as if he had taken up arms for no other object than to waste and pillage a portion of the country, and then exhibit his soldiers in idle parade, he prepared for an immediate retreat.

Meanwhile, the Lord-Deputy Grey having collected his forces marched to Bellahoe, in Meath (the ford that divides Meath from Monaghan), where a great body of O'Neill's troops was encamped on the Farney side of the water. He arrived at day-break on the banks of this river, and having formed a resolution to cross it, in defiance of his opponents, he gave the command of the forlorn hope to Black James Fleming, baron of Slane, who ordered Robert Halfpenny, his standard-bearer, to proceed with him through the stream; this timid officer, however, alarmed at the formidable appearance of O'Neill's army, declined the perilous adventure. Fleming, therefore, entrusted the colours to Robert Betagh, and rushed at the head of his troops through the river. He was well seconded by Mape of Mapestown, who fell in the conflict. A desperate battle ensued, in the course of which Magennis was slain, and O'Neill's troops finally defeated and dispersed.

A Commission arrived about this time from Henry VIII., empowering Doctor Browne and others to dissolve all religious houses and take the surrenders of their abbots and priors. If the monks and friars would not surrender, they were to be put in prison and otherwise severely dealt with. In consequence of this, the abbots and priors in the Pale, with few exceptions, deeming resistance unavailing, began now, on assurance of pensions during their respective lives, to surrender their abbeys^d and other religious houses to the king. Amongst the most important of these were twenty-four religious institutions, whose abbots and priors were lords of Parliament.

The adherents of the king became now so powerful, that a Par-

liament convened in Dublin, by the Lord-Deputy St. Leger, on the thirteenth of June, 1541, enacted that hereafter Henry and his heirs should assume the title of King, instead of Lord of Ireland, which was then erected into a kingdom. The statute was proclaimed on the Sunday following, at Saint Patrick's church, and at London, on the twenty-third of January, 1542. This vigorous measure was soon followed by the submission of the native chiefs, who renounced the papal authority in the fullest manner. O'Neill, O'Carroll, O'More, O'Mulloy, O'Conor, O'Dwyn (or Odoyn), MacMahon, Magennis, O'Donnell, O'Rourke, O'Flaherty, O'Reilly, O'Melaghlín, O'Kelly (abbot of Knockmoy), MacCarty, O'Sullivan, and others took the oath of allegiance; so also did many nobles of English descent, such as Barry, Roche, Birmingham, and MacWilliam; a list of whom may be found in the Red Book of the privy council of Ireland.⁴

It is probable that even Primate Cromer himself at last submitted to the authority of the king, and ceased to give any opposition to his measures; for in a curious edict made by the privy council, in 1541, we find him appointed, in conjunction with the lord of Louth, arbitrator of such controversies as might arise in the province of Ulster, on certain subjects specified in the document, a power which would not have been vested in him if he had not regained the confidence of his sovereign.⁵

A.D. 1541, an inquisition was held by order of the king relative to the property vested in the Culdees of Armagh,⁶ when it was found that their house was called "The Priory of the Colidei of Armagh," and that the religious therein were incorporated by the name of "The Prior and Colidei of Armagh." The prior was then seized of seven Ballyboes or townlands in the county, viz., Cannadisse, Lisleagh, Ennogsegurt, Aghaville, Lisvonnowe, Killenure, and Maghocarrell.

Cromer was a learned, grave, and courteous man. On his death, which occurred March the sixteenth, 1543, Edmund, dean of Armagh, was made *custos*, and George Dowdall, *subcustos*, of the metropolitan church.

Robert Wauchope⁷ (or Venantius), a Scot, a divine eminent for talents, learning, and virtue, succeeded to the see, either on or before

the death of Cromer, whose diocese he had administered since 1539, Cromer having in that year been suspended by the Pope on suspicion of heresy. Wauchope was consecrated by Jerome, bishop of Castrensis, in the Sistine Chapel of the Vatican, on St. Patrick's Day, 1545, and received the pallium on April the twenty-first. This prelate suffered from defective sight, yet by intense application to study he had made such proficiency in literature, that he obtained the degree of doctor of divinity at Paris. He was present, as archbishop of Armagh, at the famous Council of Trent, from the first session, in 1545, till the eleventh, in 1547. The Pope placed considerable confidence in this divine, and he was sent by his Holiness, legate *a latere* to Germany, and from this circumstance, it is said, originated the German proverb, "A blind legate to the sharp-sighted Germans."

Wauchope, prior to his appointment by the Pope to the archbishopric of Armagh, had, in 1542, introduced the Jesuits into Ireland, under the patronage of Paul III.

John Codure and Alphonso Salmeron were appointed nuncios to Ireland, and the Irish clergy were exhorted to receive them with honour. Codure died before he reached Ireland, and Paschal Broet came in his stead with Salmeron. Francesco Zapata, not yet a Jesuit, came as their secretary. They stayed in Ireland during the months of February and March, moving about from place to place, but the pursuit after them became so hot that they had to fly to Scotland.

Wauchope is said by Cox to have been famous for riding post, the best of any man in Christendom. He died in the Jesuit house at Paris, on the tenth of November, 1551. His last words have been recorded by the historian, O'Sullivan, and were to the following effect:—

"Lord, if my existence here be necessary for the good of Thy people, I will not shrink from the useful task which I ought to perform. If not, I shall willingly yield up my station in this most laborious life, that my spirit may enjoy the beatitude of Thy presence."

George Dowdall,^a a native of Louth, obtained possession of the primacy, on Cromer's death, by donation of Henry VIII., and was consecrated by Edward Staples, bishop of Meath, and other prelates, about the beginning of December, 1543, in consequence of the king's

mandate directed to them, on the twenty-eighth of the preceding month. The Pope, however, would not confirm his appointment. Primate Dowdall was a grave and learned man, and very assiduous in the exercise of his episcopal functions. The king, it appears, had promised to promote him, and had granted him a pension of twenty pounds per annum, on the eighth of October, 1542, "till he should enjoy the bishopric of Armachan."

This prelate wrote some sermons, and translated from Latin into English the *Life of John de Courcy*, the conqueror of Ulster. Ware says that his "*Ecclesiastical Constitutions*" were extant in his days.

We have now, in these historical sketches, arrived at that particular point of time when the Church of Ireland began to be separated, by the law of the land, from the see of Rome. Two distinct ecclesiastical hierarchies, shortly after this period, co-existed in Ireland; the one presiding over the religion of the state, the other over that long adopted and steadily adhered to by the great majority of the people. Wauchope ought, of course, to be classed as the first titular primate of all Ireland, in right of his appointment by the Pope, or, in other words, as the first Roman-Catholic archbishop of Armagh nominated by the papal see in this country, after the commencement of the Reformation.

In the year 1542, Conn O'Neill, prince of Tyrone, accompanied by Hugh O'Cervalan, bishop of Clogher, and others, overawed by the power of Henry VIII., visited that monarch at Greenwich, and on the twenty-fourth of September, surrendered to him his titles, estates, and principalities.⁸ On this occasion, he covenanted "to renounce the name of *The O'Neill*," to adopt the English habit, language, and manners; to cause his own and his people's children to learn the English tongue, and to build their houses and farm their lands after the English mode; to conform to and obey the English law, and to keep no more gallowglasses than the lord-deputy should allow; to answer all general hostings like the inhabitants of the Pale, and to refrain from succouring the king's enemies." In consequence of this humiliating treaty, he was created earl of Tyrone for life, with remainder to his spurious son, Matthew, who was then made baron of Dungannon, in tail. O'Neill's estates were also re-granted to Conn

by patent. The promise to renounce the princely name of "The O'Neill," as well as the dress, language, and customs of his country must have been galling to this chieftain. A similar regulation with respect to dress, enacted in 1537, by parliament, was found inoperative, and was rejected even by the common people. It decreed that no subject should be shaved above the ears, or wear glibbs, or linen dyed in saffron, or above seven yards of linen in a chemise, or any silk-embroidered kirtle or coat, "ne couched, ne laid with usker:" but that all were to conform to the English language and fashions. Another law, relating chiefly to Connaught and Munster, which was subsequently ratified by proclamation, ordered that noblemen should be allowed twenty cubits or bundles of linen in their shirts, horsemen eighteen, footmen sixteen, garsons twelve, labourers ten, and that no shirt should be dyed with saffron. It is not likely that regulations which had been despised by his very vassals, could have been agreeable to O'Neill; yet he concealed his chagrin, and appeared satisfied with his reception at the English court.

On the twenty-eighth of January, 1547, Henry VIII. died at Westminster. By an extent taken in the thirtieth year of this monarch, the archiepiscopal see of Armagh was valued at one hundred and eighty-three pounds, seventeen shillings and five pence halfpenny, Irish currency, per annum. In the fifteenth year of James I. it was valued at four hundred pounds sterling per annum, and the first fruits calculated accordingly. King Edward VI., a zealous reformer, sent orders, on the sixth of February, 1550, to the Viceroy St. Leger, that the liturgy of the church of England should be adopted and read in Ireland, in the English tongue.⁹ The deputy, having accordingly convoked the prelates and clergy, signified to them his majesty's pleasure with respect to the intended change. But the primate of Arinagh (Dowdall) strongly dissented from the proposed measure; and an animated theological discussion immediately ensued between that divine and the viceroy. Each of the parties, however, retained his own opinions, unconvinced by the reasoning of his opponent. Dowdall withdrew from the conference in disgust, and was followed by all his suffragans, except Staples, bishop of Meath. Some of the clergy, with George Browne, archbishop of Dublin, at their head,



agreed to adopt the proposed liturgy, which was accordingly read, in the English tongue, on Easter Sunday, in Christ Church, in presence of the viceroy, the magistrates, and the clergy. On this occasion, Doctor Browne preached on the eighteenth verse of the hundred and nineteenth psalm—"Open Thou mine eyes, that I may see the wonders of Thy law."

Sir James Croft, a zealous Protestant, who was appointed viceroy of Ireland on the twenty-ninth of April, 1551, made every possible exertion to induce the archbishop of Armagh to adopt the English liturgy. But Dowdall, who, though the Pope had nominated another divine to his see, was conscientiously attached to the Church of Rome, refused to comply with the deputy's wishes. His firmness met with the approbation of the great majority of the people, and he was generally regarded as the leader of the Catholics of Ireland. The primate, however, not only withdrew from the public councils, where his opinions had been disregarded, but refused to hold any intercourse with his brethren, and retired in disgust to Saint Mary's abbey, near Dublin. He was rendered still more popular by the misconduct of those reformers who had been appointed to examine the places of public worship, and to remove "the objects and instruments of popular superstition." These men, in all the pride and insolence of office, executed their commission in the most violent, outrageous, and indecent manner. Regardless of the preconceived opinions of the people, they seized upon the most revered utensils and the most valuable furniture of the churches, and exposed them to open sale.^a The garrison of Athlone is stated to have pillaged the church of Clonmacnois, the shrine of the favourite saint, Ciaran; where they defaced or destroyed the ornaments, and removed the books, windows, chalices, bells, and furniture of every kind. Such acts as these must have excited the strongest emotions of abhorrence both against the perpetrators and the authority by which they were supported. It was deemed necessary, at last, to check this growing evil, and therefore an order was transmitted by the English government to Sir James Croft, to prevent the sale of bells, church-goods, chantry-lands, &c., and to note them down in regular inventories.

Another effort was now made to reconcile Primate Dowdall to

the new ecclesiastical arrangements. The lord-deputy, in a letter, which he transmitted to him by the hands of the bishop of Meath, expressed an ardent wish to make some amicable settlement between him and his conforming brethren. To attain this desirable object, he proposed that a place of conference should be named, in which the theological points might be discussed and finally settled.

The primate replied that though he thought those points in which the contending parties were, in conscience and in judgment, at such essential variance with one another, could not be thus easily and satisfactorily adjusted, yet he should be glad to see and converse with the deputy, and he accepted his friendly proposal. He had, however, he said, retired from the world, and therefore declined appearing at his lordship's palace. Dowdall was afterwards waited upon by the whole body of the clergy, at the abbey, where a theological disputation was held, in the great hall, between him and Staples, bishop of Meath. Each of the polemic champions claimed the victory, and each withdrew from the useless contest, despising the sophisms of his opponent, and triumphing in the solidity of his own arguments.

Dowdall had heretofore displayed great inflexibility of spirit, and it had been found impossible, either by force of argument or of entreaty, to make him adopt the new liturgy. The court of England now determined to try what effect hostile measures might produce on his unbending mind. They began, therefore, to wound his feelings in a very tender point, by rendering his see subordinate to that of Dublin. On the twentieth of October, 1551, the king and council deprived him of the primacy, which, by letters patent, they vested, with all its powers and privileges, in Browne and his successors for ever. Alarmed by this decisive measure, and anticipating others of a still more violent nature, Dowdall seems at once to have lost that fortitude and spirit which had rendered him conspicuous as the head of all the adherents to the Papal see. At the very moment when his popularity had risen to the highest pitch, and when it might have been dangerous for King Edward to have proceeded one step further against him, he deserted his dignified station, and fled in alarm to the continent.

Edward, looking upon the flight of Dowdall as a renunciation of his archiepiscopal rights and duties, appointed Hugh Goodacre to the see, by privy signet, dated the twenty-eight of October, 1552. In his order the king states that the see, one of the chiefest in the realm, was vacant, that he had a right good opinion both of the sufficiency of the place and of the virtuous life of Hugh Goodacre, and had, therefore, appointed him archbishop of Armagh.

Edward VI. died at Greenwich, on the sixth day of July, 1553, and was succeeded by Mary, eldest daughter of Henry VIII. The queen, who was zealously attached to the Catholic religion, recalled George Dowdall from the continent, on the application of the famous Cardinal Pole, the Pope's legate. On the twelfth of March, 1554, she reinstated him in the see of Armagh, and finally, by letters patent, restored to him the title of "Primate of all Ireland," with all the ecclesiastical and temporal rights annexed to the archbishopric. In the patent of restitution it was expressly stated "that he and his predecessors had, from time immemorial, enjoyed the dignity, style and title of 'Primate of all Ireland,' until, by the patent which granted the same to George, bishop of Dublin, he was deprived of it and of the archbishopric, contrary to justice." The patent of the archbishop of Dublin was surrendered to Mary, who cancelled it when she restored the primacy to the archbishop of Armagh.

The priory of Ardee was also given to him for life, as a remuneration for the spoil which had been made in his see during his absence. In the same year, he held a provincial synod at Drogheda, in which some progress was made in the re-establishment of the Catholic religion, and in depriving the married clergy of their benefices. In April, he and Dr. Walsh, bishop-elect of Meath, received a commission which empowered them to divest all married ecclesiastics of their dignities and functions. Browne, archbishop of Dublin, Staples, bishop of Meath, and Travers, bishop of Leighlin, were expelled from their sees, being, as it is phrased by the author of "*Jus Primatiale Armacanum*," "*uxoratos et impenitentes*," "married and impenitent." Bale, bishop of Ossory, and Casey, bishop of Limerick, fled from the Island. Other prelates were substituted in

place of those who had either absconded or had been deposed. The new bishops took an oath of fidelity to the queen, who yet retained the title of supreme head of the church, &c."

On the first of June, 1556, Sussex, then lord-deputy of Ireland, convened a parliament, in which the lord chancellor, kneeling down in full meeting, read aloud a bull which had been transmitted by Cardinal Pole, by which they were earnestly exhorted to abrogate every law which impugned the supremacy of the Roman see, that the people might be restored to full communion with the Catholic Church. The sentiments of Pole were joyfully adopted and re-echoed by the parliament, which, having adjourned to the cathedral and heard the "Te Deum" chanted for the restoration of unity to the church, proceeded to declare the legitimacy of the queen, and her undoubted title to the regal power. Further, they revived the statutes against heresy, and repealed all laws enacted against the Pope and his supremacy since 20th Henry VIII. The grants made by Archbishop Browne, either to his own use, or to that of "his bastards," were declared void; the crown's claim to the first fruits was vacated, and various laws were enacted for the subversion of the Protestant religion.

It does not appear that any persecution was excited against the Protestants in Ireland during the reign of Mary, with the exception of the laws passed against the reformed clergy, which we have recited above. On the contrary, many Protestant refugees, who had fled from England, remained unmolested and even unnoticed in this country.

Whilst the court and parliament were occupied in re-establishing the Catholic religion, Shane O'Neill, James MacConnell, and some island Scots had excited an insurrection in Ulster. To quell this disturbance, Thomas Ratcliffe Lord Fitzwalters, then lord-deputy, marched into the province, and on the eighteenth of July, 1556, defeated the Scots and their Irish allies. MacConnell, with two hundred of his followers, was slain by Sir Henry Sydney.

This victory did not completely terminate the war, and therefore, on the twenty-second of October, 1557, Sussex, then lord-lieutenant, marched into Ulster. On the twenty-fourth he arrived at Dundalk,

whence he drove the enemy before him to Armagh. On the twenty-fifth he entered that city, which he wasted with fire on the twenty-seventh, sparing only the cathedral.¹ After this act of vengeance, he proceeded through Newry to Dublin, where he arrived on the thirtieth.

In the year 1557, Archbishop Dowdall held a provincial synod in Drogheda. He died in London the following year, on the fifteenth of August. His epitaph was registered on the twelfth of February, 1559, by Thomas Walsh, register of the ecclesiastical court of Armagh. The following two lines may serve as a specimen of its style:—

Dum patriæ studio celebres proficiscor ad Anglos,
Londini summum fata dedere diem.

On his decease, Terence, dean of Armagh, was appointed guardian of the spiritualities of the see. On the third of July, 1559, Terence held a synod of the English clergy of the diocese in Saint Peter's church, Drogheda.

Queen Mary died on the seventeenth of November, 1558, and was succeeded by Elizabeth, the only surviving child of Henry VIII.

¹ Hollinshead, p. 90. ² Ware's *Life of Browne*, p. 152. ³ Ware's *Annals Henry VIII.*, p. 99. ⁴ MacGeoghan, vol. ii., p. 315. ⁵ Ware's *Annals Henry VIII.*, p. 106. ⁶ Regist Dowdall, p. 37. ⁷

O'Sullivan, p. 97. Ware's *Annals Henry VIII.*, p. 108. ⁹ Cox, p. 238. ¹⁰ Leland, vol. ii., p. 196. ¹¹ Cox, vol. i., p. 300. ¹² Cox, vol. i., p. 303.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

a PRIMATE KITE.—1514, May 14—Termonfechan, near Drogheda.—John Kite, archbishop of Armagh, to Thomas Wolsey, bishop of Lincoln.

Perilous state of the English Pale. He is assuring the people that the king will come ere long to reform the State. The king is as much bound to reform this land as to maintain good order and justice in England.

June 7.—Termonfechan, near Drogheda.—John Kite to Thomas Wolsey.

Has not heard from him since his de-

parture from England, which is more pain to him than all the diseases he finds in Ireland. The bark of Chester, in which he crossed over, has had a sore fight with two "Bryttanes," men-of-war both, and pirates. The town of Drogheda manned two ships and went to assist against the pirates; one of the pirates and a merchantman laden with salt, taken.—*Cal. Doc. Ireland (1509—1537)*, p. 1.

John [Kite], archbishop of Armagh, to [Art junior] O'Neill, Prince of Ulster.

Your safety depends on the king, and

you should therefore shew him all observance. You should cultivate a mind worthy of your ability and character, and no longer take delight in wild and barbarous manners, and be unacquainted with the comforts of life. It is much better to live in a civilized fashion, than to seek a living by arms and rapine, and to have no thought beyond pleasure and the belly. Therefore I beseech you to consider how many evils and perils you will be exposed to, if you make the king your enemy, and on the other hand, how happy you will be, if you gain his favour.

Headed—Joh'es Dei gr'a Armachan archiep'us, Hiberniæ primas, filio suo, &c., Onell Wultoniæ nacionisque suæ principi clarissimo S.—*Lat. p. 1. Cal. Carew MSS. (1515–1574) p. 15.*

In justification of this plain-spoken (not to say rude) letter, it is well to bear in mind that the Irish chieftains at this period were constantly engaged at war with one another, especially the O'Neills and O'Donnells.

The Consistorial Acts state that the archbishop, on his translation to Carlisle, was to retain two (Armagh) canonries and one parochial church, to the value of £60 sterling, and, should it seem good, to be titular of an archiepiscopal church. Ware states the church in question was Thebes.

b PRIMATE CROMER.—In April, 1535, Cromer, who was suspected of treasonable practices, only escaped arrest by reason of his bodily infirmities.—*Corres. Henry VIII.*, part iii., vol. ii., p. 243.

By Consistorial decree, dated July 23, 1539, George Cromer, having been accused of heresy, was replaced in the temporal and spiritual administration of the diocese of Armagh by Robert Wauchope. This decree, owing to Cromer's contumacy, took effect *in nunc*. Wauchope succeeded without any further provision.

The decree is as follows:—

Romæ, Die Lune, quarta Augusti, 1539.

—Apud Sanctum Marcum in quo fuerunt hec acta.

Referente Rev^{mo} D. Cardinale Ghinutio.

S^{mo} D. N. Cum R. D. Georgius, archi-

episcopus Armachanus, sit de heresi apud bonos et graves viros publice diffamatus, donec prefatus Georgius se de diffamatione hujusmodi canonice purgaverit, vel si in purgatione ipsa defecerit, aut illa non incepta seu pendente, regimini et administrationi ipsius ecclesiæ in spiritualibus et temporalibus deputavit Venerabilem D. Robertum Uancop, clericum Sancti Andreæ dioc., in ætate legitima et ordine sacerdotali constitutum, et in Sacra Theol. Magistrum, debilitatem visus patientem, cum retentione omnium et singulorum.

Absolvens, etc., Dispensans, etc., Correctum de mandato S^{mo} D. N.

A. Vicecancellarius.

—*Ex Codice (C) Consist.*, in *Tabulario Consistoriali adservato*.

Great obscurity rests on the last years of Primate Cromer. In 1538, Agard informs Cromwell that all in Ireland were adhering to the Pope, except the archbishop of Dublin and a few others of no repute; yet, in the following year, Cromer is suspended by the Pope on suspicion of heresy, and Stuart holds it probable that he ceased to give opposition in religious matters to Henry VIII., as he was appointed, according to Ware, to an important commission in Ulster, in 1541. On the other hand, there is not only no reference to this appointment in the Calendars of State Papers, but we find from them that the king that very year was going to appoint another person to the archbishopric. Again, in the parliament of 1541, in which Henry was formally styled "Supreme Head in earth of the Church in England and Ireland," Primate Cromer was the only archbishop in the country, recognised by the State, who did not subscribe to the formula. We meet with the names of George of Dublin, Christopher of Tuam, and Edmund of Cashel, the two former being schismatics and usurpers all along, but we look in vain for the name of Primate Cromer. There is one State Paper, endorsed 1541, which professes to give the names of those who were present at the parliament, and places the primate first on the list, but it is evident from Sentleger's letter to Henry VIII.

(*Corres.*, part iii., vol. iii., p. 304), that it was a false return. Finally, if Primate Cromer had regained the favour of Henry, he would naturally have been restored to his place in the Privy Council, which he was not.

c DOCTOR GEORGE BROWNE.—It appears from the Consistorial Act, which makes Hugh Curwin the successor of John Alen, that George Browne, who was made archbishop of Dublin by Henry VIII., in 1535, was ignored in the Roman records. Browne was consecrated, in 1535, by Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of Rochester and Salisbury. He was an active promoter of Protestantism and the new liturgy. He was deposed by Queen Mary, although he obtained a dispensation from censures, etc., from Cardinal Pole.—Brady: *Epis. Succession*, vol. i., p. 328.

d DESTRUCTION OF THE IMAGES.—This first act of sacrilegious robbery in Ireland was perpetrated by Henry VIII., in 1539. In William Brabazon's account of the spoils, presented a few years afterwards, the commission given by the king, under his privy seal, is inserted. In virtue of this illegal commission, Henry's satellites went through the country, destroying crucifixes, pictures, and statues in the cathedral, parochial and monastic churches, melting down gold and silver ornaments, and removing everything of value for the sole use of their royal master. We here give the commission as it appears in Brabazon's account:—

Computus Willim Brabazon subthesaurarii terræ domini regis Hiberniæ quem una cum Johanne Aleyn cancellario dicti domini regis terræ suæ prædictæ, Georgio archiepiscopo Dublinensis, Roberto Cowley, magistro rotulorum cancellarii ejusdem domini regis in eadem terra, et Thomas Cusack armigero:—

Dominus Rex Henricus VIII. Dei gratia anglæ et franciæ rex, fidei defensor ac in terra supremum caput Anglicanæ et Hiberniæ ecclesiæ, certis urgentibus causis ipsum dominum regem ad hoc moventibus, per litteras suas patentes datas sub privato sigillo suo, tertia die februarii, anno

regni sui xxx. [Feb. 3, 1539], inter alia ad investigandum, inquirendum et scrutandum, ubi infra dictam terram Hiberniæ, aliquæ notabiles ymagines vel reliquæ fuerunt, ad quas simplices populi superstitione convenire ac tanquam vagantes peregrini, ambulare et vagare solebant aut aliter osculare, lambire vel honorare contra honorem Dei: et ad eadem dirumpendum, deformandum et auferendum, ac ita cum rebus omnibus pertinentibus annexis et adjunctis penitus asportandis, ut nulla hujusmodi ludibria ex tunc deinceps in dicta terra sive dominio prædicti domini regis essent usitata. Irish Record Office, 1810-1815, Pl. vi. No. 3.

e SUPPRESSION OF THE MONASTERIES.—The Loftus MS., quoted by Mant, in his *Church History of Ireland* (vol. 1, p. 155), says that in 1536, the first grant of religious houses was made to the king by the authority of the Irish parliament, and that the grant comprised 370 monasteries, whose yearly value amounted to £32,000, whilst their movables were rated at £100,000. Cardinal Moran, also, implicitly follows, as perfectly reliable, in his *Archbishops of Dublin* (p. 16), this extraordinary statement, which can be conclusively proved to be false by reference to the State Papers. (*Correspondence, Henry VIII.*, part iii., vol. ii.)

The only act in reference to religious houses, passed by the May parliament of that year, was one to put the king in possession of property in Ireland, belonging to religious houses in England (p. 316). All the acts of that parliament were declared void (p. 366). In the second parliament, held that year from the 15th to the 25th September, a bill was introduced for the suppression of thirteen monasteries and was rejected by the Commons (p. 370). In May the following year, Henry, without any authority from parliament, sent over a commission for the suppression of eight monasteries named, and in virtue of that commission, these monasteries were suppressed (p. 458). It was not till the September and October of the following year that the Irish parliament, under great pressure, con-

firmed Henry's action with regard to the monasteries which he had suppressed in the meantime, about thirteen in number (526). Henry saw clearly by this time, that no pressure he could bring on the Irish parliament would induce them to pass any act of suppression, so, having waited in vain for two years, he sent a commission, in June or July, 1539, for the suppression of all religious houses in Ireland. We append extracts from this remarkable commission, which is to be found in the Irish Record Office. As no historian has made any reference to it, we suppose it has escaped their search, just as the previous commission of 1537 was sought for in vain by the compilers of the State Papers (p. 438).

This document, ordering wholesale and sacrilegious robbery, deserves a careful study as a monument of barefaced hypocrisy and duplicity. Henry bases his authority, not on parliament but on his own *kingly* will and pleasure, though at the time he was only *Lord* of Ireland; he gives as his sole reason for depriving the monks and nuns of their rightful property, that they were addicted to superstitious practices and the pestiferous doctrines of the Bishop of Rome; he speaks of reforming the monasteries in the very document in which he orders their abolition. He orders the inmates to be examined before being turned out into the world, and if they were found to be on the side of the Pope, they were to be arrested and thrown into prison. It was thus Henry's rapacity alone that was accountable for the destruction of the monasteries in this country.

Henricus Octavus, Dei gratia, Angliæ et Franciæ rex, fidei defensor et dominus Hiberniæ, ac in terra sub Christo supremum caput ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, dilectis et fidelibus, etc.

Cum ex fide dignorum relatione nobis constet quod monasteria, abbacie et prioratus ac alia religiosorum seu regularium loca infra terram prædictam, dominium nostrum hiberniæ, in tali statu ac conditione existunt ut Deilaudem ac reipublicæ salutem nichili propemodum pendant.

Viri enim regulares et moniales in eisdem commorantes, partim suis superstitiosis ceremoniis, partim idolorum cultibus perniciosi, et pestiferis Romani pontificis doctrinis adeo sunt addicti, ut nisi etc.

Ne igitur hujusmodi viri religiosi et moniales in tali dampnabili statu diutius permaneant, Nos, debito nostro officio regali innitentes, omnia et singula . . . monasteria, abbacias, prioratus et alia religiosorum et regularium loca ac domos in manus nostras resumere ac in melius reformare. Necnon antedictos viros religiosos et mulieres ab eisdem separare et ad aliquem honestum vivendi modum et ad veram Christi religionem reducere, etc.

. . . ac religiosarum personarum, earum quas contumaces videtis, absque pensione et aliqua gratificatione dimittatis. Sed si quos vel si quas Romani pontificis auctoritati usurpatæ ac ejus constitutionum defensionem adherentes invenietis, eorum examinationem diligenter accipiat et in scriptis redigatis, et talium personarum corpora apprehendatis et in carcerem mittatis, etc., etc.

f CULDEES OF ARMAGH.—A.D. 1549, January 28th, died, at an advanced age, Edmund McCamyl [MacCawell], dean of Armagh, and prior of the Coldei or convent of the greater metropolitan church of Armagh.

A.D. 1556, August 16th, died Master John McGillamura [MacGillamurry], late master of the works, and Coldeus of the metropolitan church of Armagh.

A.D. 1570, June 9th, died Roland MacGillamura [MacGillamurry], formerly rector of Ardee, vicar of Clonmore, bachelor in sacred theology, lecturer in the same, and Colideus of the metropolitan church of Armagh.

A.D. 1574, September 26th, died Nicholas McGillamura, late master of the works, and Colideus of the metropolitan church of Armagh; he was a blameless priest, and a great proficient in the art of music.

These entries are all subsequent to the act for the suppression of Religious Houses, and seem to imply that, notwithstanding the inquisition which had been taken, in

1541, on the priory of the Colidei of Armagh, means had been found to evade its operations. This was in a great measure effected by annexing the office of prior to that of the dean, thus divesting the corporation of that appearance of severalty which it had hitherto possessed, and by the primate's subjecting its revenues to his own more immediate control. On the death of Edmund McCamyl [MacCawell], who was both dean and prior, Terence Danyell succeeded to the deanery; and on the 31st of May, 1550, received a commission from Primate Dowdall to exercise the rule and government of the Colidei and other ministers of divine service in the college, "sub nomine Magistri aut Rectoris collegii, et non Prioris," but was at the same time inhibited from the alienation or disposal of any lands, rents, tithes, or other emoluments belonging to the said Colidei, without his and their consent. The religious changes, which soon after took place, broke up the corporation, and the succession of the Colidei was interrupted, so that before 1600 they were found to have entirely died out. The Crown, however, neither took possession nor made any grant of their estates, but they continued to be farmed by the primates and others for the use of the cathedral till 1625, when Charles I. ordered an Inquisition of Discovery concerning their possessions as unlawfully concealed or detained.—Reeves: *On the Culdees*.

g Dr. Wauchope, as we learn from the Consistorial Acts, was appointed Administrator of the See of Armagh, on the thirteenth of July, 1559 [as Cromer the primate was accused of heresy.—Brady, *E. S.*, vol. I., p. 216]. He was a native of Scotland, had studied in Paris, and subsequently had lived for many years in Rome, and enjoyed the repute of being one of the most distinguished theologians in that capital of the Christian world. Le Plat says he was elected archbishop of Armagh in 1541; however, in the Vatican Papers connected with the Imperial Conference at Worms, to which we will just now refer, there is a letter of Cochlaeus

to Wauchope, dated the twentieth of November, 1540, and addressed "Roberto Electo Armachano." He was not consecrated till the tenth of February [March seventeenth], 1545. In the Consistorial Acts of twenty-third March, 1545, there is the entry: "Postulante D. Burgundio Griffio, Pisano, Advocato Consistoriali, Sua Sanctitas concessit pallium, de B. Petri corpore sumptum, Reverendissimo D. Roberto Vauchop electo Armachano pro sua Metropolitana Ecclesia Armachana, Hiberniae Primatiali, et fuit commissum primo Diacono Cardinali ut illi daret" [He received the pallium April twenty-first].

In 1540, the Emperor Charles V. proposed that a conference should be held in Worms, in order to deliberate on the best means for restoring religious peace in Germany. The Holy Father, at the request of the emperor, and hoping that the way might thus be opened for the celebration of the General Council, which he had so long and so earnestly desired, appointed as Nuncio a noble Bolognese, Thomas Campeggio, bishop of Feltro, and sent him, with some able theologians, to assist at the conference. The Consistorial Acts give us the following short but important entry:—"A.D. 1540, die Veneris, prima Octobris, fuit Consistorium apud S. Marcum. Sanctissimus D. Noster creavit suum et Sedis Apostolicæ Nuncium, R. P. Thomam Episcopum Feltrensem, cum quibusdam aliis probis viris in Breve Suæ Sanctitatis nominandis ad Dietam seu Colloquium Wormatiense intuitu Caesarææ Majestatis ut intersit rebus tractandis et discutiendis." Dr. Wauchope was one of the theologians chosen to accompany the Nuncio, and he received the title of "Consultor Sanctissimi Domini Papæ." He acted with great energy and prudence throughout the conference at Worms, and in a contemporary memorandum we find it stated that he always took for his motto: "Non est prudentia, non est consilium contra Dominum; ipse dabit cum tentatione proventum." The conferences were brought to a close on the seventeenth of January, 1541; and, on the twenty-fourth

of January, the bishop of Feltro, accompanied by the Master of the Sacred Palace and Dr. Wauchope, proceeded by order of His Holiness, to Ratisbon, to represent the Holy See at the Imperial Diet, which was summoned for that city. On the fifteenth of February, they arrived in Nuremberg, and on the twenty-fifth we meet with Dr. Wauchope in Ratisbon. The following year Dr. Wauchope was again chosen to be one of the representatives of the Holy See at the Diet in Spire, for which city he set out from Bologna on the seventeenth of January, 1542. The bishop of Modena, better known to us as Cardinal Morone, writing to Cardinal Farnesi from Spire, on the tenth of February, 1542, says:—"Dr. Wauchope arrived here with his companions on yesterday, quite fatigued after the dreadful journey, on account of the great cold and snow: one of his mules died on the road, and was left with his baggage in the snow; and he also had to part with a horse and one of his servants who fell sick on the way." Morone further states that it was most important to secure the favour and co-operation of the Bishop of Spire, on whom the Holy See should place more reliance than on any other bishop of Germany, and he adds, that "this bishop reposed the greatest confidence in Wauchope, having, during the conference at Ratisbon, put himself entirely in his hands."

When the Sacred Œcumenical Council commenced its sessions on *Gaudete* Sunday, December 13, 1545, the Archbishop of Armagh was one of the bishops who took part in the proceedings, and throughout the first eleven sessions which were held at Trent and Bologna, he was never absent from the deliberations of the Fathers. He was more than once chosen to preside at the preparatory meetings of the theologians, and when the Fathers of the Council were requested by the legates to select four bishops to draw up the important Decree on Justification, the first name selected was "Robertus Armachanus."

Dr. Wauchope enjoyed the friendship of St. Ignatius, and as early as the month

of March, 1540, obtained from him two of his first companions to labour on the Irish mission. The special instruction which St. Ignatius gave these holy men when setting out for our island was, to instruct the children assiduously in the catechism. When the General Council of Trent was prorogued on the 17th day of September, 1549, our Archbishop proceeded to Scotland to seek aid there for the Irish chieftains. Dr. Dowdall, at this time schismatical Archbishop of Armagh, wrote to the Lord Chancellor and Council of Ireland on 22nd March, 1549-50, that he was a most dangerous man, "a very dangerous spy, as I hear say, and a great brewer of war and sedition."—(Shirley, "Original Letters," p. 38). The State Papers further inform us that he was successful in obtaining the promise of aid from both France and Scotland, and that he came to Derry "with two great Lords, Frenchmen, out of Scotland," to form an alliance with the two northern chieftains, O'Neill and O'Donnell.—(Cal. St. Pap. Ireland, vol. i., p. 107.) These chieftains were ready enough to receive aid in men, money, and ammunition, but they do not seem to have at all approved of the scheme proposed by Dr. Wauchope, that Ireland should be made an independent kingdom, with one of the French royal family as king.

In a Vatican index we find the entry, "Pro D. Roberto Armachano, Legato Hiberniae, facultates, lib. 8, Bullarii Secreti Julii Tertii, an. 1551, fol. 278, anno primo Pontificatus." This proves that Dr. Wauchope was appointed Papal legate for Ireland in 1551, but he did not long enjoy that high dignity: whilst awaiting a favorable opportunity for entering the kingdom, he died in Paris on the 10th of November, 1551, and was interred in the Jesuits' church in that city. His death took place on the vigil of the festival of St. Martin, and his last words were those of that illustrious bishop of Tours: "Domine, si populo tuo sum necessarius, non recuso laborem, sin minus nequaquam moleste fero ex hujus laboriosissimae vitae statione discedere, divino tuo conspectu

et aeterna quiete recreandus."—(Lynch's MS.) O'Sullivan states that he closed his career in a manner worthy of the uniform piety of his life, with the zeal of an Apostle and the resignation of a Saint.

As regards the Archbishop's name, he is styled in some of the lists of bishops of the Council of Trent, "Robertus Wauchop, alias Venantius." It is not easy to explain the origin of this latter name. We are told that he was considered one of the best horsemen of his time, and perhaps this may have given occasion to it. The alias apparently arose from the close phonetic similarity between *Uacopi* and *Aucupi* (a hunter with hawks), whence *Venantius*. In a T.C.D. manuscript (E. 3. 28), he is called *Croye*, or *de Croye*, and the note is added, "Robert Croye or de Croye, a Scottishe man, though born blind, yet was taken to be meet for to be the Pope's legate to Germany; after his return to Rome he was made by the Pope Archbishop of Armagh." Here, as in many other accounts of Dr. Wauchope, he is said to have been born blind. Those who originated and those who gave currency to this figment either knew not or forgot that, being an *Irregularity*, total defect of vision is an effectual bar to reception of Holy Orders. The trite German witticism, "*Legatus coecus oculatis Germanis*," probably gave rise to this opinion, though this epigrammatic phrase seems, in part at least, to be a pun on the name "*Doctor Scotus*," by which he was commonly designated. From childhood he suffered great weakness of sight, but there is disproof of his having been blind. The Consistorial Acts of 13th July, 1539, whilst registering his appointment as Administrator of Armagh, describe him as "*Robertum Wauchop clericum Sancti Andreae Diaecesis, in aetate legitima et ordine sacerdotali constitutum, in Sacra Theologia Magistrum, debilitatem visus patientem*."—Moran: *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, vol. i, pp. 13, 14.

h PRIMATE DOWDALL.—George Dowdall, the last prior of the crutched friars of Ardee, held a very peculiar position in Ireland for several years. On surrendering his monastery, in 1539, he received a pension

of £20 a year, and was soon afterwards promised the see of Armagh. He was a great supporter of the government, and very much attached to Henry VIII., whose supremacy he admitted in spiritual matters as may be seen from a letter of his to the king, in his register at Armagh, in which he styles Henry the supreme head on earth of the English and Irish Church. He watched the movements of the real archbishop, Dr. Wauchope, and denounced him to the government. In 1546, Henry made him a member of the Privy Council of Ireland (*Corres.*, Henry VIII., part iii., vol. iii.) But in the following reign his religious principles came into sharp conflict with his loyalty, and he strenuously opposed the introduction of Protestant rites. In 1551, he left Ireland in disgust, writing to the Privy Council, that he "*wolde never be bushope where tholie masse was abolished*."—*Cal. Doc. Ireland* (1509—1573), p. 115.

Dowdall, though for several years he had acted as a schismatical archbishop, was forgiven by the Pope, owing to his zeal for the Catholic faith and was appointed primate after the death of Wauchope. The following Consistorial Act, by which he was proposed for the see of Armagh, makes reference to his former conduct.

Apud Sanctum Petrum.

Rome, die Lune xxiii. Januarii, 1553, fuit Consistorium.—

Rev^{mus} Dominus Maffei^{us} proposuit ecclesiam Armachan., primatiale^m Hiberniæ, per obitum bo: me: Roberti, olim Archiepiscopi Armachan., extra Romanam Curiam defuncti, vacantem, *pro eo qui alias, absque provisione Sedis Apostolicæ in illius regimine se immisceverat*, et fuit remissum negotium ad proximum Consistorium, ut interim R^{md} informetur.

The foregoing is from a transcript made by Father Costello, O.P., from the Consistorial Archives (Codex C). Brady, who takes his text from the *Barberini MSS.* (E. S., vol. i., p. 218), carelessly writes *als* for *alias*, an imperfection which renders the whole meaning of the text obscure. Cardinal Maffei proposed Dowdall by name in the following Consistory.

i PROVINCIAL SYNOD AT DROGHEDA IN 1554.—Some of the decrees in this synod were against priests, who, on the introduction of Protestantism into the country, had presumed to marry; against bishops who had given benefices to laymen and children; against bishops and priests who had observed heretical rites and had approved of them in their sermons, with the proviso, that those who had acted thus through fear and not voluntarily, could receive absolution for their fault. The ceremonies and rights of the church were to be restored; inquisitors were to be appointed; priests were to wear such a dress as would make them easily distinguishable from laymen; the laity were to be obliged to repair the churches; and rectors and vicars, who were not able to preach, were to bring in a preacher four times a year.—*Registrum Dowdall*. The acts of this synod are published in *Cambrensis Eversus*, vol. ii., p. 780.

j ARMAGH BURNED BY SUSSEX.—In relation to this affair, the following entry occurs at fol. 59 of the contemporary MS. Council Book of Ireland:—

"Apud Armagh, xxv^{to} Octobris, 1557.

"Memorandum—In the first jorney that was made uppon Shane Onele, we, whose names be under wrytin, came after the taking of the prey to Armagh, and finding there a grete masse of butter, corne, and other victualles, whearewith Shane might have meynteigned a gret number of Scottes for a whole yere, to have the better done his determyned hurtes uppon their Majesties' good and Inglyshe subjectes, dyd resolve, for meny grete respectes us

moving, that their shold be inquiry made of all victuelles and other goodes whate-soever belonging to the churches or mynysters, and uppon sequestering the same into suer [sure] places, which was done; the spoyle of the rest shold be gevin to the army, and whatesoever cold not be carryed away, shold be getheryd together and burnt; and, finding after that the masse was so grete as the same cold not by any meanes be carryed away, or duering our abode there getheryd and put into one or severall places, for that allmost every house was fyllyd with one or other kind of victuell, it was resolvyd that the victuelles shold be burned in the places wheare they lay; the Lord Prymate's and Deane's houses only reservyd, and those onely to be taken out and getheryd together that were bestowed in any holy place.

"All which the premyssees were done with as much reverence to the holy places, and preservation of images and other ornamentes of the Churche and faveour to the mynysters, as by any meanes in such a case we cold devyse. Concordat cum originali. Extract. per me, Johannem Goldsmyth."

1557, Nov. 17, Termonfechan.—George Dowdall, archbishop of Armagh and primate of all Ireland, to Nicholas Heath, archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor, and the Privy Council.

. . . Prays for redress of such hurts and damages as he had sustained by the Lord Deputy Sussex, and the army which has lately burned his see of Armagh, with three churches.—*Cal. Doc. Ireland* (1509—1573), p. 140.



CHAPTER XII.

THE TIMES OF SHANE O'NEILL.

Re-introduction of Protestantism into Ireland—Primate Donagh O'Tighe—Character of Shane O'Neill—His Grievances—His Visit to London—Primate Richard Creagh—His Imprisonment—O'Neill burns the Cathedral of Armagh—Alliance formed against him—He seeks help from the Scots, and is Murdered by them—Death of Primate Creagh in Prison.

Supplementary Notes.—Dealings of Primate Creagh with Shane O'Neill—His Examination in the Tower of London—Vicissitudes of Armagh Cathedral.



AS soon as Elizabeth was firmly seated on the English throne, she began to adopt the most cogent measures for the re-establishment of the Protestant religion in Ireland. A parliament, convoked by Sussex, the new lord-deputy, on the twelfth of January, 1559, vested the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the Crown; appointed a new oath of supremacy; passed an act of uniformity; repealed the laws against heretics; made regulations to enforce the use of the Book of Common Prayer, and attendance at the public worship of the Established Church.

On the seventh of February, 1560, Donagh O'Tighe, a priest of Limerick diocese, then present in Rome, was appointed, by provision of Pius IV., primate of Armagh. He was probably consecrated in Rome the same month, as he received the pallium on March the twenty-seventh. Very little is known regarding this primate, who is not mentioned by Ware. A citation of Donagh, archbishop of Armagh, for his clergy to appear before him, written in Latin, and dated

"Armagh, November 22, 15 [60?]" is still preserved. A manuscript, among the archives of St. Isidore's, represents O'Tighe as sharing in person the perils of his flock in Ireland, during the early part of Elizabeth's reign.

About this period, the celebrated Shane (John) O'Neill, chief dynast of Ulster, began to manifest strong symptoms of discontent. The subsequent movements of this warrior were productive of infinite mischief to that province, and particularly calamitous to Armagh. It is therefore necessary that we should recite the causes and consequences of his disaffection to the English government, as minutely as the nature of this work will permit.

Shane was a man of singular character. Proud of his hereditary descent, and tenacious of his chieftom in Ulster, he not only deemed himself the genuine sovereign of the country, but vaunted that the Magennis, the Maguire, O'Reilly, O'Hanlon, O'Kane, O'Hagan, O'Quinn, MacKenna, MacCartan, and all the MacDonnells (whom he styled "Gallowglasses,") were his subjects and vassals.² O'Neill was subtle in mind, alert in action, haughty, vindictive and unrelenting in disposition. He was munificent, social and hospitable, but frequently intemperate at table, addicted to venery, and, if his enemies may be credited, a persevering votary of Bacchus. His cellar is said to have usually contained at least two hundred tuns of wine, of which, as well as of whisky, he was in the habit of drinking to excess.

O'Neill's tenantry, or vassals, were habituated to the use of arms. Six hundred soldiers constituted his body-guard; and he was master of an army of four thousand foot and one thousand horse. And now, when such vital blows were aimed against the Catholic church, its friends began to look towards this active leader as their future champion and chief hope. The subordinate clergy, far from submitting to the mandates of the court, inveighed bitterly against the queen, refused to conform to the established religion, and, in many instances, abandoned their cures. Their places were not yet supplied by Protestant ministers, and the neglected churches fell to decay.

O'Neill himself was hostile to the reformed church. Independent

of this, he entertained an invincible antipathy to the English nation, founded not only on the injuries which he rightly conceived they had inflicted on his ancestors and his people, but on more recent events, in the course of which he himself had experienced great and manifest injustice.

His father, Conn O'Neill,³ had surrendered his territories to Henry VIII., and renounced the name of the O'Neill. On this submission, he had been appointed Earl of Tyrone, with remainder over to his reputed son Matthew, who was then created baron of Dungannon. Now, this Matthew was the offspring of a blacksmith's wife, an inhabitant of Dundalk, whom Conn had once kept as a concubine. The boy had been deemed the child of the smith, till he had attained the age of fifteen, when his mother tendered him to O'Neill, as his son. Under these circumstances, Matthew could, originally, have had no legal claim to the hereditary estates of the O'Neills. It is not, therefore, wonderful, that Shane, a chieftain of a haughty spirit and irascible temper, should have felt indignant, when he saw himself deprived of his acknowledged patrimony by the command of an English monarch, and beheld the lands of his ancestors arbitrarily entailed on another person, a man of uncertain or spurious origin.

Towards the end of the reign of Edward VI., Shane O'Neill, aided by a body of Scots, waged war against his spurious brother Matthew, and wasted the territory of his father Conn, whom he forcibly expelled from his habitation. In the subsequent reign, he recommenced hostilities against the detested rival of his power, who was ultimately slain by some of his adherents. Conn himself, afflicted by the dissensions of his family and the miseries of his country, pined away and sank in sorrow to the grave. Shane, who was now universally acknowledged by the inhabitants of his hereditary territories as the lord of Tyrone, laid claim to the sovereignty of Ulster. He was therefore viewed with a jealous eye by the English government. In 1559, he was summoned by Sir Henry Sydney, who, in the absence of the then lord-deputy Sussex, presided over the government of Ireland, to appear before him, explain his conduct, and give assurances of loyalty to his sovereign. Shane warily evaded the summons, but invited the deputy to honour him

with a visit, and act as a sponsor for his child. Sydney complied with his request, and after the ceremony had been performed, Shane entered into an eloquent, elaborate, and able defence of his conduct. In this he urged the manifest injustice of the entail which had settled his paternal property on the spurious issue of a blacksmith's wife—an entail contrary to the laws both of England and Ireland, and altogether arbitrary, inasmuch as Tyrone, of which he was legitimate chieftain and the duly elected "O'Neill," had never been reduced to shire-land.

Sydney listened attentively to the cogent reasoning of O'Neill, which, he said, should be immediately communicated to the queen. Meanwhile, he advised the Irish chieftain to demean himself as became a loyal subject. But, as time went on, Shane would not come to terms; he was proclaimed a rebel in June, 1561, and, to overawe him, Sussex, the Lord-Lieutenant, marched from Dublin to Armagh, at the head of five hundred men. This small army was reinforced by Bedlow and Gough, sheriffs of Dublin, with fourscore men-at-arms and forty archers. Shane's adherents, having learnt that further reinforcements were to follow the deputy's corps, began to desert their standards and disperse. Sussex took up his position at Armagh, which had been previously fortified and provisioned for his troops. Shane, accompanied by O'Tighe, the primate,⁴ suddenly appeared with his army on a hill outside the walls of the town. Some friars, who were with them, celebrated Mass, and the primate walked three times up and down the lines, exhorting the Irish soldiers to go forward, as God was on their side. After some desultory skirmishing, however, O'Neill, yielding to the advice of his kinsman, the earl of Kildare, entered into a treaty with Sussex, to whom, after an able and friendly discussion of the points at issue between him and the English government, he promised that he would appear in person before the queen, and submit his cause to her decision.

After various delays, Shane proceeded to London, where he appeared rather in the style of an independent prince than of a vassal to the English Crown. The citizens of London beheld, with lively emotion the Ulster chieftain, accompanied by a splendid train of Irishmen, arrayed in the costume of their country, on whom they

gazed with surprise as on the natives of another hemisphere. A body-guard of gallowglasses, armed with battle-axes, marched with O'Neill. Long curled hair fell from their uncovered heads. Their linen vests were dyed with crocus. Long sleeves, short tunics and shaggy cloaks rendered the whole dress singularly conspicuous. Regardless of the law which prohibited the use of this Irish national costume, Shane appeared at the head of his guards, as if he came in a genuine spirit of conscious independence, to treat on equal terms with the English sovereign, in her own capital. This bold and decided conduct seems rather to have excited in the mind of Elizabeth sentiments of respect than of anger or resentment towards the Ulster chief. She received his submission with complacency; listened attentively to his interesting narrative of the wrongs which he had endured; and believed, or affected to believe, his earnest promises of future loyalty. Pleased with the simplicity of his manners, the queen not only lent him two thousand five hundred pounds, but added various presents, and dismissed him with unequivocal assurances of future protection. Thus distinguished by royal favour, Shane returned triumphantly to Ireland, and, for a time, acted with apparent zeal for the queen, as if he deemed himself her chosen champion. He assailed the Island Scots who then ravaged Ulster, slew their leader James Mac Connell, and drove them from the country.

Donagh O'Tighe, the primate, having died towards the end of 1562, was succeeded by Richard Creagh,^a of Limerick, then in Rome, who was appointed by provision of Pius IV., on March the twenty-second, 1564, was consecrated on Low Sunday, in the Papal Chapel, and received the pallium on May the twelfth.^b

We learn from O'Sullivan's *Catholic History*,^c that Primate Creagh was the son of an honourable merchant of Limerick. Here he acquired his first rudiments of literature and a taste for Scriptural knowledge. On his coming to the years of maturity, he traded as a general merchant to and from Spain. On a certain occasion, he had disposed of a quantity of goods, which he had brought to that country, and had shipped various other commodities, as a venture to Ireland. When the appointed day for sailing had arrived, the wind was favourable and the passengers, merchants and

seamen were hurrying on board. Creagh, however, who had determined to solicit the blessing of Almighty God on his undertaking, told his companions that he deemed it necessary to hear Mass, before he should go on board, but that, as soon as he should have affected this pious object, he would instantly embark. His companions, however, left him whilst he was attending the celebration of divine service, and having weighed anchor, hoisted sail. Creagh saw the vessel in motion, and called to them from the shore; but, whilst he was still calling, the ship foundered and everyone perished. Creagh, thus providentially saved from death, returned thanks to God for his escape, and determined to adopt a mode of life less perilous to the body and more salutary to the soul. He now addicted himself entirely to literature, and having attained great theological knowledge, he was ordained a priest, and in progress of time was appointed primate. His zeal for the Catholic religion, and probably also some political considerations, rendered him obnoxious to Queen Elizabeth, by whose spies he was seized in Ireland, and transmitted to London, where he was closely imprisoned. O'Sullivan asserts that he was fettered, and that various efforts were made, both by means of threats and of proffered rewards, to induce him to change his religion, but that he remained steadfast in the faith. He adds, that the archbishop was falsely accused of having attempted forcibly to deflower the daughter of his gaoler. The day of trial came on and Creagh was arraigned in a crowded court. His accuser, a beautiful and elegant girl, came forward to give evidence against him. But when she looked steadily on the countenance of this innocent and injured man, a sudden pang of remorse seized her soul. She became conscience-stricken and unable to bear the false evidence against him, which she had previously meditated. *Vox faucibus hæsit.*

At last, when she had recovered the powers of utterance, she declared that she had never seen a man of more pure and holy life, that he had neither violated her person, nor solicited her to the commission of crime, nor even touched the hem of her garment.

On August the third, 1566, Shane O'Neill was proclaimed a traitor. He, on his part, erected his standard and prepared to

vindicate his title to the sovereignty of Ulster. Enraged at Maguire, who had appealed against him to the English court, he burst impetuously into Fermanagh, wasted the country with fire and sword, and drove its chieftain from its territories.

Primate Crcagh, who had escaped from prison the previous year, made his way back to Ireland. On a certain Sunday of the month in which Shane was proclaimed a traitor, the primate preached before him and six hundred of his soldiers, in the cathedral of Armagh, inculcating loyalty. Enraged at the sermon, Shane, five days afterwards, burnt the roof of the cathedral and broke down some of its walls. So dreadful was the havoc perpetrated by this indignant and vindictive chieftain, that Camden describes its effects in the following terms:—

“In our memory, the church and city of Armagh were so foully defaced by the rebel, Shane O'Neill, that they lost all their ancient beauty and glory, and nothing remaineth at this day, but a few small wattled cottages, with the ruinous walls of a monastery, priory, and the primate's palace.”

But Shane asserted that he had burned the cathedral to prevent the English troops from lodging within its walls. Primate Loftus, not satisfied with this pretext, assailed him with the spiritual weapon of excommunication; but the Irish chieftain, disregarding ecclesiastical denunciations, marched southward, and besieged Dundalk with a considerable corps of horse and foot. Here, however, his efforts were rendered abortive by the valour of the garrison and by the timely arrival of William Sarsfield, mayor of Dublin, who marched against him, with a select body of citizens, and compelled him to raise the siege. Yet the adjacent country was wasted and pillaged by his army.³ Thus repulsed, Shane retired to his strongholds. Sydney, however, succeeded in forming a combination of powerful northern dynasts against their restless chieftain. Calvagh O'Donnell, of Tyrconnell, was reinstated in his hereditary territories, which he engaged to hold from the queen, whom he acknowledged to be the sovereign of Ireland, in all ecclesiastical and temporal affairs. Maguire, also, and several of the Connaught chieftains entered into the league against O'Neill.

This formidable alliance terrified the adherents of the Ulster

chief, who deserted his standard in considerable numbers. And, when they saw him baffled in his subsequent efforts to maintain his power; when they beheld his lands wasted by the deputy, and felt the complicated miseries of war and famine, his troops fled from him in masses, and, in a few months, his army had lost three thousand five hundred men. Thus deserted and harrassed, he began seriously to think of soliciting the mercy of the English government. His friends, however, persuaded him to unite himself to the Island Scots, six hundred of whom were then encamped at Cushendun, under the command of Alexander Oge. Shane had defeated the Scots in two different battles, and had taken Sorley Boy, the brother of their commander, prisoner. This officer was now liberated by him, and deputed to explain his views to his countrymen, who received his proposals with apparent satisfaction. Shane, having thus prepared the way for a reconciliation with the Scots, proceeded to their camp, on June the second, 1567, escorted by fifty horsemen, and accompanied by his concubine, the wife of O'Donnell, and by his secretary. He was hospitably received and entertained in the commander's tent, with apparent friendship. But an English officer named Captain Pers, an agent of the English court, had practised with the Scots, and excited their resentment against their former enemy. Alexander himself was particularly enraged at the death of James Mac Connell, whom Shane had slain in battle. When they had drunk and caroused freely, an altercation arose about the widow of Mac Connell, whose nephew Mac Gillespie, then present, demanded of Shane's secretary, whether he had spread a report, that his aunt had offered to marry the betrayer and murderer of her husband. The secretary avowed himself to have been the author of the report and maintained its truth. He even added, that the queen of Scotland, herself, might be proud of a match with O'Neill. Mac Gillespie gave him, instantly, the lie direct. The Irish chieftain espoused his secretary's quarrel. Loud and boisterous words ensued, and, at last, Alexander Oge, Mac Gillespie and other Scots, eager for revenge, rushed impetuously upon Shane, and, with their drawn swords, hewed him to pieces." His secretary and almost the whole of his attendants were

murdered. Alexander, after this unmanly breach of hospitality, this brutal assassination, caused the mangled remains of O'Neill to be carried to an old ruinous church near the camp, where, wrapped in a kern's old shirt, they were cast into a pit.

On April the thirtieth of the same year, Primate Creagh was once more apprehended and sent to the Tower of London as a prisoner. He was detained there for eighteen years, when his death, which took place on the fourteenth of October, 1585, released him from all the miseries of this life. During his time, he wrote several works, amongst which were:—*A Treatise on the Irish Language*, partly extant in Ware's time, and in possession of Thomas Arthur, M.D.; *An Ecclesiastical History; A Controversial Dissertation; A Chronicle of Ireland.*" All these works were written in Latin.

1 Brady *Epis Succession* vol i, p. 218. 2 Camden's *O'Neills* p. 120. Holland's translation. 3 Conn surnamed *Baorch*, because he halted. This chieftain is said by Camden to have cursed all his posterity, in case they should learn to speak English, or should sow wheat or build houses. Such inducements, he said, would allow the English to enter again into their lands; speaking their language would induce conversation and familiarity with them; wheat would afford them sustenance, and by building, his posterity would imitate the crows, who make nests to be beaten out of them by the hawk.—Camden, p. 120. 4 Brady, vol i, p. 219. 5 Brady, vol i, p. 220. 6 O'Sullivan, tom 2, lib 4, cap 10. 7 Camden's *Ireland*, Hol-

land's trans., p. 109. 8 Cox, p. 317. 9 O'Sullivan, tom 2, lib 4, cap 3. 10 Camden, p. 121. —According to Ware's estimate based on Exchequer accounts, the war with O'Neill cost the queen of England £147,407 3s 9d, independent of the cess laid on the country for its support, and of the infinite damages sustained by her subjects. Of her soldiers, 3,500 were slain by Shane and his troops, and a great number of the Irish, as well as of their allies, the Island Scots, perished during this long protracted contest. But, on the other hand, the queen probably deemed these evils counterbalanced by the seizure of O'Neill's estates, who was attainted by Act of Parliament, passed 23rd February, 1569. 11 Ware's *Writers*, p. 97.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

a PRIMATE CREAGH.—He was a man of profound learning and deep humility. During the reign of Mary, he refused the see of Limerick as well as the see of Cashel. He was forced by obedience to accept that of Armagh. After his consecration in Rome in 1564, he landed in Ireland towards the end of the same year, and having barely had time to assist at Mass, was arrested. Shortly afterwards he was sent to London, and committed to the Tower on the 18th of January.

1565, March 17, Tower.—Examination taken of Richard Creaghe, Irishman, by Richard Ousley, Recorder of London, and Thomas Wilson, Master of Saint Katherine's, relative to his journey to Rome, etc.

The Pope's Nuncio, David Wolfe, was born in Limerick, where Richard Creaghe also was born. Creaghe has been most commonly heretofore in the Bishoprick of Limerick, and there taught children. The Nuncio heard of this examinee,

that he was learned, and so required him to go to Rome and take upon him the archbishoprick of Cashel or Armagh. He was made bachelor of Divinity in Louvain. At his going out of Ireland, the Nuncio gave him 40 crowns, the Bishop of Limerick 12 marks, and he had 20 crowns of his own, and more he had not. The Nuncio was this last summer in Tyrone with Shane O'Neill.—*Cal. Doc. Ireland (1509—1573)*, p. 255.

His escape from the Tower, looked on by himself as miraculous, took place on Low Sunday, the anniversary of his consecration. Though £100 was offered for his detection, he made his way safely to Louvain. When he returned to Ireland, he wrote confidently to Sydney, the deputy, asking for protection. It is curious to find him afterwards preaching in presence of Sydney. In the summer of 1566, he made his way back to his diocese, where he found everything in disorder. Shane O'Neill had seized the temporalities of the see, had robbed nearly all the suffragan bishops and priests of the province, and had even compelled them to assist him with weapons in the field.

The primate brought letters to O'Neill from the Pope. His first interview with Shane was on an island called Innisdarell. He went there with the bishop of Down, and they dined with Shane O'Neill and Torlogh O'Donnell (called Lynagh). Shane wanted the primate to go back to the Continent on some business he said he had in hands, but when the primate told him he had not come to Ireland for that purpose, never disclosed what that business was. He then asked him to preach the next Sunday in the cathedral of Armagh, to encourage his men to fight against their enemies. On that day, Shane with his lords, Hugh O'Donnell, and about 600 of his soldiers, having assembled in the cathedral, the primate preached such a sermon as we might expect from a loyal Anglo-Irishman, such as Richard Creagh was. After the sermon, Shane rose in a great rage and with "moste angry loude talke," swore to destroy the cathedral, and did so five days after. The sermon made a different

impression on Hugh O'Donnell, who thanked the primate, and afterwards joined the queen's forces.

After the burning of the cathedral, the primate went into the open field to pronounce a solemn curse on the perpetrator. This was too much for Shane, who followed him, offering him presents, and swearing that if the primate would allow him to keep the temporalities, he should, nevertheless, have more Ulster commodities than any archbishop had since St. Patrick's time. On the primate refusing to agree to these terms, Shane called him a heretic for refusing to give aid to him in his war against heretics.

On one occasion, Shane asked absolution from him for hanging a priest in O'Donnell's country, but the primate refused, telling him it was beyond his power.

As the primate found that the priests were oppressed still more by Shane, owing to his presence, he quietly left that part of the country. Moreover, he feared that Shane would utterly undo him, as he was warned that Shane swore, going to bed, that there were no persons living he hated more than the Queen of England and the primate. Such was his hatred of the latter, that, after the first memorable sermon, he would never listen to his preaching; and on one occasion, when the primate preached in his house, he absented himself.

The primate declared afterwards that he was so persecuted in Ulster that his desire was to go and live among his friends in Limerick. Shane's accusation of heresy spread to Spain, and he was also accused in a similar way by Miler Magrath in Rome.

However, the primate exercised some good influence over Shane, for on hearing, in the following December, that Shane, according to his custom, was preparing to "go kill, bourn, and spoyle the English pale," on Christmas Day, he persuaded him to desist from the enterprise. On Christmas Day, he wrote to the lord-deputy, asking if they were to be allowed to have their old services in the churches.

The primate was afterwards accused of

having cursed the queen in his sermons. His quaint answer was that he had no authority to curse anyone outside Ireland, and that if a man exceeded his authority in cursing, the curse would fall upon himself.

On April 30th, 1567, the primate was apprehended in Connaught by O'Shaughnessy, who received a special letter of thanks for this service from the queen. Having been brought a prisoner to Dublin, he escaped after six months, but, on a reward of £40 being offered for his apprehension, he was taken again by the retainers of Gerald, earl of Kildare.

He was brought once more to the Tower of London, and on Dec. 22, 1567, was subjected to an examination, from which, and from his letter to the Lords of the Council, the present narrative of his dealings with Shane O'Neill is taken. During the eighteen years that intervened from this time till his death, he transacted several affairs relating to the Irish Church, though he was afflicted with terrible diseases, brought about by the severity of his confinement. In 1574, he wrote a pathetic letter to the Lords of the Council, explaining his dealings with Shane O'Neill, his unswerving loyalty to the Crown, and the sufferings of his prison life. He lingered on until 1585. On May 27th of that year, the following memorandum was written about him:—

"Tower.—Ri. Creaghe, a dangerous man to be among the Irish, for the reverence that is by that nation borne unto him, and therefore fit to be continued in prison. On October 14th of that year he was dead. It was generally believed at the time that he had been put to death by poison.

See *Some Documents connected with Dr. Creagh*, published by Cardinal Moran, in the *Spicilegium Ossorianse*, vol. i., p. 40, et seq.

It requires a very close acquaintance with the course of events in Ireland, in the sixteenth century, to understand the loyalty of Primate Creagh and the Anglo-Irish Catholics generally to Elizabeth, in

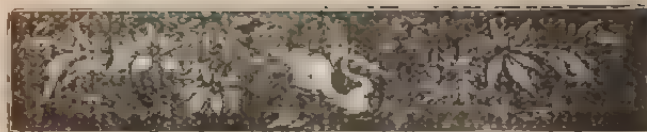
spite of the persecution. The difficulty is to a great extent solved by the fact of Elizabeth's subtle and vacillating policy. For several years there was no vigorous persecution in religious matters, and the Anglo-Irish Catholics were generally hopeful that they would be allowed liberty of conscience. It is a curious fact that Sydney, the lord-deputy, was solemnly received in Limerick in 1567, by the bishop and clergy, with Catholic rites and ceremonies, and, later on, in a similar manner, in Galway, without any protest on his part. Judging by the primate's subsequent conduct, the letter he brought from the Pope could not have been an incitement against the government. Elizabeth was not excommunicated till 1570.

b VICISSITUDES OF ARMAGH CATHEDRAL.

In 1561, Lord-Deputy Sussex "pitched his camp of numerous hosts at Armagh, and erected strong raths and impregnable ramparts round the great church of Armagh, in order that he might have warders continually guarding that place." (*Carew MSS.*) Shane O'Neill complained about this, and gave it as one of his reasons for continuing in arms. In 1563, it was promised that on the Feast of All Saints, the garrison would be removed from the cathedral, and the cathedral itself restored to Shane, if he promised to become a faithful and true subject.—*Carew MSS.* (1517—1574), p. 353. It was burnt by Shane, as we have seen, in 1566.

In January, 1568, Torlogh Lynagh, had, with his Irish and Scotch forces, continued three nights at Armagh, and destroyed much (p. 361), and in the following June, the dean of Armagh writes that Conn O'Donnell's forces chased them all into the woods, and then spoiled all the town of Armagh, wounded part of the poor clergy and inhabitants, and burned Benburb (p. 383).

The result of all this fighting and plundering was, that in 1575, when the deputy, Sidney, visited the North, he found the northern part of the county of Armagh all waste, and the cathedral still a desolate ruin.



CHAPTER XIII.

ARMAGH DURING THE FIFTEEN YEARS' WAR.

Primate MacGauran—Hugh O'Neill made Earl of Tyrone—His Character—Marries the Sister of Bagenal—A War of Religion begun—Death of Primate MacGauran—Progress of the War—Armagh Surrendered to Tyrone—Lord-Deputy Burgh mortally Wounded—Battle of the Yellow Ford—The English Defeated and Sir Henry Bagenal Killed.

Supplementary Notes. Tyrone's Divorce—Primate MacGauran—Liberty of Conscience denied—Accounts and Explanations of the Defeat of the English at the Yellow Ford.



ON July the first, 1587, Edmund MacGauran bishop of Ardagh, was translated to Armagh, and received the pallium on August the seventh.'

In the same year, Hugh O'Neill, who had commanded a troop of her majesty's horse in a war which had been carried on against the earl of Desmond, petitioned the Irish parliament for the restoration of the title of earl of Tyrone and the inheritance annexed to that dignity, which had been conferred by Henry VIII. on his father Matthew, the son of Conn O'Neill by a blacksmith's wife. In consequence of this application, he obtained a grant under the great seal of England, of the earldom, without reservation of rent, but subject to certain conditions, viz., "that the bounds of Tyrone should be limited; that some places, such as the Blackwater, should be reserved for forts

and garrisons; that the sons of Shane and Torlogh O'Neill should be provided for; and that the earl of Tyrone should exercise no authority over the lords bordering on that country." Other conditions were added for the maintenance of Torlogh O'Neill, who was thus induced to surrender the district to his spurious relation.²

Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, was admirably fitted by nature for desultory warfare and hazardous exploits. Patient, hardy, spirited, vigilant, athletic, temperate and valiant, he was capable of enduring extreme privations without a murmur. He was a man of polished manners, liberal education, acute intellect, persevering industry and deep dissimulation. Though he had attained his fiftieth year, he yet retained the appearance and the vigour of youth.³

Elizabeth had granted this chieftain a pension of one thousand marks;⁴ and in her service he had acquired considerable knowledge of military tactics. After his settlement in Ireland, he was entrusted with the command of six companies of soldiers, to preserve tranquillity in Ulster. When these men were trained to military evolutions, he dismissed them and levied others in their place, and thus diffused a practical knowledge of arms through his tried and confidential vassals. He resided chiefly at Dungannon, and, when he began to mature his plans of aggrandizement, imported considerable quantities of lead, apparently to roof his castle in that town, but in reality to afford material for bullets.

Tyrone, not content with his sudden exaltation, soon assumed the authority, and in process of time, the very title of "The O'Neill," which, in the genuine spirit of an Irish chieftain, he maintained was far more honourable than that of King of Spain. He levied cess off Mac Mahon's lands; seized upon two thousand cows, the property of Torlogh O'Neill; formed an alliance offensive and defensive with the Ulster Scots; invaded Strabane with a hostile force; caused Hugh O'Neill na Gimleach (of the fetters), a spurious son of Shane O'Neill, to be hanged, and even seized upon Shane's two legitimate sons, who, in 1590, had escaped from the castle of Dublin and fled to Ulster for refuge.

Sir William Fitzwilliam had been sworn lord-deputy of Ireland,

in the year 1588. The conduct of this corrupt governor had tended mightily to excite a spirit of discontent and insurrection amongst the people of Ulster. In defiance of justice and of common sense, he had, in the year 1589, seized upon Hugh Roe MacMahon, heir to his brother, who had taken a patent for his hereditary property in the county of Monaghan. Regardless of his rank and his claims on the government, Fitzwilliam imprisoned, arraigned, condemned and executed this unhappy chieftain, even in his own house, for an alleged breach of an *ex post facto* law. The jury was said by the Irish to have consisted of military men, four of whom were English soldiers, who were suffered to withdraw and return at pleasure; the remainder were Irish kern, who were denied all food till they had brought in a verdict against Mac Mahon. The lands of this chieftain were then divided among Sir Henry Bagenal, Captain Henslow, and four of the Mac Mahons, and, for this act, he was accused by the Irish of having basely received considerable bribes. He also, in a most arbitrary and tyrannical manner, imprisoned Sir Owen MacToole and Sir John Dogherty, men well-affected to the English queen. The former he confined during the whole period of his government, the latter for two years, and then compelled him to purchase his liberty.

Although Tyrone was dissatisfied with the English government, yet he had, in July, 1591, permitted his country to be formed into a county, sub-divided into eight baronies, with Dungannon for the shire-town and site of the gaol. About the same period, he had married the sister of Sir Henry Bagenal, marshal of Ireland, who accused him to the English government of having forcibly abducted and forced the lady into a matrimonial alliance with him, though his real wife was still alive. Tyrone, on the contrary, asserted that he had been lawfully divorced from his wife,^a and that the marshal's sister had spontaneously accepted his proposals of marriage.

Owing to the severe edicts of Elizabeth against the exercise of the Catholic religion in Ireland, Primate MacGauran,^b in the beginning of the year 1593, was appointed by Clement VIII. his envoy to the Irish, for the purpose of animating them to take up arms in defence of their religion. He was charged also with a commission from Philip II. of Spain to the Irish chieftains, to whom that monarch promised

effectual aid.³ MacGauran, in the execution of these commissions, visited the leading men of Ulster, but resided chiefly with Maguire, lord of Fermanagh. This chieftain not only refused to give him up to the lord-deputy, Russell, but accompanied by the primate, invaded the province of Connaught in the beginning of the year 1594. Against him the English commander, Sir Henry Bingham, detached a corps of his troops under Sir William Guelfort. The two armies met at a place called Sciath na Feart (the Shield of Miracles). The day was misty and dark, and the cavalry, which had preceded the foot in total silence, met unexpectedly front to front. Maguire transfixed Guelfort with a spear, and slew him on the spot. At a short distance from the place where the English commander fell, Archbishop MacGauran advanced, accompanied by two horsemen, Felim Mac Caffry and Cathal Maguire. On these a troop of cavalry rushed impetuously, and the primate and his friend MacCaffry were, in a moment, prostrated by the shock. Meanwhile, a body of Maguire's foot soldiers, who had heard and known the prelate's voice, rushed to his aid. These men, in the obscurity of the mist, mistook Cathal, who was valiantly defending his fallen friend, for one of the English cavalry, and slew that chieftain. The archbishop himself was transfixed with a horseman's spear.⁴

It is said by the Irish historians that Maguire was the victor in this conflict, but Camden, Ware and Cox assert that the English, who were commanded by Sir Henry Bingham, gained the battle.

In the year 1595, Tyrone, having formed an alliance with the various branches of the O'Neills, Magennises, Mac Mahons, Mac Donnells, and O'Kanes, was appointed commander-in-chief of their joint forces.⁵ Emboldened by this union, he assailed and stormed the fort of Portmore, built on the verge of the Blackwater, on the south side, leading into the county of Tyrone. O'Neill razed the fort, burned down the bridge, marched into the Breffny, and aided by Mac Mahon and Maguire, commenced the siege of the town of Monaghan.

Alarmed by the movements of this active chieftain, the English government appointed one of its most experienced generals, Sir John Norris, to quell the insurrection in Ulster.

On the twenty-fourth of May, Marshal Bagenal, at the head of 1,500 foot and 250 horse, marched from Newry and encamped at Eight-mile-Church. On the twenty-fifth, he forced his way, after a conflict of three hours, through a narrow pass, fortified and defended by Tyrone in person. The English army now proceeded directly to Monaghan, and, after some resistance, compelled the Irish chieftain to raise the siege of that town. The marshal, having reinforced and revictualled the garrison in the castle of Monaghan, began to return homewards, but was attacked by a corps of Tyrone's troops amounting to 8,000 foot and 1,000 horse, posted advantageously in a narrow pass, and in the direct line of their march. A conflict ensued, in which ninety of the English were wounded and twenty slain. About three hundred of the Irish fell in the battle. Tyrone's troops were deficient in ammunition, and it was owing to this circumstance that the English escaped with so little loss in this encounter. On the succeeding day, Bagenal, by changing the line of his march, evaded his enemy and made good his retreat to Newry.

Tyrone, though thus engaged in actual hostilities, wrote letters to the earl of Ormond, Sir Henry Wallop, and General Norris, requesting them to intercede with the queen for his pardon, and for permission to exercise his religion without restraint;^d and promising future obedience to her authority. Marshal Bagenal, his avowed enemy, carefully intercepted and suppressed these letters, lest his brother-in-law, whom he utterly abhorred, should again be received into royal favour.^e

On the twenty-fourth of June, Sir William Russell, then lord-deputy, with General Norris, marched against the northern insurgents from Dundalk, where he had collected a considerable force. Two Irish chieftains, his allies, alternately bore his military ensign: O'Molloy on the first day, and O'Hanlon, chief of Oriel, and hereditary regal standard-bearer of Ulster, on the second.^f His opponents were masters of 1,000 horse and 6,280 foot, besides a corps of 2,300 men in Connaught. A troop of Irish hovered around him at a distance, but on the twenty-ninth he marched through Armagh,^g which he garrisoned on the third of July. On the seventh, he occupied Monaghan, reinforced the detachment stationed there, and then

withdrew towards Dublin, where he arrived on the eighteenth of July. Tyrone, on the advance of the English troops to Armagh, withdrew his forces stationed in the neighbourhood of Portmore (or the Blackwater Fort), burned the town of Dungannon, set fire to the neighbouring villages, and then retired to the obscure recesses of deep woods.

On the twenty-seventh of October, a truce was entered into by the contending parties, which was to terminate on the first of January. Fruitless efforts were also made to negotiate a peace. But in the interim, Tyrone's son, Conn O'Neill, and the auxiliary chieftains, O'Donnell and MacMahon, surprised and took the castle of Monaghan.⁹

O'Sullivan gives a curious and circumstantial narrative of a single combat, in which Tyrone was personally engaged, in the neighbourhood of that town. The English army, under General Norris, had endeavoured to force a pass at Clontibret (Cluain Tubhir, or the Lawn of the Spring), at a little distance from Monaghan. Tyrone's troops, separated from their opponents by the confluent waters of surrounding marshes, defended the strait, or shallow, through which the English were to pass. Norris, baffled in repeated efforts to beat back his vigilant enemy, rallied his troops and rushed forward at their head to the conflict; but the general's horse, struck with a bullet, fell dead beneath him. His brother, Thomas Norris, and the commander himself, were wounded in the heat of the battle. Meanwhile, Sedgrave, a Meath officer, a man of vast bodily strength and great prowess, galloped impetuously forward at the head of a troop of cavalry, and made good his passage across the ford. Tyrone met him in mid career, and the spears of the two champions were shattered on their armour. But Sedgrave, with desperate valour, seized his adversary by the neck and dragged him from his horse. Tyrone also firmly grasped his enemy, and the warriors fell struggling to the earth. The earl was undermost, and the contending armies already deemed him slain, when he thrust his dagger into Sedgrave's groin beneath his mail, and killed him in a moment. Norris's troops, dispirited by the issue of this single combat, retired from the conflict in dismay.

After the lord-deputy's return to Dublin and the termination of the truce, the military affairs of Ulster were committed to the care of General Norris, who, in the year 1596, had stationed a considerable corps at the church of Kiloter. Tyrone, who viewed with horror the city of Armagh, which he deemed sacred on account of its founder, garrisoned by enemies to the Catholic faith, determined to make a grand effort to regain that important place. He therefore assailed the English forces with such desperate valour, that he compelled them to retire in confusion. Tyrone pursued them to Armagh, and slew many of Norris's troops in the flight. The English commander, as he passed through the city, left five hundred men under Francis Stafford for its protection, and withdrew to Dundalk.

Tyrone, master of the field of battle, and of the whole adjacent country, took effectual measures to prevent all communication between the town and the English army. Famine and disease soon reduced Stafford's little corps, as well as the inhabitants of Armagh, to a most deplorable situation. Norris, anxious to relieve the garrison, forwarded a quantity of provisions from Dundalk, under an escort of three companies of foot and a squadron of horse. Tyrone surprised, defeated, and captured the convoy by night, and having stripped the English soldiers of their dress, he equipped an equal number of his own troops in their uniforms. With these men, thus disguised, he marched in the obscurity of the night, to the ruined monastery on the eastern side of the city, in whose dark recesses one corps, under Conn O'Neill, lay in ambush. Tyrone, with the remainder, appeared at dawn of day, in full view of the garrison. Here a sham fight commenced between the troops who wore the English uniform and another body of Tyrone's army. The men, on each side fired their guns, which were only charged with powder, and here and there soldiers fell to the ground, as if smitten by the shot of their antagonists. Stafford, deceived by this ruse, sent forth the half of the garrison to the aid of his supposed compatriots. When these men had advanced to the conflict, they were astonished to find themselves assailed by the troops whom they had been so eager to succour, as well as by Tyrone's forces. Conn O'Neill also sprang forth at the head of his corps, from his ambuscade in the ruined monastery, and

attacked them in the rear. The English detachment, thus surrounded, was massacred in the very view of the garrison. Stafford, weakened by this disaster, surrendered the city, and was permitted to retire with the residue of his troops to Dundalk.

Shortly after this period, Tyrone was obliged, through scarcity of provisions and other causes, to evacuate Armagh, which was again occupied by English troops. Notwithstanding these events, Tyrone, in order to amuse the English court, and gain time to mature his plans, solicited a suspension of hostilities, preparatory to a final reconciliation with the government. Commissioners were therefore appointed by the queen, to treat on the subject, to whom, with much apparent humility and sincerity, he made the most solemn promises of future loyalty to her majesty, if he should be reinstated in her favour and protected from injury. Various proposals which he made were transmitted to the English ministry, who appointed a second conference to be held on the sixteenth of April, 1597, with intention of accepting his proffered allegiance, and finally terminating the war. But the earl, having gained time to augment his army, and to strengthen his alliances with other Irish chieftains, refused, under various plausible pretexts, to attend the meeting, unless a more distant day should be appointed for discussing the various subjects included in the proposed treaty.

About the end of May, 1597, Lord Burgh was appointed deputy of Ireland, and Sir John Norris was abruptly ordered to retire to the government of Munster; where secret grief and anxiety of mind so depressed his spirits, that he sank prematurely to the grave. He died in the arms of his beloved brother, Sir Thomas Norris, two months after his departure from Ulster.

The new deputy, on Tyrone's application, granted him a truce of one month, notwithstanding the failure of the late treaty; and, during this cessation of hostilities, the contending parties were busily occupied in augmenting their forces and in maturing their plans of future operations.

On the expiration of the truce, the deputy, attended by the earl of Kildare, and other lords of the Pale, marched towards Ulster, having ordered Sir Conyers Clifford to proceed with seventeen

hundred men through Connaught and meet him at Blackwater fort. A considerable part of this scheme was rendered abortive by the precautionary measures of the wary Tyrone, who detached five hundred infantry troops, to excite the people of Leinster to arise and make a powerful diversion in that quarter. The command was given to Tirrel, a judicious officer, of English origin, but a zealous Catholic, and firmly attached to the Irish. This commander passed rapidly over Meath, and encamped at the barony of Partullagh, Westmeath, to give some repose to his weary troops. Sir Conyers Clifford detached young Barnwell, a son of Lord Trimbleston, against him, with a thousand men, from Mullingar, where his army had collected. Tirrel, aware of their approach, seemed to fly before them, and having gained a defile concealed with trees (since called Tirrel's-Pass), he detached the half of his little army under Lieutenant O'Connor, a skilful and intrepid soldier, who posted his men in ambuscade, in a hollow ground near the road, over which the English troops were to pass. Barnwell, eager in pursuit of Tirrel, hurried rapidly past his concealed enemies. O'Connor's force immediately sallied forth in his rear, with drums beating and bagpipes sounding aloud. Warned by this signal, Tirrel returned to the conflict, and thus the English, placed between two fires, were at once assailed in front and rear. They defended themselves valiantly but were completely defeated. Barnwell himself was taken prisoner, and so dreadful was the carnage, that of the private soldiers only one, who escaped through a marsh, survived the conflict. It is said by MacGeoghegan, that the hand of O'Connor, who on that day had exhibited much prowess in the battle, was so swollen with violent and incessant muscular action, that it could not be removed from the guard of his sabre, until the steel was separated with a file.

Clifford, whose army was by this defeat diminished to seven hundred men, found himself suddenly surrounded by two thousand insurgents, whom Tirrel's exertions had stimulated to action. He therefore retired, and, after a march of thirty miles, managed with consummate skill and judgment, regained his quarters.

Lord Burgh, not deterred by these untoward events, marched straight forward to the North, where every tenable post, except the

castles of Newry, Carrickfergus, Carlingford, Greencastle, Armagh, Dundrum, and Larne, were in the hands of his enemies. As he advanced to Armagh, he found Tyrone's troops strongly posted at a narrow pass, in the neighbourhood of the city. Trunks of trees, which they had felled, barricaded the way, and the low boughs of the woods, which the Irish had interlaced with one another, presented a serious obstacle to his further advance. The English commander, however, charged Tyrone's troops, sword in hand, drove them from their position, and marched directly through Armagh, to the fort of Blackwater (Portmore), which he assailed, took, and garrisoned.

Pleased with this achievement, the lord-deputy and his troops were occupied in returning thanks to God for their success, when they were suddenly alarmed by the appearance of Tyrone's forces, who issued unexpectedly from the woods where they had lain concealed. The Irish were seen descending a neighbouring hill, and against them, Henry, earl of Kildare, marched at the head of a body of volunteers. A conflict ensued, in which Francis Vaughan, brother to the lord-deputy's wife, Richard Turner, and two of Kildare's foster-brothers, were slain. Sir Thomas Waller and many of the English army were wounded, but Tyrone, after a severe conflict, was finally compelled to retire.

Kildare's foster-brothers had fallen in rescuing the earl from the Irish. He himself did not long survive these affectionate friends, whose zeal and fidelity had endeared them to his heart. He mourned incessantly over their loss, pined away and died, lamenting their premature fate.

The lord-deputy, having thus secured the forts of Armagh and Blackwater, returned to the Pale. Immediately Tyrone commenced the siege of Portmore, which he environed with a very strong force. Informed of this, Lord Burgh marched rapidly into Ulster, passed through Armagh, compelled Tyrone to raise the siege; and then crossed the river, with the intention of proceeding to Dungannon, Tyrone's chief seat. Here, however, he fell sick, and having been thus rendered unfit for active service, he returned towards Dublin, but died on the way.

The death of the deputy and the issue of the battle are related

in a very different manner by the Irish historians. These writers state that after Lord Burgh had passed the Blackwater, his further progress was stopped by Tyrone. This commander had placed a body of troops under his brothers Cormac and Art O'Neill, at Druim-Fluich (the Moist Hill), on the road to Benburb, along the left bank of the river. A second division of his army was commanded by himself in person, at Tubhir-Masain, where he was aided by James MacDonnell, chief of the Glens (county Antrim). Through these forces, the lord-deputy endeavoured to cut his way, sword in hand. Tyrone's two corps formed an immediate union, and, in the very commencement of the engagement, Lord Burgh was mortally wounded. He was removed from the field of battle and conveyed to Newry, where he died in anguish. The conflict was now maintained by the English, under the earl of Kildare, who assumed the command after the lord-deputy had retired. He, also, in the course of the battle, was wounded and fell from his horse, and his two foster-brothers were killed in endeavouring to remount him. A dreadful carnage ensued. Many of the English were slain on the field of battle and numbers perished in the river. Kildare escaped from the fight, but died in a few days from his wounds. Here also fell Francis Vaughan, Thomas Waller and Turner.

On the death of Burgh, the government was, for a short time, vested in Sir Thomas Norris, but soon afterwards transferred to Archbishop Loftus and chief-justice Sir Robert Gardiner, whilst the earl of Ormond was appointed commander-in-chief of the army.

Tyrone, having now obtained certain intelligence that the English government was collecting a considerable force to assail him in his strongholds, made application to the earl of Ormond, who, at his urgent request, obtained a commission from Elizabeth, to treat with the Ulster chief. A cessation of hostilities was agreed upon for two months, and Tyrone engaged to furnish the fort of Portmore with forty beeves and allow the garrison free liberty of forage. He seems to have been inclined to fulfil this engagement honourably, but the commander of Portmore absurdly refused the cattle, though fairly tendered by Tyrone.

After considerable deliberation, Queen Elizabeth granted

Tyrone a free pardon on his own terms, on the eleventh of April, 1598. But the earl, having received intelligence that a Spanish force would soon arrive to his assistance, disdained to plead this pardon and recommenced hostilities. He had already, at the end of the truce, assailed Portmore fort by means of scaling-ladders, but the garrison precipitated his soldiers headlong to the earth, as they were vainly toiling to ascend the mound, forcing them to retire. Tyrone therefore changed the siege into a regular blockade. The garrison animated by their commander, Captain Thomas Williams, kept possession of the place, though they were obliged, after having eaten their horses, to live on the herbs growing in the ditches and on the walls which enclosed the fort.

Determined also to cut off all supply of provisions from the garrison at Armagh, Tyrone formed an encampment at Mullach-ban (Whitehill-Summit), and despatched his brother Cormac with five hundred men to block up the avenues to the town.

In August, 1598, Sir Henry Bagenal was despatched to quell the insurrection in Ulster. This commander marched from Newry to relieve the fort of Armagh. Conn O'Neill, displeased with his father, had deserted to the English, and from him the marshal got information of an unfrequented road, by which a large corps of his troops evaded Tyrone's army altogether, arrived safe at Armagh and revictualled the garrison, in despite of the efforts of Cormac O'Neill, who valiantly disputed their passage. Thus encouraged, Bagenal proceeded by night, under the guidance of the deserter Conn, to Tyrone's encampment, where he surprised and slew the earl's advanced guard. But Conn who, though he was offended with his father, did not wish to be instrumental to his death, led the English commander to a tent in which Terence O'Hanlon, an ally of Tyrone, lay, as Conn imagined, in deep sleep. He was mistaken, for the earl himself reposed in this quarter of the camp. The soldiers burst impetuously into the tent, but Tyrone, roused from his slumbers, escaped precipitately in his shirt. At break of day, he collected his troops and compelled the English to retire.

In the month of August, Bagenal, at the head of a well-appointed army of 4,500 foot and 400 horse, composed of veteran English

troops and of Irish auxiliaries, prepared to relieve Portmore. To oppose this formidable force, Tyrone formed a junction with O'Donnell, chief dynast of Tyrconnell, Maguire of Fermanagh, and MacWilliam, who commanded a body of Connaught men. Their joint forces formed an efficient corps of 4,500 foot and 600 horse. Tyrone and his antagonist entertained a deadly antipathy to each other, and they had communicated the same rancorous spirit of hatred and revenge to their respective armies. But the Irish were animated to deeds of valour by motives peculiar to themselves. An ancient prophecy, in which they placed implicit confidence, had promised them the victory and had menaced their "heretical enemies" with total ruin. Hence they felt that particular species of confidence in their own prowess which at once anticipates and ensures success.

Bagenal marched from Armagh just before sunrise.^s His spearmen were divided into three corps. The wings, consisting of musketeers and cavalry, followed at a little distance; and the air, pure and serene, resounded with the sound of trumpets and drums and the shrill tones of the fife. The army passed unmolested over a level and open tract of ground. About seven o'clock, they entered a narrow pass where trees and thickets were thinly scattered over the surface of the land. Here Tyrone had advantageously stationed five hundred active and lightly-armed youths, who, protected by the trees, poured in volleys of shot upon the English troops. Although in this way, Bagenal's army experienced considerable loss, yet he succeeded in forcing his way, till he arrived at a large plain which extended as far as Tyrone's camp. But at the very entrance into the plain, the wily Irish chieftain had dug pitfalls and trenches, which he had carefully covered with a network of wattles, whose surface was strewn over with herbage. Many of the English cavalry, fearless of danger, and galloping precipitately into these invisible fosses, were desperately bruised and maimed. Undaunted by the success of this stratagem, Bagenal, at the head of his troops, pushed right forward into the open plain. Here a desperate but desultory conflict took place between the English cavalry and Tyrone's light-armed troops. The cavalry, provided with spears six cubits in length, which rested on the right thigh, made ponderous

charges when they were able to assail the foe hand to hand. Tyrone's light troops were armed with even longer spears, which they grasped in the middle with their hands, whilst the weapons rested on their right shoulders. These they used with advantage, when a favourable opportunity occurred. Bagenal was repeatedly arrested in his progress by these men, and was obliged to fight his way with toilsome perseverance, till he arrived, about eleven o'clock, at a short distance from Tyrone's camp, within about three miles of Armagh. Here the plain was skirted on one side by a marsh, on the other by a moor and a wood, and thus narrowed to a strait. Across this strait, Tyrone had thrown up a rampart four feet high, and had sunk a fosse of considerable depth. The ground in front of the mound was moist with turbid waters, which flowed from the marshes, and hence the place was called *Beal an ath buidhe*, "The Mouth of the Yellow Ford."

The English commander made the most desperate and persevering efforts to surmount these obstacles, whilst Tyrone's troops defended the pass with the most determined valour. In the very thick of the fight, a quantity of gunpowder was ignited in the English ranks, through the rashness and unskilfulness of a gunner. Many of the troops were blown into the air, and many thrown into utter confusion by the sudden and awful explosion. But Bagenal, having restored order, and assailed Tyrone's troops with a heavy cannonade, succeeded, after various efforts, in levelling a part of the rampart and in beating back its defenders. Instantly, two strong corps burst into the level ground, one of which attacked the right wing of the Irish army commanded by Tyrone, whilst the other charged the left under O'Donnell. Bagenal himself led forward a third division as a reserve. Meanwhile the Irish light-armed troops, who had been driven back by the cannon, returned to the conflict when they saw the two armies mingled in battle. Bagenal, who already deemed the victory his own, raised his visor that he might have a fuller view of the battle, and be enabled to give the necessary orders with better effect. At this instant he was smitten by a musket-ball, and fell dead to the earth. Astounded by this unexpected event, his division fell into utter confusion, and, though the two other corps fought with valour,

the English army was finally and totally defeated. In their rout, many of the infantry tumbled headlong into the fosse, and were trodden to death by the fugitive cavalry.

Mælmorra O'Reilly, a valiant Irish chieftain, one of Bagenal's auxiliaries, made repeated efforts to rally the flying troops, and was at last slain in endeavouring to cover their retreat. Fynes Moryson and Camden state that there fell with the marshal thirteen valiant captains and fifteen hundred common soldiers, many of whom had served in Brittany under General Norris. But O'Sullivan asserts that two thousand five hundred of the queen's soldiers, twenty-three superior officers, and a number of lieutenants, ensigns and sergeants were slain in the fight. Thirty-four military standards, twelve thousand pieces of gold, all the musical instruments, artillery and provisions, were captured by the victors. Of Tyrone's troops, two hundred were slain and six hundred wounded.

The English commander, Montague, fled with the cavalry and the survivors of the infantry to Armagh, and took refuge in the churches of that city. He, however, withdrew in confusion from that station during the night, closely pursued by Terence O'Hanlon, at the head of Tyrone's horse. Meanwhile the victorious Tyrone, master of the field of fight, prepared with a generous solicitude to bury the slain.

The decisive victory gained over Bagenal was instantaneously followed by the surrender of Portmore and Armagh. The insurrection was soon more widely extended; the malcontents of Leinster burst into the English Pale; whilst Tirrel and Owny MacRory O'More traversed Ulster with some thousand troops. Here the English colonists were driven from their settlements, and their houses consumed with fire. Many of the men were slaughtered without mercy, and the women were subjected to the gross and savage brutality of the victorious party.

Tyrone, who was everywhere hailed as the champion of Ireland, received from Spain supplies of men and money, with assurance of effectual military aid. The Pope also transmitted to him, by the Spanish envoys, Don Martin de la Cerva and Matthæo Oviedo, archbishop of Dublin, a number of indulgences and a hallowed plume, said to have been formed from the feathers of the phoenix.

Meanwhile, Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, who was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, had landed at Dublin, on the fifteenth of April, 1599. This courtier, who neither in natural talents, nor in political experience and military skill, was at all able to cope with Tyrone, was, in every instance, duped and baffled by his wily antagonist, whose reputation rose, in proportion as that of the English earl sank, in public estimation. The command, therefore, was withdrawn from Essex, and committed to the abler management of Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, who landed at Howth on the twenty-fourth of February, 1600.

The new deputy was a man of studious habits, refined manners and capacious intellect. Versed in theology, mathematics, history, cosmography, and natural philosophy, and delighting in rural amusements and domestic enjoyments, he was viewed by those who were unacquainted with the treasures of his mind and the versatility of his talents as a mere scholar, unfit for active enterprise and warlike exploits. Hence he was prematurely characterized by Tyrone as "a commander who would lose the season of action, whilst his breakfast was preparing." Yet Mountjoy was prudent in counsel, prompt in action, cautious and secret in maturing his plans, but bold and decisive in their execution.

The deputy soon determined to commence hostilities against the northern Irish, with a flying army fit for rapid marches and desultory warfare. In order, therefore, that the troops might have secure resting places, he stationed at Dundalk one hundred horse and six hundred and fifty foot; in Ardee, fifty horse and seven hundred foot; in Kells, fifty horse and four hundred foot; in Newry, fifty horse and a thousand foot; and in Carlingford, one hundred foot. He also placed a garrison at Lough Foyle, and formed a plan for fortifying and securing Derry. These active precautionary measures terrified many of Tyrone's allies, who made immediate submission to the deputy. Amongst these were Torlogh MacHenry, chieftain of the Fews, Ever MacCooly of Farney (county Monaghan), O'Hanlon, regal standard-bearer of Ulster, Phelim MacFeagh, chief of the O'Byrnes, and Donald Spaniagh of the Kavanaghs, &c.

On the fifth of May, 1600, Mountjoy marched towards Ulster,

crossed the Moyry (a pass through the mountains between Newry and Dundalk), on Whit-Sunday morning, and came to Newry. Here he received information that Tyrone had razed Blackwater fort, set fire to Armagh, and then retired into the fastnesses of Lough Lurkin, where he made entrenchments and fortifications three miles in length. On the fifteenth of May, the deputy marched towards Armagh, with one thousand five hundred foot and two hundred horse. On the way, he learned that the earl of Southampton and Sir Oliver Lambert were in advance towards him, with recruits. He halted, therefore, and on the seventeenth, he sent Captain Blayney with five hundred foot and fifty horse to conduct them to the army. This corps formed a junction with the earl of Southampton's troops at Faughart, and proceeded together towards Newry. At the pass of Moyry, Tyrone, who had gained intelligence of their movements, assailed them with twelve hundred foot and two hundred and twenty horse. Mountjoy, who had penetrated Tyron's design, came to their relief at the critical moment, and repulsed the Irish with considerable loss.

On the fourteenth of September, the deputy, who, in the interim had returned to Dublin, made another incursion into Ulster, and on the fifteenth encamped at Faughart, where he mustered his army, amounting to 2,400 foot and 300 horse. Inclement weather prevented his advance till the ninth of October. Meantime Tyrone, with his usual activity, had seized upon the Moyry pass, which he secured with strong fences, and wooden stakes pitched and driven firmly into the ground. These were connected with hurdles and stones. Mounds of earth were thrown across the hills, woods, and bogs, and the whole pass was powerfully manned with soldiers.

As soon as the rains had subsided, Mountjoy attacked Tyrone in his entrenchments, and drove him from this important and difficult pass. The deputy now returned unmolested to Dundalk, levelling the woods, and opening the country as he advanced. Having here refreshed his troops, he marched on to Newry, where he remained till the second of November. On that day, he proceeded eight miles on the road to Armagh, and having learned that Tyrone had wasted the country round that city, and thus rendered it impracticable, for a

time, to maintain it as a military post, he halted and determined to build a fort on the spot which he then occupied. This fort he called Mountnorris, in honour of General Sir John Norris, under whom he had attained the first rudiments of the art of war. Whilst he was engaged in this undertaking, Tyrone, day after day, endeavoured to interrupt his progress, but was baffled in every attempt. The fort was finally completed, garrisoned with four hundred men, and placed under the command of Captain Blaney. A reward of two thousand pounds was now offered, by proclamation, to any man who should bring in Tyrone alive; and one thousand pounds to any who should surrender him dead; after which the English returned to Newry, whence they proceeded by the pass at Fathom to Carlingford. Here they were attacked by the indefatigable Tyrone, who was eventually routed, if we may credit the English writers, with a loss of two hundred men. Peter Lombard, however, and MacGeoghegan assert that he was completely victorious, and that the deputy was severely wounded in the battle. It is certain that, in the course of the conflict, Sir Henry Danvers was wounded in the thigh, Captains Hansard and Trevor were also severely hurt, and Sir Garret More's ensign, with Hugh O'Hanlon, and the lord-deputy's secretary, George Cranmer, were killed. Lord Mountjoy, after this battle, withdrew to Dublin.

During these transactions, Armagh and Portmore forts continued in Tyrone's possession; but on the twenty-second of May, 1601, Mountjoy left Dublin with the intention of recovering those posts and firmly establishing the English power in Ulster. On the twenty-fifth he entered Dundalk, and on the eighth of June he came to the Moyry pass, and built a fort there at Three-mile-Water. On the fourteenth he passed through Newry. After this he entered Iveagh, (territory of Magennis in county Down, forming baronies of Upper and Lower Iveagh), and having taken Down, and performed various other exploits, encamped near Newry on the twenty-first. Sir Henry Danvers was then despatched to seize Armagh, which his lordship intended to garrison. In this attempt he completely failed, and was obliged to return to Mountnorris, where he was met by Mountjoy, on the twenty-second of June. The united English forces now

marched on the same day, passing Armagh on one side, without entering the city, to the river Blackwater, where the deputy minutely examined various positions in its neighbourhood, and particularly the narrow pass where Bagenal had been defeated. Having thus reconnoitred the country, he directed his march to Armagh, which the Irish garrison, alarmed by the approach of his army, had already abandoned. Here he left one hundred horse and seven hundred and fifty foot, under Sir Henry Danvers. On the same night he returned to Mountnorris, and on the twenty-fourth encamped at Dunanury [Damolly], within two miles of Newry.

On the twenty-eighth of June, Danvers, at the head of the garrison of Armagh, scoured a considerable portion of the adjacent country, wasted the lands of Brian MacArt, killed a number of his men, seized his horses and destroyed his baggage. From the chieftain Magennis, he took three hundred cows, and compelled him, as well as Rory Oge Magennis and Patrick MacMahon, to make their submission. Shortly after this, the same active officer made a sudden predatory incursion into Tyrone's camp, from which he took some horses, and then rapidly scoured and spoiled MacCartan's country.

The deputy, on the ninth of July, marched from Dundalk to Latenbur, beyond Newry; on the twelfth, he passed through Armagh and encamped within two miles of the city. On the thirteenth, he advanced to the vicinity of the Blackwater, on whose opposite bank Tyrone's army appeared, but on the discharge of two small pieces of artillery retired into the woods. Three hundred of the English passed the river on the fourteenth, and with the loss of twenty-two men, drove the Irish from their entrenchments.

Mountjoy having, on the fifteenth, in person, reconnoitred the woods and fastnesses, despatched, on the succeeding day, Sir Christopher Lawrence's regiment to Benburb, where was the ancient residence of Shane O'Neill, environed with woods. Here a considerable Irish force had assembled, and a sharp conflict of three hours' duration ensued. The battle was fought in view of the deputy's camp, whence reinforcements were despatched to the English, as occasion required. Tyrone's troops were finally defeated, with the

loss of two hundred men. The victors lost two Englishmen and twenty-six Irish kern, and seventy-five others were wounded.

Mountjoy, who had already got possession of the ruins of Portmore, began on the seventeenth and eighteenth to build a new fort, not far from the site of the old one. On the twenty-third, Captain Williams and his company were left to garrison it, and the deputy caused public proclamation to be made "that the queen would not extend mercy to Tyrone, and that therefore he again offered two thousand pounds to any person who should surrender him alive, and one thousand pounds to any who should bring him the earl's head."

The deputy began now, on the thirtieth of July, to cut the woods and clear the passes in the neighbourhood of the Blackwater river, and particularly of the new fort. On the first of August, whilst his men were thus employed, some of Tyrone's troops roused such a prodigious alarm, that the English horses broke their headstalls in terror, and galloped off, some to Armagh and some to Newry; the troopers however recovered them all.

On the second of August, Mountjoy returned to Armagh, and from thence marched to Ralawtany, having dispatched Sir Henry Danvers with two hundred foot and forty horse to burn about twenty houses. This he effected, but, on his return, was attacked by Tyrone's army. Succour arrived opportunely from the camp, and he was thus enabled to make good his retreat. Tyrone, however, pursued him even to the camp, into which he discharged a volley of shot and then escaped through the woods.

On the fourth of August, the deputy marched with some companies north of Armagh, in order to fell the woods and lay open the country, for military operations. In this he persevered uninterruptedly during the whole day, but when his troops had returned in the evening to their station, Tyrone's forces appeared in an adjacent meadow, and with loud cries, and the sound of drums and bagpipes, poured two or three thousand shots into his camp. The deputy, who had been informed of their movements, had placed four hundred men in ambush, and these saluted the Irish, from their concealed station, with an unexpected volley. Many of Tyrone's most active men were

slain; amongst whom fell Pierce Lacy, of Bruff, in the county of Limerick, a zealous Catholic, and one of the most alert of the Munster chieftains. The rest fled in confusion.

Reinforced by Sir John Barkley's regiment, from Annaly, the deputy spent two days more in clearing the passes, and on the seventh marched to Mountnorris, where he remained till the fourteenth, when he re-victualled the forts of Armagh and Blackwater; and on the twenty-fourth he withdrew to Newry, having placed the following forces in garrison :—

	Foot.	Horse.	
At Carrickfergus	850	125	Sir Arthur Chichester.
Downpatrick -	300	—	Sir Richard Moryson.
Newry -	450	50	Sir Francis Stafford.
Mountnorris -	600	50	Sir Samuel Bagenal.
Armagh -	900	125	Sir Henry Danvers.
Blackwater -	350	—	Captain Williams.

On the twenty-third of September, 1601, a body of Spanish troops landed at Kinsale, as allies to Tyrone and the other Irish chieftains. The deputy, therefore, deemed it necessary to collect and concentrate his forces. Sir Henry Danvers was, on this account, despatched for the garrison of Armagh, and Sir John Barkley for that of Navan. No advantage seems to have been derived, by Tyrone, from the withdrawal of these garrisons. His whole mind and energies were put forth in aid of his Spanish allies, but the issue of their enterprise was unfavourable to his cause, and terminated in the rout of his army and the surrender of the Spaniards. For the detail of these events, which, though highly interesting, is rather foreign to our present subject, we must refer our readers to the *Pacata Hibernia* and the various historians who have written minutely on the subject.

In the beginning of June, 1602, the lord-deputy marched through Dundalk and Armagh, and proceeded to the passage over the Blackwater river, five miles eastward of the fort. Sir Richard Moryson's regiment was sent to the north side of the river, over which Mountjoy built a bridge, and erected a castle which he fortified and called Charlemont, after his own Christian name. Here he planted a garrison of one hundred and fifty men, under Captain Toby Caulfeild.

Sir Richard Moryson then marched forward to take possession of Dungannon, which, with Tyrone's mansion-house in that town, was plainly discerned from the camp, on fire. The deputy, at the head of the rest of the army, followed immediately to Dungannon, where the whole force was reunited. Thus Tyrone was expelled by the ceaseless activity of this vigilant commander, from the very centre of his power.

In the midst of these tumultuous scenes, the deputy not only found time to complete the fort of Charlemont, but actually built and garrisoned another on the banks of Lough Neagh, which he called Mountjoy from his own title. At Augher, also, after some time, he placed an active and formidable corps, and was thus enabled to harass his enemy in every direction.

After the building of Mountjoy fort, orders were given to Sir Henry Docwra, who had planted many garrisons about Lough Foyle and one of considerable strength at Omagh, to proceed against Tyrone's troops by way of Dungiven (barony of Loughinsholin, county Derry), whilst Sir Arthur Chichester with the Carrickfergus garrison and Moryson's regiment was to annoy them by Toome, and the deputy himself to march against them by Killeetro, which was situated on the borders of Tyrone's country.

These operations were to have been carried into effect on the termination of twenty days. In the interim, however, Mountjoy marched on the nineteenth of July to Monaghan, where he left a body of troops under Sir Christopher Lawrence and Captain Esmond. Having wasted the whole of the adjacent country, he stationed Conor Roe Maguire on the borders of Fermanagh, in the house of MacMahon, chief dynast of Monaghan, and then retired to Newry. On this Maguire Queen Elizabeth had conferred the chieftdom of Fermanagh, and thus secured him in her interest.

Tyrone, unable to resist the growing power of his enemies, had sought a temporary refuge in Castle-Roe, on the Bann, whence, notwithstanding the perils which environed him, he escaped with a small body of infantry and sixty horse, to a fastness named Gleann-cin-cein (the remote head of the Glen), near Lough Erne, where he strongly entrenched his little army.

On the tenth of August, Sir Arthur Chichester marched from Massareene, and Sir Henry Danvers from Newry, and their joint forces attacked and took the strong fort of Ennishlaghlin, situated in the centre of a deep bog, and only accessible through thick and almost impervious woods. This fort had been encompassed with ditches, strong palisades, ramparts of earth, and formidable timber bulwarks. Here the captors found a considerable quantity of plate and other highly valuable articles belonging to Tyrone. His principal magazine had been already taken in Magherlowney, in a predatory excursion of the English, who, in the month of June, had wasted the country as far as Enniskillen.

On the nineteenth of August, the garrison of Ennishlaghlin were brought prisoners to Newry, whence the deputy himself marched on the twentieth, and encamped midway between that town and Armagh. Afterwards, he crossed the Blackwater by the bridge near Mountjoy, and placed a body of troops at Dungannon. He spent some time at Tulloghogue, the chief residence of the ancient Clan O'Hagan, and here he broke in pieces the stone-chair of state in which, from remote antiquity, the sovereigns of Ulster had been successively inaugurated into the regal title and authority of the O'Neill. During his residence in this quarter, his troops wasted the adjacent country in every direction; so that many of the native chieftains were obliged to renounce their connexion with O'Neill, and submit to the English government.

In every quarter of the kingdom, Mountjoy carried on the war with the same persevering activity and unvaried success. He harassed his Irish opponents by day and night, sowed dissensions amongst their chieftains and sought, by every means in his power, to reduce them to obedience. Ravaged by his troops, the country was totally inadequate to support its wretched inhabitants. Multitudes of the Irish, hunted from hill to hill, perished by famine, and lay, horrid spectacle! unburied in the fields and on the open highways. The narrative of Fynes Moryson, who was himself an actor in this tremendous scene of misery and blood, conveys to the imagination a lively and affecting image of the almost unexampled calamity with which this unhappy country was then afflicted.

He states that it was a common practice "to thrust long needles into the horses of our English troops, and they dying thereupon, to be ready to tear out one anothers' throats for a share of them; and no spectacle was more frequent in the ditches of towns, and especially in wasted country parts, than to see multitudes of these poor people dead, with their mouths all covered green by eating nettles, docks, and all things they could rend up above ground."

Again Moryson states that "from O'Kane's country, northward of Tyrone, we have left none to give us opposition, nor of late seen any but dead carcases merely, starved for want of meat."

And again he says "that O'Hagan protested unto us that between Tulloghogue and Toome, there lay unburied a thousand dead, and since our first drawing this year to the Blackwater, there were above three thousand starved in Tyrone, and sure the poor people of those parts never yet had the means to know God, or to acknowledge any other sovereign than the O'Neills, which makes me commiserate them, and hope better of them hereafter."

Tyrone, deserted by his adherents, and destitute of resources, began now to think seriously of throwing himself on the mercy of Elizabeth. His country was a wilderness, the remnant of his people was dispirited by misfortune, and miserably afflicted with famine. To add to his complicated distress, the sons of Shane O'Neill had escaped from prison and cast themselves at the feet of the lord-deputy. Sir Arthur O'Neill, son of Torloch Lynagh O'Neill, had also solicited the protection of the Government. Rory O'Donnell, the actual chieftain of Tyrconnell, and Neal Garuff O'Donnell, had in like manner submitted to its authority. Thus forlorn, deserted and distressed, Tyrone made overtures of accommodation, which the queen was at first determined to reject. She, however, at last directed Mountjoy to assure him of life and liberty and to grant him a full pardon, by the title of baron of Dungannon or some other honorary appellation. At the period of this negotiation, Elizabeth laboured under an incurable disease, the malady of the mind. Mountjoy, soon afterwards, received private information that she was dead. Alarmed at this event and dreading the unknown consequences that might eventually result, he resolved instantly to bring the treaty with

Tyrone to a final conclusion. He had indeed previously despatched Sir William Godolphin and Sir Garret Moore, whom he appointed commissioners, to Tyrone, with a protection for his safe conduct, dated Drogheda, the twenty-fourth of March, 1602-3.

These commissioners, on the twenty-sixth of March, sent one Bath from Armagh to the earl, to settle the preliminaries of their meeting. On the twenty-seventh, Sir Garret Moore rode to Tulloghogue, and conversed with Tyrone; and on the twenty-ninth, Sir William Godolphin shewed him the lord-deputy's safeguard. Relying on this, Tyrone, on the thirtieth of March, surrendered himself at Mellifont on his knees to Mountjoy, and, on the succeeding day, made a most humble and most comprehensive submission in writing, which he presented to the lord-deputy and council, in the presence of a great assembly.

Tyrone was now pardoned and restored to his earldom, with letters-patent for his lands, excepting the country held by Henry Oge O'Neill, and the Fews possessed by Torlogh MacHenry. Three hundred acres of land were also reserved in the grant, which were to be annexed to the fort of Mountjoy, and three to that of Charlemont, during the sovereign's pleasure.

After these events, "the multitude," says Sir John Davis, "who ever love to be followers of such as could master and defend them, admiring the power of the court of England, being brayed as it were in a mortar with the sword, famine and pestilence together, submitted themselves to the Government, received the laws and magistrates, and gladly embraced the king's pardon."

Thus terminated this long-protracted and sanguinary war, in which the whole kingdom of Ireland was so deeply interested.

1 Brady. *Epir. Succ.*, vol. i. p. 222. 2 Fynes Elizabeth, c. 38. 3 O'Sullivan. *De Bello Quindem*
Moryson, p. 17. 3 Lombard. *De Regno Hiberniæ*. Annorum, tom. 3. lib. 3. cap. i. 9 MacGeoghagan,
p. 352. 4 Camden, p. 122. 5 Lombard, p. 343. tome 3. p. 509.
6 Brady. *Epir. Succ.*, vol. i. p. 223. 7 Ware's



SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

a TYRONE'S DIVORCE.—Tyrone was not, it is manifest, divorced through subsequent cause. Some diriment impediment, arising, perhaps, from affinity, was evidently discovered between him and the lady with whom he had gone through the marriage ceremony, and they were separated, as Tyrone afterwards declared, "by the order of the Church." That the word *divorce* is used to signify such a separation need not present any difficulty; for instance, Henry VIII. applied for a divorce between himself and Catherine of Arragon, on the score that they were not really man and wife. On any other supposition, neither the Catholic clergy of Armagh could have pronounced the divorce, nor Jones, the Protestant bishop of Meath, afterwards performed the marriage ceremony for Tyrone and Mary Bagenal. Part of the declaration, containing a dignified and Christian rebuke to Bagenal, made on October 31st, 1591, by Tyrone to the Privy Council regarding the affair, is as follows:—

The archdeacon and registration [registrar] of Armagh, and an old man of four score and seventeen years, being the officials of Armagh, well learned in the civil and canon laws, were all three examined by the Lord-Deputy, touching a divorce long since made by them, and given openly between me and Sir Brian M'Phelim's daughter, from whom I was divorced by order of the Church many years ago, before that I married with O'Donnell's daughter, as is well known to all the country. I hope these men did testify the truth of that matter, for it was before them that the cause was heard and determined, as I do now signify to your Lordships.

After these examinations it pleased the Lord-Deputy to call for myself, and to ask what was become of the sentence of divorce, and whether the same were confirmed under his seal or no. I told his lordship that I had the same sentence in my keeping in my country, and that it was con-

firmed both with hands of the said judges and under seal. His lordship willed me to send for it that he might see it, which he did accordingly. And on the 26th of this instant, I brought the same original sentence to his lordship and delivered him a true copy thereof, which he promised me to send to you, the Lord Treasurer, whereby I doubt not both yourself and others will be thoroughly satisfied in that matter, and will consider how great a wrong the Marshall has done to me and to make these slanderous reports against me to the dishonouring of myself and to the undoing of his own sister, though it could not be a thing hid from him which all the country knew—that I was lawfully divorced from that gentlewoman whom now he would thrust upon me, who also long since married another husband, by whom she has children, from whom unless I had been thoroughly cleared, I would not for all my worldly goods have stained my credit and conscience by taking a second wife.—*Cal. Doc. Ireland* (1588—1592), p. 433.

The declaration of Tyrone evidently does not satisfy Standish O'Grady (who is not to be confounded with Standish Hayes O'Grady, LL.D., the eminent Celtic philologist) who turns it to base and unwarrantable use in one of his *historical* tales, and makes an exhibition of malignant bigotry by the way in which he slanders Tyrone and the clergy of Armagh, insinuating that the former was an adulterer, and the latter so much under his power that they were ready to divorce him, at any time he wished, from his lawful wife. "These (Armagh) ecclesiastics," he says, "were very much under the control of the earl. When the Earl wished to divorce a wife, he had only to direct these ecclesiastics to take the necessary steps, and it was done."—*Flight of the Eagle*, p. 263. So much for our new guides in patriotism!

b PRIMATE MACGAURAN MADE ENVOY.—1592-3, Jan. 3.—Sir G. Byngham to Sir R.

Bynham. James O'Crean came lately out of the North, from Hugh Roe O'Donnell, where, as he saith, he saw seven bishops. Some of them he named unto me, other some he would not name. But the chiefest among them was the Bishop McGawran, whom the Pope hath made Lord Primate of all Ireland. They were in great council for two or three days together, and have made some great despatch of certain letters, which shall be sent out of hand (as James O'Crean saith) by Bishop O'Hely to the Pope and to the King of Spain. He further learned, by Primate McGawran, that the King of Spain came into France by waggon, and brought his daughter with him to be married to the Duke of Guise. The Primate himself came in his company, and that the king determined to send two armies this next Summer the one for England, the other for Ireland, and the army that should come for Ireland should come by Scotland, and land in the North; but their only want was to have some great man here, to be (as it were) their leader or general, and have now thought Hugh Roe O'Donnell to be "the most fittest" for the same. The Primate, McGawran, also brought a warrant or license from the Pope for Bryan Oge O'Rourke, to be the legitimate heir unto his father, and by virtue thereof to enjoy his father's country. The Primate himself landed at Drogheda, and staid there two or three days after his landing. All of which I have thought good to signify unto you, that you may advise the Lord-Deputy thereof. And if it is his pleasure, to lay privy wait at Drogheda, no doubt the bishop O'Hely may be apprehended, and with him all their practises will be found out. The bishop McGawran is now in Maguire's country, and is now relieved there. Jan. 3, Ballymote.—*Cal. Doc. Ireland* (1592—96), pp. 71, 72.

MacGauran also, when bishop of Ardagh, showed himself very active in the cause of religion and country. In the summer of 1585, he went on a perilous journey to Spain, by way of Scotland and France, to seek help for Ireland in the war for the preservation of her religion which she was

about to undertake.—*Carew MSS.* (1586—88), p. 7.

c TYRONE APPOINTED COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.—The great difference between the wars of Shane O'Neill and those of the earl of Tyrone, was that the latter were really wars of religion. Religious persecution had increased to an enormous extent in Ireland during the later years of Elizabeth's reign, and the fifteen years' war, with which we are now dealing, was waged for liberty of conscience. This is confirmed by the following letter from the continent:—

1595, July 16th. Lisbon.—Cornelius, bishop of Killaloe (Cornelius Laonensis Episcopus) to the Earl of Tyrone. The report has some time since reached here that many of the influential captains and powerful chieftains of Ulster had taken up arms against the Queen in favour of the Catholic faith, which report has greatly raised the hope which he had cherished ever since the last sparkles of faith were extinguished in the other three provinces of Ireland, that the merciful God would open the hearts of the Ulster chieftains to resist stoutly the enemies of the faith; and that by their means, the Catholic faith should be spread over the whole country, so that where the body of St. Patrick rests, there also should restitution of the faith be accomplished, and the honour and praise of it remain for ever.—*Cal. Doc. Ireland* (1592—96), p. 341.

d LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE DENIED.—The following exhibition of Elizabeth's determination to root up the Catholic religion, will explain why Tyrone found it necessary to continue the war:—

1596, March. The effect of her Majesty's pleasure, directed to the Lord General (Norris) and Sir Geoffrey Fenton, to be signified to the Earl of Tyrone, with the Earl's answers:

1. Her Majesty is highly offended with your petition for liberty of conscience, and her pleasure is that you desist from it. *He agrees.*—*Carew MSS.* (1589—1600), p. 172.

e THE ENGLISH OCCUPY ARMAGH.—1595, July 20.—Lord-Deputy and Council to the Privy Council. It may please your Lordships:—According to our pur-

pose to draw the army towards the Blackwater, we came to Armagh, the 30th of June, where we found the town and abbey burned by the rebels, and nothing left but the cathedral church. From thence we drew near the Blackwater, and encamping about that place and Armagh, with intention to put over the river, and break into Tirone to attempt Dungannon, as opportunity would serve, we were prevented therein by the earl, the traitor, who, after he had showed himself with all his forces, on both sides of the river, where, our troops marching out against him, beat him home again, with the loss of the principal leader of his shot, whose head was brought to the camp. He pulled down to the ground, the next day after, his house of Dungannon, and set fire in several parts of his country of Tirone, which we might see burn before our eyes, not sparing, as we had creditable advertisement, any man's houses or towns; no, not the O'Hagans, nor O'Quins, being persons specially favoured of him. We did not look for this upon the first show of the army, but we think the terror of the "great artilleryes," which we brought from Dublin to the Newry and there left them, was one cause thereof, for that even at that instant he sent word to O'Cahan (O'Kane) to break down his castles, which he hath performed, as we are advertised, and to Sir Torlogh Lynagh O'Neill to demolish Strabane, which he doth yet defer, having sent to the earl to forbear him for a time.—*Cal. Doc. Ireland* (1592—96), p. 343.

/ DIVIDED COUNSELS AMONG THE ENGLISH.—1596, December 9th.—The Lord-Deputy and Council to the Lord President (Sir John Norris)

Your letter of 5th December was received yesterday, with the copy of another from the Earl of Tyrone to yourself. "Where you make mention of another letter received from Rice Ap Hugh, wherein he thinketh that Ardmaghe is lost, and that it is long since that you wrote unto the Marshall (Bagenal) and to us about it, grounding thereupon an opinion, as it seemeth, that if we had written but one

good letter to the Earl it would have saved it, we know not what your Lordship may mean by this clause." At no time since the Earl took his pardon have we written to him in any displeasing manner, but have laboured to hold him in good terms.

"But now that he hath given so many apparent proofs of his bad meaning to this State, and namely [particularly] the public restraint he made of all victuals to be carried to Ardmagh; his quarrelling with the convoy, and cutting off some of the soldiers that went with the victuals; his late attempt made to surprise the place, wherein were slain 35 of the garrison, himself countenancing the matter in person; the violent incursions into the Pale lately made by his kinsmen and followers with open force as far as the river of Boyne, and on this side, his son-in-law, Henry Oge M'Shane, being there in person and commanding the rest in his name; and, lastly, his late treacherous attempt to surprise her Majesty's castle of Carlingford, where, missing of his principal purpose, there were carried away as prisoners, in lamentable manner, two gentlewomen, daughters of Captain Henshaw, the one married and the other a maid, he being, by appointment, to follow with his forces, of purpose to surprise the castle:" these were sufficient reasons not to write to him in so mild manner as you advise. Nevertheless, as you are better acquainted with his humours we leave you to deal with him for the relief of Ardmagh, either by persuasion or by force. You shall not want all the help of horse and foot that is in the kingdom. The place is victualled yet for 30 days.—*Carew MSS.* (1589—1600), p. 186.

g THE BATTLE OF THE YELLOW FORD.—1598, Charles Montague gave the following account of this engagement, in which he acted as Lieutenant-General of the English horse, under Sir Henry Bagnall:—

On Monday, the 14th of August, the army marched from Armagh leaving there all our victuals and some munition for the Blackwater, by computation three thousand five hundred foot and three hundred horse. Their form was in six regiments. We marched severally, some six or seven score

paces distance between each regiment, our way being hard and hilly ground, within calliver shot of wood and bog on both sides, which was wholly possessed by the enemy continually playing upon us.

After a mile's marching thus we approached the enemy's trench, being a ditch cast in front of our passage a mile long, some five feet deep, and five feet over, with a thorny hedge on top. In the middle of a bog, some forty score paces over, our vanguard passed the trench. The battle [main body, stood for the bringing up of a saker [a piece of artillery] which stuck fast in a ford, and also for our rere, which, being hard set to, retired foully to Armagh.

In the meantime, the vanguard passing on was so distressed they fell to run and were all in effect put to the sword without resistance. Up came the Marshal, being chief commander, to relieve them, who was killed dead in the head with a bullet. Notwithstanding, two other regiments passed over the trench. The battle [main body] coming up, two barrels of powder took fire amongst them, by which they, disranked and routed, were for the most part put to the sword. Then, by the help of our horse, the enemy's munition being well spent, we brought off the rest into the plain recovered Armagh, where the captains and so resolved to refresh their men with victuals and munition, and so march directly to the Newry.

In the meantime, the enemy approached and fell round on all sides of us with their whole force. Then the captains, finding the insufficiency both of mind and means of their men, concluded that the horse should adventure to break forth through the enemy's quarter and so pass into the Pale, to advertise the state, that present succour might be sent to fetch them off; or else the enemy, seeing the horse gone, might be persuaded that they having a month or two victuals, which indeed was there, but disposed upon their first resolution, so as they made an account they had not now left meat for above ten days at the uttermost, that the enemy could not keep together, hearing by a prisoner that was

taken, that O'Donnell and Maguire were then ready to depart; the horsemen according to their desires performed it with some loss. By the captain's estimation, we had killed and run away to the enemy not less than eighteen hundred foot, some ten horsemen and thirty horses; the enemy lost, as we heard by some of theirs that we took, seven or eight hundred. There remain of ours about fifteen hundred in the church of Armagh.

Some further particulars, as follows, relative to the engagement at the Blackwater, are contained in a document also of the month of August, 1598, entitled—"The Declaration of the Captains Ferdinando and George Kingsmill, to certain questions demanded of them touching the late service:"

"First—How marched the army from Armagh towards the Blackwater? The said captains say the army marched in six regiments; the vanguard led by Colonel Percy, seconded by the Marshall's regiment. The battle led by Colonel Cosby, and seconded by Sir Thomas Maria Wingfield's regiment. The rear of all led by Captain Camp's regiment and seconded by Captain Billing's regiment.

How far from Armagh began the fight? Within half a mile, we entered into skirmish, and coming within the danger of a bog and wood, where they played on us on all sides, which was maintained to the trenches, being two miles from Armagh.

What was the reason the vanguard was not seconded, being possessed of the trenches? Captain George Kingsmill, who was in the point, saith that the Marshall's regiment, who was to second the point, was in distance so far off, and hotly fought withal, that they could by no means come up to second them, whereby the whole regiment was defeated, all the Captains slain, Colonel Percy and Captain George Kingsmill only excepted, who by a stand made by the horse recovered their second.

What did the broken regiment, when you came to the second? Captain George Kingsmill saith they joined with the Marshall's regiment, their seconds, and

put themselves in order and marched again to the trenches, which they won again a second time, and, for want of seconding by the battle [main body] was defeated as the first.

What was the reason the battle came not up? They say that the saker (cannon), being bogged, stayed the battle so long, and the enemies gathered so about them in such multitudes that they could not both second the vanguard, and save the ordnance. Yet, Colonel Cosby, having the vanguard of the battle, advanced with his regiment for the safeguard of those that were broken, with whom he joining, and the rear of the battle remaining with the saker, for want of seconding, his regiment was lost, with the rest of the vanguard, and Cosby himself taken prisoner. The rear of the battle maintained fight for the saker, which could not be recovered by reason it was bogged, and the oxen killed that drew it. Upon which accident and the former defeatment, Sir Thomas Wingfield, chief commander, the Marshal being dead, commanded the retreat to Armagh, and Captain Ferdinando Kingsmill, who was in Captain Cuyny Sergeant Major's regiment, in the vanguard of the rear, saith that the were so hotly engaged withal by the force of O'Donnell, Maguire, and James MacSorley, their horse and foot, that in an hour and a half they could not march a quarter of a mile forward, by which means they never understood in the rear of the killing of the Marshal, nor of the defeating of the former regiments until they came up to fetch off the rear of the battle with whom they joined, and leaving the saker bogged, and not to be recovered, they marched with the assistance of the horse altogether to Armagh, where they fortified and kept the place

until the earl [of Tyrone] offered composition upon these conditions following; First,—That we should quit the Blackwater, leaving there the colours, drums, and munition, the captains having left them only their rapiers and hacknies, and that being delivered, the whole army with those men of the Blackwater, should march away from Armagh with all their carriage, and hurt them to the Newry and Dundalk. For performance, Captains Ferdinando and George Kingsmill, and on Tyrone's part, two of the O'Hagan's the men of the most estimation in this country; which of each part was accordingly performed, and the army being come to the Newry, where it remaineth, the two captains were sent to Dundalk, who are now repaired hither [Dublin] and do make this report.—Gilbert: *Nat. MSS. of Ireland*, p. 209, et seq.

This disastrous battle was fought on August 14, and on the 16th, Montague told the story in Dublin. Ormonde was away, and the other Lords Justices were panic-stricken. They wrote a humble letter to Tyrone, begging him not to attack the defeated troops in cold blood. "You may," they added, "move her majesty to know a favourable conceit of you by using favour to these men; and besides, your ancient enemy, the Marshal, being now taken away, we hope you will cease all further revenge towards the rest, against whom you can ground no cause of sting against yourself." This missive never reached Tyrone, and the Queen said it was stayed by accident, though the Lords Justices declared they had revoked it. "The like," Elizabeth declared, "was never read, either in form or substance, for baseness."—Bagwell: *Ireland under the Tudors*, vol. iii., p. 299.



CHAPTER XIV.

THE PROTESTANT PLANTATION IN ARMAGH.

Primate Lombard—Primate MacCawell—His Epitaph and Writings—The Augustinian Canons leave Armagh—English Laws introduced into Ulster—Proclamation against Catholic Clergy—Insurrection of Sir Cahir O'Dogherty—Distribution of Forfeited Lands to English and others—Creation of New Boroughs—Patent to the Protestant Primate—Scotch Presbyterians settle in Armagh—The last of the Culdees.

Supplementary Notes.—Primate Lombard in Rome—His Mortuary Notice—David Rothe—Primate MacCawell's Career—Catholic Clergy in Armagh—Protestant Plantation of Armagh—Churches Destroyed in Ulster—Avaricious Bishops—Banishment of Friars.

PETER LOMBARD,* son of a Waterford merchant, succeeded Edmund MacGauran, in the see of Armagh, after an interval of eight years. He was appointed to the primacy, by provision of Clement VIII., on the ninth of July, 1601, and received the pallium on December the fourteenth.' He received his education at Westminster School, where, under his preceptor, the celebrated antiquary, Camden, he gave strong indications of talent and made rapid advances in literature. Camden himself bears honourable testimony to his pupil's abilities, styling him "a youth of admirable docility," and boasting that he had converted him to the Protestant church, though he had been "popishly bred and affected." But the effects produced on Lombard's mind by the polemic arguments of his learned preceptor were probably counteracted at Louvain, where he pursued his studies, passed through the usual courses of philosophy

and theology, and graduated doctor of divinity. He was then made provost of the cathedral of Cambray. Pleased with his literary attainments and religious zeal, his patron, Clement VIII., gave also the strongest manifestations of his high esteem for Lombard, by nominating him his domestic prelate and assistant.

It is probable that, at this period, the Catholic primates of Ireland could have derived but little, if any, emoluments from their sees; and Lombard's promotion, in Rome, may have been of essential service to him in pecuniary matters, independent of the honour he derived from his confidential intimacy with the Pope. It was, in fact, at that period, and for a considerable time prior to it, difficult or impossible for any Catholic archbishop to fulfil the functions of his office in Ireland, such was the jealousy of the state and the intolerant spirit of the times.

Dr. Lombard published at Antwerp, in the year 1624, a dissertation entitled "Cases touching the Decree of Clement VIII. that Sacramental Confession and Absolution were not to be made in absence." But the work, by which he is principally known, is entitled "Commentary on Ireland, Island of Saints." This work was re-published after his decease, at Louvain, in the year 1632, by the widow of Stephen Martin, with a preface written by the author, and addressed to his patron, Pope Clement VIII. Lombard's book excited the wrath of the English government, and the king ordered the lord-deputy, Strafford, to suppress the work and prosecute the author: but the prelate had escaped the power of all earthly tribunals; for he died at Rome, in the year 1625. It is stated by O'Sullivan, that Primate Lombard could not with safety reside in Ireland, and therefore had appointed a vicar^b to preside in his province. This is highly probable, for on the twentieth of April, 1614, King James had spoken of him in parliament, with some asperity, as a nominal bishop and doctor, who had endeavoured to excite the youth of the country, educated in foreign colleges, to disturb the public peace.

Hugh MacCawell,^c (*Latinè* Cavellus,) a man of singular humility, piety and learning, succeeded to the see. He was appointed on April the twenty-seventh, 1626, was consecrated at Rome on the seventh of June, and received the pallium on the twenty-

second. He never saw his see, for he died at Rome on the twenty-second of September, the same year. MacCawell was an acute metaphysician, and perfectly acquainted with every branch of scholastic divinity. He delighted in the works of his countryman Dun Scotus, whose doctrines and abstruse reasonings he defended against Abraham Bzovius, a Polish Dominican, with much talent and ingenuity. Hugh, who was of the Kinelarty branch of the MacCawells, was born in the county of Down, in the year 1572, and studied at the university of Salamanca, in Spain. He became a Franciscan, and was instrumental in founding, at Louvain, the college of Saint Anthony of Padua. Over this establishment he presided, for many years, with assiduity and zeal. Here, as well as at the convent of Ara Cœli in Rome, he was professor of divinity, besides being definitor-general of his order. MacCawell, who possessed much personal courage and religious zeal, determined, in defiance of all danger, to revisit his native country. He had, therefore, taken leave of his Italian friends, and prepared for his journey to Ireland, but was seized with sudden illness, and died on the twenty-second of September, 1626, in the fifty-fifth year of his age. He was buried in the church of Saint Isidore, where John O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, erected a monument to his memory with the following inscription:—

ILLUSTRISSIMO ET REVERENDISSIMO
 DOMINO,
 FR. HUGONI CAVELLO,
 ORDINIS MINORUM STRICTIORIS OBSERVANTIÆ.
 LECTORI DEFINITORI GENERALI,
 ARCHIEPISCOPO ARMACHANO,
 PRIMATI HIBERNIÆ;
 DE PATRIA, RELIGIONE, LITERIS,
 BENE MERITO;
 CUJUS IN PATRIAM REDITUM
 MORS PREVENIT:
 EXCELLENTISSIMUS DOMINUS,
 JOHANNES O'NEALL, TIRONIÆ COMES,
 HUNC LAPIDEM PONI FECIT.
 OBIIT
 XXII. SEPT: MDCXXVI.
 ÆTATIS LV.

TO THE ILLUSTRIOUS AND MOST REVEREND
LORD
FRIAR HUGH MACCAWELL,
OF THE ORDER OF MINORS OF STRICTER OBSERVANCE.
LECTOR, DEFINITOR GENERAL,
ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH,
PRIMATE OF IRELAND.
OF COUNTRY, RELIGION, LETTERS,
WELL DESERVING;
WHOSE RETURN TO NATIVE LAND,
DEATH PREVENTED :
THE MOST EXCELLENT LORD
JOHN O'NEALL, EARL OF TYRONE,
CAUSED THIS STONE TO BE PLACED.

DIED

SEPT. 22, 1626,

AGED 55.

The following works were published by this learned divine—*Scoti Commentaria in quatuor libros Sententiarum, cum Annotationibus Marginalibus*.—Antwerp 1620. *Apologia pro Johanne Duns-Scoto, &c.* Nicholas Jansenius answered this book, and to him MacCawell replied under the assumed name of Hugh Magnesius. *Scoti Commentaria seu Reportata Parisiensia. Questiones Quodlibetales. Questiones in Metaphysicam, &c.* Venetiis, 1625. *Questiones in Libros de Anima*. A posthumous work, in Irish, was published in 1628, styled, if translated into English, *The Mirror of Penitence*.

The life of Archbishop MacCawell was written by his intimate friend, Patrick Fleming, the son of Captain Garret Fleming, of the county of Louth, and a near relation to the lords of Slane. Fleming was a Franciscan friar, a man of talents and research, whose *Collectanea*, or *Collection* of the life and writings of St. Columbanus (issued posthumously, at Louvain, in 1667) indissolubly links his name with the founder of Bobbio.

The flight of Hugh, earl of Tyrone, compelled the last remnant of Canons Regular of St. Augustine, who had still lingered at Armagh, after the seizure of their lands, to withdraw from that city. They

had been patronized by the earl, and supported from his own resources. His ruin left them desolate, and they were obliged to desert the scene of their former labours and seek refuge in Limerick.³

These ecclesiastics had been possessed of very great property, prior to the dissolution of monasteries. In 1539, an inquisition, then held, found that the abbot, Patrick O'Hagan, was not only in possession of the site of the abbey, but of twelve gardens in the town; the third part of the townland of Drumcote, the sixth of Tynarnunagele, the fourth of Tyllagloyst, the fourth of Enaghboy, the third of Aghanoyce and Tullaghelmayne, the sixth of Downallagher, situated near Armagh, and a parcel of land, called Knock-Ederyn, near the abbey. These were his mensal lands.⁴

An inquisition taken on the first of November, 1559, found that James Donnelly, the last prior, had surrendered the abbey with the site thereof, whereon there was a large church, some stone chambers, a dormitory with cellars beneath it, a hall, a storehouse, a great court, a cemetery, garden and orchard.

In 1605, the customs of Tanistry and Gavelkind were abolished in Ireland, and by a judgment in the court of King's Bench, Irish estates became descendible, according to the common law of England. In the preceding year, a commission of grace had issued, to secure Irish subjects against the claims of the crown. Under this commission, the lords had surrendered their estates, and received them again by a new investiture. Inquiries were instituted as to the limits of the various lands; the claims of the tenants; the nature of the Irish duties and customs; and all these points were fixed by a regular estimate. The tenants were confirmed in their holdings, at a stated and equitable rent, payable to the landlord, who was permitted to retain such lands as were actually in his own possession. Trading towns and corporations shortly after imitated the example, surrendered their charters, and accepted new ones, with such regulations annexed as were deemed by the king, not only advantageous to commerce and conducive to peace, but likely to strengthen the hands of government.

About this period, itinerant judges visited the whole province of Ulster, and if the reports on the English side are to be credited,

were well received by the people, who anxiously wished for just and uniform laws. In the first year of King James's reign, Sir George Carey appointed the first sheriffs that ever entered into Tyrone, or Tyrconnell, and shortly after Sir Edward Pelham, chief baron, and Sir John Davis, his majesty's attorney-general, were the first justices of assize, who presided in these counties. For though a plan had been formed in 1584—5, for dividing a part of Ulster into counties, and O'Neill had, in 1591, permitted Tyrone to be subdivided into baronies, yet subsequent events had prevented the measure from being carried into effectual execution at that period.

In 1605, a proclamation was issued, by which the Catholic Clergy^d were ordered to depart from the kingdom, before the tenth of December following, unless they consented to conform to the [just and uniform!] laws of the land, relative to religion. This measure, though possibly it would not have been carried into full effect, exceedingly irritated the great body of the people. A report that the king had sought a reconciliation with the Papal see had been industriously propagated and believed. Encouraged by this rumour, the Catholics had refitted their chapels and abbeys, and the mass was publicly celebrated in many parts of the kingdom. The proclamation, therefore, was doubly offensive, as having been altogether unexpected.

The flight of Tyrone, O'Donnell and other Irish chieftains, in 1607, left the most valuable part of Ulster at the absolute disposal of the Crown. But the quantity of forfeited lands was soon augmented by the insurrection of Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, chieftain or proprietor of Innishowen, and some neighbouring districts. The lord-deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, is said to have sharply accused him of having been privy to Tyrone's alleged conspiracy; and Sir George Paulet, governor of Derry, had, in the course of some angry dispute, not only struck him, but menaced him with an ignominious death. Highly exasperated at this treatment, O'Dogherty meditated revenge: yet he concealed his anger, and, under the semblance of friendship, invited Hart, the commandant of Culmore fort, to his house, on the third of May, 1608. The English officer accordingly visited him, with his wife and child, at the appointed hour. After dinner, he was called aside by his host, and seized by several armed men, who threatened

him with death, if he did not instantly surrender the fort of Culmore. He refused, and the ruffians were already prepared to assassinate him, when Lady O'Dogherty and Captain Hart's wife rushed into the room. The former implored her husband to be merciful to his guest; the other swooned with horror. On her recovery, Sir Cahir sent his own lady and his prisoner into another room, and then succeeded in persuading Hart's agitated and terrified wife to accompany him to the fort. Here, under a feigned story, that her husband had broken his leg, admission was gained for O'Dogherty and his followers. Her brother and the garrison were instantly massacred, but her husband's and her own life were spared. After this, about two o'clock in the morning, Sir Cahir surprised and took the town and fort of Derry. Here he killed the commander, Paulet, put the garrison to the sword, pillaged the inhabitants and consumed the city with fire.⁵ Sir Cahir carried on a desultory warfare for five months, and was afterwards killed, by an accidental shot, in an encounter with the troops of the lord-deputy and Marshal Wingfield. His soldiers were partly dispersed and partly taken and executed by the royalists.

In the counties of Tyrone, Donegal, Fermanagh, Cavan and Armagh, and the precincts of Coleraine, 511,465 acres of land were escheated to the crown in consequence of these events.⁶ The whole was surveyed and disposed of in the following manner:—

	Acres
To the city of London, which undertook to settle Derry and Coleraine, and to sundry other undertakers.....	209,800
To the bishops, for mensal lands.....	3,413
The bishops, termons and herenachs.....	72,780
To the college of Dublin [Trinity College].....	9,600
For free-schools.....	2,700
To incumbents, for glebes.....	18,000
The old glebes.....	1,268
To deans and prebends.....	1,473
To servitors and natives.....	116,330
The impropriations and abbey-land, &c.....	21,552
The old patentees and forts.....	38,214
To new corporations.....	8,887
Restored to Maguire.....	5,980
Restored to several Irish.....	1,468

[illegible]

DRAWN AND REFERRED TO IN LEWIS' TOPOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY.

Reviewed by *Michael J. Fox* on 10/10/2014

Previous to the appropriation of lands, specified in part of the above statement, for the use of the clergy, the established church of Ireland had been reduced to a wretched state of poverty. Many of the churches⁵ in Ulster, had either been destroyed or ruined. The annexed benefices were insignificant, and the parishes were either filled with careless and immoral pastors, or sequestered by avaricious bishops⁶ *in commendam*. Divine service had not been performed for many years in any parish church in Ulster, except in great towns and cities.⁶

James now carried into effect a plan, which he had long seriously meditated, for the settlement of Ulster. But the genuine Irish and the old Anglo-Irish, having exhibited some marks of dissatisfaction at the plantation of Ulster, it was deemed expedient, in the year 1611, to form an extraordinary militia in that province. The order of baronets, an hereditary honour, was therefore instituted. The number of baronets was not to exceed two hundred, and each of them, on receipt of his patent, was to pay into the exchequer a sum competent to the support of thirty soldiers, in Ulster, for three years, at eighteenpence per day.

In 1611, the value of the whole imports and exports of Ireland, for the current year, amounted only to £211,000. This wretched state of commerce plainly indicated the necessity of adopting some efficient measure for ameliorating the condition of the people, tranquillizing the country and turning the attention of its inhabitants to trade and agriculture. King James seems to have thought that this important object could be best attained by accelerating the settlement of Ulster, and by the formation of boroughs or corporate towns. The charters by which he subsequently created these boroughs were studiously planned to give the Protestants a decided ascendancy in the state, an object which James deemed of prime importance.⁷ With these views, he contemplated the establishment of new corporations, in Antrim, Armagh, Athy, Ballyshannon, Bandon, Belfast, Birr, Charlemont, Donegal, Enniskillen, Kilmallock, Lifford, Newry, Tuam, Tullow, Tralee, and other towns.

In consequence of this determination, James, by a charter, dated the twenty-sixth of March, in the eleventh year of his reign, pursuant

to letters-patent issued in the preceding year, erected Armagh into a "body corporate or free borough," to be denominated "The borough of Ardmagh."

By this charter, the body corporate was to consist of a sovereign, twelve burgesses, and the assembly of the borough. The first sovereign, named in the document itself, was Mark Ussher, Esq. The first burgesses were John Ussher, Matthew Ussher, Richard Ussher, Thomas Dawson, Thomas Smith, John Rudworth, Peter (or Pearce) Williams, Joseph Powell, Peter Eales, William Bennet, Nathaniel Lord and John Hayes.

By virtue of this patent, two parliamentary representatives for the borough of Armagh were elected from time to time, by the sovereigns and burgesses, until the period of the Union.

On the twenty-seventh of February, 1612-13, "a grant was made pursuant to privy seal, dated at Derby, thirty-first of July, 1612, to the Rev. Robert Maxwell, dean of the cathedral church of Saint Patrick, Ardmagh, and his successors, of all that parcel of land called the dean's demesnes, in Ardmagh, and all buildings thereon."

On the twenty-fifth of February, 1614-15, a surrender was made by Primate Christopher Hampton, of all the estate anciently belonging to the see of Armagh, in the counties of Tyrone, Armagh, Londonderry, Down, Louth, Drogheda, East and West Meath, Longford, Mayo, Waterford, Monaghan, or elsewhere, in Ireland. This surrender was dated twenty-seventh of October, 1614, and was confirmed by the dean and chapter of Armagh, on the succeeding day. Then a new patent of confirmation passed, which granted to his grace and his successors, pursuant to privy seal, dated thirteenth May, 1614, various denominations of lands and tenures of divers kinds, in Meath, Drogheda, Louth, Armagh, Tyrone, Londonderry, Monaghan and Down. The city of Armagh, all the see premises in the county of Armagh, and the Termon or Erenach lands of Clonfeacle, in the county of Tyrone, are specified in the grant. It also created the manor of Armagh, &c., with power to hold in the "newly created and in the ancient manors, such demesnes as he and his successors should think fit; to hold a court-baron and court-leet, within the manors of Armagh, Termonfechan, Ardtra, Donaghmore

(county Tyrone), Killmoone, Nobber (county Meath), Dromiskin, Innisheen, &c., to enjoy all waifs and strays; the seneschals of said manors to have power of Oyer and Terminer, concerning all offences and neglects, committed by any labourer or tradesman, within the premises, with right to grant warrants of replevin, &c., to appoint bailiffs, to issue process, to build and keep prisons; to make coroners, clerks of the market, and masters of assay; his grace and his tenants to be free from tolls and divers other customs; he to enjoy free warren, chase and park; free fishing in the Boyne: to have pillorie, tumbrel⁶ and thewe⁹ in Termonfechan, Dromiskin, Killmoon,⁴ in two parts of the manor of Nobber, and in half the manor of Kilclogher. The archbishop, from time to time, to permit the captain or constable of the fort of Charlemont, to possess and occupy the town and lands of Shanmullane, in the barony of Armagh, to his own use, so long as the crown should maintain a ward or garrison of soldiers, or a constable for the defence of the said fort and the adjacent country."

This grant was renewed on the third of July, 1620, with some additional tenures, amongst which is the circuit and precinct of the abbey, monastery, or house of Franciscan friars, in Armagh.^h

On the twelfth of July, 1620, a grant was made by the Crown to Sir Toby Caulfeild, knight, and master of the ordnance, which vested in him "the abbey or monastery of the Apostles Peter and Paul, or house of canons of Saint Augustine's Order, at Armagh, with the site thereof, and buildings thereon, the cemetery, garden and orchard on the east side thereof, extending near part of the house called the archbishop's court, by the way called Borenefeighy west, to and near the way called Boreen-trian-Sassanagh, by the abbey garden walls, to Temple-Columbkilly north; to the said garden walls, Columbkilly's chapel and the tenements of MacGillimurry, the sergeant of Ballymorries and Cadones, east, and to the dean's place and the archbishop's court, south, together with the stone building, a messuage and garden near Armagh," and various denominations of lands in several counties.

Another grant to the same effect contains a more copious description of part of the premises belonging to the abbey of Peter and Paul, in the following words:—"With the whole site thereof, in which

are a great church and certain stone bedchambers, on the west part of the same; the Dortor, with certain cellars under it; a hall called Halldarge; a storehouse called Tetasky, with certain stone bedchambers on the west part thereof, the great court and other necessary buildings adjoining; the cemetery, garden, and orchard on the east side of the abbey."

These edifices were situated in Abbey-street, nearly opposite to the site of the present library and infirmary.

About this period, new colonies of Scots settled in Ireland, and many of these people, professing the Presbyterian religion, became resident inhabitants of the county and city of Armagh. It is probable that Scotch-street, situated near the east entrance into the town, by the Hamilton's-Bawn and Newry roads, was completed by a colony of these Scots, and owes to them its name. The Catholic inhabitants are believed, about this period, to have principally resided in Irish street and the adjacent lanes. It is manifest that amongst a body of citizens thus divided into parties by religion, language, local position, and national prejudices, disunion and contention must have prevailed. Neither the genuine Irish, nor the Anglo-Irish, viewed the new "Settlement of Ulster" with a complacent eye. There is a tradition that the more idle part of the inhabitants of Irish-street, Callan-street, Castle-street, and the adjacent lanes, were accustomed to arm themselves, at stated times, with cudgels, and give battle to those of English-street, Market-street, and Scotch-street. This mischievous and inglorious warfare was transmitted to posterity, and preposterously continued long after those streets had ceased to be appropriated to any particular race of people."

On the twenty-fourth of March, 1625, an inquisition was held on the priory of the Culdees of Armagh, by which it appeared that the prior and the monks had long ago totally forsaken the premises. The survivors of this religious community had died about the year 1600. Sir Toby Caulfeild, seneschal to the primate, had, about that period, received the rents of seven ballyboes, belonging to the priory. It appeared also that John Symons, clerk, had received the profits from the Feast of All Souls, 1623, till the day of the inquisition, and had expended part of it in erecting stalls in the choir of the cathedral.

The priory of the Culdees is, probably, that of which Camden speaks in the following terms:—"In this place (Armagh), about the year of our salvation 610, Columbane built a most famous monastery, out of which very many monasteries were propagated by his disciples, both in Britain and Ireland."

By an inquisition taken in the thirty-third of Henry VIII., it had been found that the religious of the priory of Colidei or Celidei, of Armagh, were incorporated by the name of the Prior and Colidei of Armagh; that said prior possessed seven ballyboes or townlands in the county, viz., Cannadisse, Lisleagh, Ennagsegurt, Aghaville, Lisvonnowe, Killenure, and Maghocarrol. Many other denominations of land, besides various tenements in the city of Armagh, and several rectories, are recited in the inquest as belonging to the establishment.

It is certain that the Culdees had continued to officiate in the choir of Armagh cathedral, in the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth. The learned Ussher says that they had performed divine service there in his memory. These were, perhaps, the last remnant of the Culdees in Ireland, or possibly in the British Isles. Ussher was born in the year 1580-1, and the survivor of the Armagh Culdees had departed this life, about the year 1600. We may, therefore, make a pretty accurate conjecture as to the time in which they had ceased to officiate in the choir of the cathedral.

On the fifteenth of December, 1627, King Charles, pursuant to letters which had issued under the privy seal, on the eighth of the preceding July, executed a grant to Archbishop Ussher, of various tracts of land in the counties of Armagh, Tyrone, Donegal, Fermanagh and Cavan. From the rents and profits of these lands, free schools were to be established and supported, in stated districts of these respective counties, viz. Mountnorris, Mountjoy, Donegal and Lisgoole.

A tract of land, supposed, in the grant, to contain seven hundred and twenty acres, was appropriated for the support of the master, who was to preside over the intended school at Mountnorris, in the county of Armagh. It was situated in Mavemacullen, Ballyvally, Mullaghmore, Bolton, Cornagally and Kilcon, various townlands of Loughgilly, barony of Lower Orier, county of Armagh.

To this endowment, the classical academy or school, now estab-

lished in the city of Armagh, owes its origin. Mountnorris would have been an obscure and inconvenient situation for such a seminary. In the capital of the county, it has flourished exceedingly, and has been found eminently useful, not only to the province of Ulster, but to the whole kingdom of Ireland.

On the twenty-third day of May, in the tenth year of his reign, King Charles, by letters patent, "ordained, that there shall be a company or college founded, anew, in the cathedral church of St. Patrick, Armagh, to consist of eight vicars-choral and one organist, to celebrate and administer divine service in the church of St. Patrick, Armagh, aforesaid, for ever, according to the laws and customs of said company." This company is styled, in the patent, "The College of King Charles, in the church of St. Patrick, Armagh." The vicars-choral, appointed in the document itself, were "Thomas Burton (clerke), John Tadpole, Anthony Staunton, Thomas Nawle, William Wetherley, Robert Fletcher, David Bolley and Alexander Vernon." The first organist was Richard Galway. The choir is formed into a body corporate and politic, to endure for ever, by the name of "The Vicars-choral and Organist of the college and church of St. Patrick, in Armagh, in the County of Armagh," and is to have perpetual succession. To this body corporate, various tracts of lands, which formerly belonged to the ancient priory of the Culdees, were granted by the charter.

¹ Brady. *Epis Succ.*, vol. i., p. 224. ² Ware's *Writers*, p. 103. ³ Cox, Appendix 9, p. 39. ⁴ King, p. 253. ⁵ O'Sullivan p. 210. ⁶ Leland, vol. ii., p. 436. ⁷ Hence the new corporations were highly disagreeable to the Roman Catholics, who styled them "tituli sine re, et figmenta sine rebus" — Cox, vol. ii., p. 23. ⁸ Tumbrel is an instrument of punishment which ought to be in every liberty that hath view of frank pledge for the correction of scolds and unquiet women — Cowel's *Law Dict.* ⁹ Thewe Georgius Grey, comes Cantii, clamat in maneriis de Bushton et Ayton, punire delinquentes, contra assisam panis et cervisie per tres vices, per amerciamenta et quarta vice pistores per Pilloriam, Braciatores, per Tumbrellam, et nixatrices per thewe, hoc est ponere eas super scabellum vocatum "A Cucking Stool" — (*Ex Pl. in itin. apud Cestr.* 14^o H. 7, Cowel's *Law Dict.*) Cucking Stools were used for the punishment of common scolds (communes nixatrices), who were indictable as public

nuisances, and, when convicted, were placed in a trebucket or cucking stool (*Savonar.* scolding stool). The ceremony terminated by ducking the offenders in water, hence it is now called "Ducking Stool" — *V. 6 mod.* 213. ¹ Hawk, P. C. 138. 200. ^{3d Inst. 219. By statute 51, Henry III., fraudulent bakers were punishable in the pillory. Brewers who made bad ale (mala cervisia) were placed in a tumbrel or cart of dung, as we learn from Doomsday-Book, and in Chester, so early as the reign of Edward the Confessor, "malam cervisiam facieas in cathedra ponebatur" — *3 Inst.* 219. *Seld. tit. shou.* b. 2. c. 5. § 3. ¹⁰ The Dortor (or Dortoir) was the common room where all the friars of the convent slept at night. Bailey's *Dict.* Tetasky is a corruption of the compound Irish word *Tigh taise*, the storehouse or treasury house. Halldarge is the oaken hall, *alla-darge*. ¹¹ Some of these ridiculous battles were fought, by boys and young men, so lately as the year 1773. The Irish street party}

anominated "The Rookery Boys," and one of these petty champions was slain in the street, on the steps leading into the church. Similar engagements took place in other towns. In Lurgan, the in-

habitants of Ballyblough used to combat with those who resided in the neighbourhood of Pound River. In Newry, the people of Ballyhot contended with those of High street, and this spirit of disunion and animosity was widely diffused.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

PRIMATE LOMBARD.—After finishing his studies in Louvain, he was elected to one of the chairs of theology in the University, and, in a few years, was recognised as one of the most learned divines of the age. It was undoubtedly his learning which induced Clement VIII. to appoint him to the see of Armagh. However, his correspondence which took place after his death, as to the advisability of appointing a native of Ulster as primate, that in spite of his undoubted piety and holiness, his appointment on the whole, agreeable to the wishes of the Irish. His absence from his country was looked on as detrimental to the interests of religion in this country. The election of the clergy of Armagh to him, the year after Lombard's death, that he remained in Rome during the course of his episcopate of twenty-four years, and never even once visited his diocese, was brought forward as an argument against the appointment of Anglo-Irish prelates to the see of Armagh.—*Cal. Doc. Ireland* (1606-8), p. 145.

In 1602, Clement VIII. appointed him to the Congregation *de Auxiliis*, which was formed to decide on the celebrated controversy about Grace, waged between the Dominicans and Jesuits. His reputation was carried on in the absence, and, on his death, after his sessions had been held in the city of Paul V., this pontiff ordered them to meet in the house of their primate, who drew up the Bull which was intended to condemn the propositions and declare the doctrine of the Church to which they adhered.—*Du Pin: Hist Eccles.*, p.

In a list of Irish Catholic bishops, drawn up by Sir John Davis, Primate Lombard is thus referred to:

1606. Nov. 12th, in Ulster.—Dr. Peter Lombard (Lombard), born at Waterford, beareth the title of primate of Ardmagh; he is now at the court of Rome, where he hath a pension from the Pope of 200 ducats by the month. He hath also the dignity of a provost in the cathedral church of Cambrai. *Cal. Doc. Ireland* (1606-8), p. 17.

In the following year (Nov. 10th, 1607) he offered his services on behalf of the exiled earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell.

Daniel O'Carroll to Earl of Tyrone. Received on the 8th of November his letter of October 20th. Could not refrain from weeping to hear those Lords so banished; but, on the other part, felt comfort in that they escaped the bloody and tyrannous hands of their enemies who sought their utter overthrow. Presently showed the letter to the Lord Primate (Lombard), who forthwith went to his Holiness, and advertised the same of all who knew well the matter before; and when the Lord Primate told that they should have been taken otherwise, the Pope answered that they should not only have been taken, but also lost their heads. His Holiness is most glad of their safe arrival, and the Lord Primate is most ready to employ himself and all his endeavours for them, if they pass this way for Spain.—*Cal. Doc. Ireland* (1606-8), p. 324.

In 1613, he wrote to the king of Spain, begging him to give some college or seminary, either in Spain or in Belgium, to the Irish Dominican novices, who were flocking over in numbers from Ireland to those countries, to pursue their studies.

(*Spic. Oss.*, vol. i., p. 126.) On the 20th of April the following year, James I. denounced him by name, in an address to the English parliament, for encouraging the Irish to send their children to the Catholic colleges on the continent.

As the exact date of the primate's death is not to be found in any historical work, we here give in full the mortuary notice of him from the *Liber Mortuorum* of the parish church of Santo Spirito in Sassia :

Paroecia S. Spiritus in Saxia de Urbe.

Universis præsentes inspecturis Fidem indubiam facio Ego infrascriptus Parochus Ecclesiæ Parochialis S. Spiritus in Saxia de Urbe qualiter in Libro Mortuorum pag. ut infra reperitur tenoris sequentis videlicet.

An. 1619 al 1652, pagina 31.

5 Settembre, 1625.

Pietro, figlio del qu. Giovanni Lombardi, Hibernese, Archivescovo Armacano, Primate di tutto il Regno di Hibernia, nativo della Città di Vuatterfodie, morì nella età sua di 70 anni, in circa nel Monte S. Onofrio, dopo ricevuto li SS. Sagramenti e il S. Giubileo, e fu seppellito nella nostra chiesa di sopra, nella cappella di S. Agostino, ove per testamento si lasciò.

In quorum fidem, etc.

Datum Romæ ex Aedibus Parochialibus, Hac die 24 Mensis Februarii, Anni 1900.

Parochus.

Joannes Monti.

The mortuary notice may be thus translated :—

"Peter, the son of John Lombard, an Irishman, archbishop of Armagh, primate of all the kingdom of Ireland, a native of the city of Waterford, died at the age of seventy years near Mount Onofrio, after having received the last sacraments and the Jubilee indulgence, and was buried in our church in the chapel of Saint Augustine, according to his last will and testament."

No monument, not even a simple marble slab, marks his last resting-place. The Curia, which he served so long and so well, forgot to inscribe his name above his grave; and so did the primatial see,

which there is no evidence he ever expressed a practical desire to visit.

b VICAR-GENERAL OF ARMAGH. — This was David Rothe, a native of Kilkenny, a distinguished author, afterwards bishop of Ossory. He had acted as secretary in Rome for some years to Dr. Lombard, and, in 1610, he returned to Ireland with the title of prothonotary and vicar general of Ossory, getting also the appointment from Dr. Lombard of vicar general of the diocese of Armagh. As vice primate, he convened a synod of the Ulster clergy in 1614, in which several regulations were made to renew ecclesiastical discipline. — (See Renchan: *Collections on Irish Church History*, p. 116, et seq.)

Rothe was made bishop of Ossory in 1618, but he still continued to act as vicar general of Armagh, for in 1624, in two letters to Propaganda, dated September 4th, he subscribes himself as *Vice-Primas totius Hiberniæ*. The appointment of a native of Ulster would have been far more pleasing to the clergy and laity of that province, for, as the clergy of Armagh pointed out, in their petition to His Holiness in 1626, these extern vicars never resided in the province, but only visited them from time to time. — *Spic. Ossor.*, vol. i., p. 145.

c PRIMATE MAC CAWELL. — For the branches and territories of the Mac Cawell sept, see the *Index* of the *Annals of Ulster*, v. Mac Cathmail.

Hugh MacCawell is said to have been born at Saul, barony of Lecale, county Down, and to have acted as tutor to Henry and Hugh O'Neill, sons to the earl of Tyrone, by his first marriage. On Lombard's death, a strong petition from the earl of Tyrone, in favour of Hugh MacCawell as his successor, was presented to the Holy See. In this petition, he referred to the inconvenience arising from the appointment of anyone except a native of Ulster. — *Spic. Ossor.*, vol. i., p. 140.

Wadding says he was appointed on the seventeenth of March; that he was consecrated at St. Isidore's with Thomas Walsh, archbishop of Cashel, by Cardinal Gabriel de Trejo. — (Wadding's *Annals*,

ad an. 1254, No. 46, Tom. 3, p. 362.) The date in the text is taken from Brady.

A proof of the esteem in which the Franciscans were held by the clergy of Armagh, at this period, lies in the fact, that on Mac Cawell's death, the clergy, in their petition to His Holiness, sent forward four names for the succession, of whom one was Edmund, bishop of Down and Connor, and the other three, Fathers Robert Chamberlain, Henry O'Mellan, and Bonaventure Magennis, all three Franciscans.

d CATHOLIC CLERGY OF ARMAGH.—1615, Sept. 30.—They (the commissioners) began their labours at Armagh; and first, in the church there, which was most ruined and fallen into decay, they found a number of priests, all ordained by foreign authority, and holding their dignities and prebends by Bulls from Rome, not one man amongst them disposed to celebrate divine service according to His Majesty's laws. They found also that certain tithes of great value, intended for the support of a college of 22 vicars choral of that church, were demised in lease, by Mr. Wood, the dean, without any lawful authority. For redress of these enormities, they have directed the Lord Primate, the Archbishop of that see, and then in their company, with all speed to place a sufficient number of ministers to serve in that church according to His Highness's injunctions, and also have admonished and enjoined himself, who is well able to speak their language, to repair thither in person on every summer season, and there to reside for three or four months, to instruct the people by his preaching, and to reform a number of abuses amongst them. They have likewise caused him to sequester the tithes and profits of that college, to be reserved for the maintenance of some poor scholars of that province (whereof already they have chosen a few that are of some towardness), to be placed in a college near Dublin, until a competent number of ministers may be provided and placed there to attend the service of that church.—*Cal. Doc. Ireland* (1603-6), p. 317.

The following extract will show how the

Catholics were worried with fines for not attending Protestant services. The £1000 per annum meant ten times as much as it would mean at the present day:—

1622. August 11th.—The King to Falkland.—Having granted to the Archbishop of Armagh the sole power for collecting the recusants' [Catholics who refused to attend Protestant service] fines in Ireland, to be distributed by him to those uses for which they were appointed at his discretion. And having been after informed by him, that the sums that have hitherto been so collected have fallen short of what he (the King) expected, and the Archbishop having offered to resign the grant whenever required, he (the King) authorises him, on his arrival in Ireland, to receive his surrender of the grant; but still to pay so much yearly to the Archbishop as the fines came to his hands, being, according to his own acknowledgment, near £1,000 per annum, to be disposed by him to such pious uses as he in his discretion shall think fit, without any account to be rendered thereof.—*Cal. Doc. Ireland* (1615-25), p. 388.

In face of this evidence, what are we to think of Leland's assertion that these fines at this time were levied only in the county of Dublin, and that altogether they did not amount to more than £14 or £15 per annum? For the latter assertion he quotes Lord-Deputy Chichester.—*Hist. of Irel.*, vol. ii., p. 439.

e AN ACCOUNT OF THE PLANTERS. —We here give as a note, Stuart's *Appendix XXI.*, which will be found in the original edition, at p. 636, et seq.: By the flight of Tyrone and O'Donnell, and the destruction of Sir Cahir O'Dogherty's party, upwards of 800,000 English acres of land were forfeited to the Crown, in the province of Ulster. James I. soon determined to apportion out that vast tract, partly to English and Scotch Protestant settlers, partly to servitors (soldiers who had served in Ireland) and natives, and partly to the established church, the national university (Trinity College), and free schools. He endeavoured also to give a preponderance to the Protestants, in

parliament, by the formation of new boroughs, and by prescribing oaths to the electors which Catholics were restricted from swearing by the tenets of their religion.

The lands of the settlers were divided into portions of 2000, 1500, and 1000 English acres. A small yearly rent was reserved to the Crown. The undertakers were to be of three distinct sorts. 1st, English and Scotch settlers, who were to locate Englishmen and Scots on the lands; 2nd, Servitors in Ireland, who might take English or Irish tenants, *ad libitum*; 3rd, Native freeholders of the country. For a minute account of the nature of this settlement, we refer the reader to Harris's *Hibernica* and Pinnar's *Survey*.

In the county of Armagh the state of the plantation, in the year 1619, was as follows:

In the precincts of Oneilland, a portion of land, estimated at 1500 acres, belonged to William Brownlow, Esq., viz., Dowcoran (Dougher, parish of Shankhill, barony of Oneilland East), 500 acres; and Ballenemony, 1000 acres. At Dowcoran, a good mansion-house was erected, encircled with a palisade, and fortified by a strong bawn of timber and earth—another stone-house at Ballenemony (Ballynamony, in parish of Seagoe, barony of Oneilland East). Mr. Brownlow also founded a town of forty-two houses, which he peopled with English families. The streets were paved, and kept remarkably clean, and two water-mills and a windmill were constructed in the neighbourhood for the benefit of the settlement. On his estate, Mr. Brownlow located fifty-seven principal British families, who had several sub-tenants under them, all of whom had taken the oath of supremacy. There were no Irish families on the premises. Such was the origin of the flourishing settlement in the populous district which surrounds Lurgan—a beautiful town which at present is nearly a mile in length, and contains 379 houses and 2,207 inhabitants.

Sir Oliver St. John, knight, had 1000 acres in Kernan (parish of Seagoe, barony of Oneilland East), on which were two

moated and very strong bawns of timber. In each of these was a house of wattle and plaster, inhabited by an English family. Near the bawn were five houses, inhabited also by English families. The remainder of the colony was dispersed over the land, in which there was located in all seventeen British families, viz., five freeholders, eight lessees for years, and four cottagers, with their under-tenants. They were able to muster thirty men in arms, thirteen of whom had taken the oath of supremacy. To this establishment, we trace that prosperous colony at the manor of Kernan, &c., between Knockbridge and Lurgan.

In Ballnevoran (Ballyoran, parish of Drumcree, barony of Oneilland West), of which William Powell was first patentee, there were 2000 acres in possession of Mr. Ohyns, ancestor of the ancient family which, for two centuries, have been proprietors of the Portadown estate. Here was a sod bawn, palisaded with boards, and secured with a ditch. A brick mansion-house was erected at Ballnevoran, and at a short distance there were four houses inhabited by English families. On this estate there were five freeholders, fifteen lessees for years, and four cottagers. They and their under-tenants mustered forty-six armed men. Such was the original settlement of the Protestant colony of Portadown.

The Lord Say was the first patentee of the lands of Derrycravv and Drumully (Derrycrew and Drumilly). These have been, during two centuries, the property of the ancient family of the Copes, whose ancestor possessed 3000 acres in that district, on which he erected a stone-and-lime bawn, one hundred and eighty feet square, and fourteen feet in height, with four flankers. In three of these, were habitations three stories high. Near the bawn were fourteen houses inhabited by two English families, and accommodated with two water-mills and a windmill. On the estate he located six freeholders, thirty-four lessees for years, and seven cottagers, who, as well as their under-tenants, were all English, and able to muster eighty

armed men. Such was the origin of the Protestant colony in the thickly inhabited district of Drumilly and Loughgall, &c. This was, for a considerable time, the most flourishing and the most defensible plantation in Ulster; but, on the 23rd of May, 1643, Loughgall was burned in a battle fought by the Scottish general, Monro, with Sir Phelim O'Neill and Owen Roe O'Neill.

At Semore, Richard Rolleston had a 1000 acres, on which was a sod bawn, palisaded and moated around, with a house in the interior, inhabited by an English family. Near the bawn were nine houses, occupied by English tenants. On the estate were two freeholders and eight lessees for years, who, with their under-tenants, mustered twenty-four armed men.

At Aghavellan (Richmount, parish of Drumree, barony of Oneilland West) and Brochus (Brughas, parish of Tartaraghan, barony of Oneilland West), John Heron possessed 2000 acres, on which he had erected two earthen bawns, which he palisaded and fenced with a ditch. Near these he built houses in which he located English families. On this estate were thirteen British families who, with their under-tenants, mustered twenty-six armed men.

At Kannagoolan, William Stanhawe possessed 1500 acres, which he neglected to settle. The land was inhabited with native Irish.

Francis Sacheverell, Esq., possessed 2000 acres at Mullalelish (parish of Kilmore, barony of Oneilland West), and Legacorry, which are the hereditary property of the ancient family of the Richardsons. Here were three British freeholders and eighteen lessees for years, who, with their under-tenants, mustered fifty armed men. Such was the commencement of the flourishing colony of Richhill, formerly called Legacorry.

At Mullaghbane (parish of Loughgall, bar. of Oneilland West), John Dillon, Esq., had 1500 acres, on which he built a bawn of stone and lime, and located twenty-nine English families, who, with their under-

tenants, mustered forty armed men. They resided together in two villages, which they built for their own accommodation. In this establishment we trace the origin of the Protestant colony which settled at Hockley, Drummond, Killuny, Grange, &c., on the hereditary estate of the very ancient family of Molyneux, of Castledillon—the lineal descendants of the illustrious race of Howards.

In the precincts of the Fews, allotted to Scotch undertakers, Henry Acheson, Esq., possessed 1000 acres at Coolmillish (parish of Mullaghbrack, barony of Lower Fews). Here was a stone-and-clay bawn, one hundred and forty feet in length, and eighty in breadth with four flankers. In the interior was a house, partly formed of stone and lime and partly of timber. There were on the land nineteen tenants, who, with their sub-tenants, mustered thirty armed men, and were actively employed in agricultural pursuits.

At Magharientim (Macantrim, parish of Mullaghbrack, barony of Lower Fews), of which James Craig was the first patentee, John Hamilton, Esq., possessed 1000 acres, on which was a stone-and-clay bawn, sixty feet square and twelve feet high, with two flankers. On the estate he located twenty Scotch families, who, with their tenants, mustered thirty armed men.

At Killyruddan (parish of Mullaghbrack, barony of Lower Fews), of which William Lander was the first patentee, John Hamilton possessed 1000 acres. On the estate was a bawn similar to the last mentioned, with a house in the interior, and seven other habitations in the neighbourhood, occupied with Scotch tenants. Seventeen Scotch families were located on the land, and mustered thirty armed men.

In Enagh (parish of Kilclooney, barony of Lower Fews), Claude Hamilton had 500 acres. He had transferred the residue of his grant (500 acres) to the dean and chapter of Armagh. On this estate was a stone-and-clay bawn, pointed with lime, and near it six houses, occupied by Scotch tenants. There were in all ten Scotch families on the lands, who, with their

under-tenants, mustered twenty-two armed men.

At Clancarry, Sir Archibald Acheson possessed 2000 acres, of which Sir James Douglas was the first patentee. Here was a stone-and-lime bawn, one hundred feet in length, eighty feet broad, and ten feet high. Here also Sir Archibald built a castle eighty feet in length and twenty-two in width. Near the bawn were seven houses, occupied by Scotch tenants. On the estate he located twenty-nine Scotch families, who, with their sub-tenants, mustered one hundred and forty-four armed men. He built, also, a town called Cloncarney, where twenty-nine Scotch tenants resided, who were accommodated with small tracts of land attached to their dwelling-houses. These were able to muster twenty-nine armed men; so that Sir Archibald could then have brought into the field one hundred and seventy-three men, all resident inhabitants of his own lands. In the settlements formed by the Achesons and the Hamiltons, we trace the origin of the flourishing colonies of Markethill, Hamilton's-bawn, Mullabrack, &c., &c. To the same Achesons we trace the noble family of Gosford.

In the precincts of Orier, allotted to servitors and natives, Sir John Davies, knight, had 500 acres at Cornechino, on which he had neither built a house nor located tenants.

At Ballymore (parish of Ballymore, barony of Lower Orier), Sir Oliver St. John possessed 1500 acres. The town situated on his land was in a state of progressive improvement, and inhabited chiefly with English tenants. Here were also nine Irish families, whose members frequented the established church and had taken the oath of supremacy. In this settlement we trace the origin of the Protestant colony of Ballymore and Tanderagee.

At Tanderagee, one branch of the noble family of O'Hanlons had formerly erected their mansion-house or castle in the centre of a country which then belonged to them as chiefs of the clan; but they had been deprived of this property.

At Ballimonehan (Kilmonaghan, parish

of Killeavy, barony of Lower Orier), the Lord Moore had 1000 acres, on which was a stone-and-lime bawn, nearly one hundred feet square, with two flankers. In one of these was a house, inhabited by an Irishman. In this establishment, we believe, the Protestant colony at Drumbanagher (parish of Killeavy, barony of Lower Orier), which has since flourished so exceedingly under the ancient family of the Moores, had its origin.

[Towards the end of 1807, Moore, Macan & Foxall opened a bank in Newry. The first partners were John Moore, Robert Macan and Joseph Foxall. John Moore (son of John Moore, M.P.) was of Drumbanagher. He was M.P. for Ballinakill, 1777—83 and 1783—90; Lisburn, 1790—97; and Newry, 1797—1800.

Moore's bank, after some years, came to grief, and, in consequence of this failure, the Drumbanagher property had to be sold and came into the hands of the Close family, who are the present owners]

At Clare (parish of Ballymore, barony of Lower Orier), Henry Bouchier, Esq., possessed 2000 acres, on which was a stone-and-lime bawn, one hundred feet long, eighty broad, and fourteen high. Here Mr. Bouchier built a strong stone-house, which, we believe, was situated where Clare castle now stands. In this settlement we find the commencement of the Protestant colony at the village of Clare and its vicinity.

One thousand acres, in the precincts of Orier, were possessed by Captain Anthony Smith. On these lands Sir Thomas Williams had begun a stone-and-clay bawn; but Captain Smith erected another in a more convenient place, eighty feet square, with two flankers and a good stone-and-lime house.

At Curriator (Poyntzpass, a village in parish of Ballymore, barony of Lower Orier), Lieut. Sir T. Pointz possessed a tract of land, with a bawn of eighty feet square, and a house. On this he erected another bawn, one hundred feet square, and a brick-and-lime house. This appears to have been the first settlement at Poyntzpass. The ancient family of the Halls, of

Narrow-water, are descended, we believe, on the maternal side, from a branch of the Pointz family.

At Camlough (a village, called from lake of same name, parish of Killeavy, barony of Upper Orier), 1000 acres had been in possession of Henry MacShane O'Neill; but after his decease, it was in the hands of Sir Toby Caulfeild, who intended to improve and plant the lands.

[There are twelve townlands, called the twelve townlands of Camlough. These passed into the hands of Sir Toby Caulfeild,

ancestor of the earl of Charlemont. Some time ago they were sold by the earl of Charlemont to John Grubb Richardson, The manufacturing town of Bessbrook stands on this estate.

The twelve townlands are:—Cross, Carrickbrackan, Carrickcroppan, Keggall, Lissaraw, Carrickcloghan, Eshwary, Ballynalack, Maghernahely, Clogharevan, and probably Sturgan and Aghmakane.

These are sometimes, in old books, called the twelve towns of the Coghall (Keggall)].

1611—THE GRANTS TO THE ENGLISH UNDERTAKERS IN THE COUNTY ARMAGH.

Precincts	Proportions	Acres	Undertakers.	Acres
Oneylan (Oneilland)	Great	4	Earl of Worcester	...
	Middle	3	Lord Say	...
	Small	4	Powell	...
			Sacheverell	...
			John Heron, gent.	...
			Stanhawe	...
			John Dillon, gent.	...
			Brownlow	...
			William Brownlow	...
			Machett, gent.	...
			Rolleston	...
— <i>Cal. Doc. Ireland</i> (1611—14), p. 201.				16,500

1611—THE GRANTS TO THE SCOTCH UNDERTAKERS IN THE COUNTY ARMAGH.

Precincts	Proportions	Acres	Undertakers.	Acres
Fews	Great	1	Sir James Douglas	...
	Middle	0	Claude Hamilton	...
	Small	4	William Lander	...
			James Craig	...
			Henry Acheson	...
— <i>Cal. Doc. Ireland</i> (1611—14), p. 202.				6,000

Corporate Towns and Free Schools	Acres
Colleges (Trinity College)	730
				6,000

f CHURCHES DESTROYED IN ULSTER.—An Englishman, whose name was Cromwell, came with an army to the city of Down, and set fire to the noble church and monastery of St. Patrick. . . . He burned all the other churches in Ultonia in the regions of Down and Antrim, very few of which have since been restored.

I have been told by my grandfather that he was a witness of this sacrilegious incendiarism, and further, that all the churches, previous to that consumption, were lightly roofed and highly adorned with sacred statues and images. Our natives gave him the name of *Maol-na-tsampull* [leveller of churches].—*Itinerary of Father Edmund MacCana*, written 1643.

To this, Dr. Reeves has the following note:—Cromwell came over in the reign of James I., and was captain of an independent troop at Down. He was descended from Lord Cromwell, earl of Essex, in the reign of Henry VIII.

g AVARICIOUS BISHOPS.—1612. April 29th.—Amongst others, his majesty has taken particular knowledge of the waste which has been made by long leases, at extreme under rents, of the lands of the bishopric of Derry, by Doctor Babington, late bishop of that see, a man very much commended unto him when he advanced him to that dignity, but in proof not so worthy of it, having shown himself so greedy for the profit of himself and some about him, and so careless of the good estate of his successors. The archbishop

of Armagh too, and, as the king is credibly informed, some others are forward enough to follow that pernicious example. Sir Arthur therefore is to lay the king's express command upon the said archbishop, and all others whom it may concern, to forbear from making any future grants or long leases of their possessions to the impoverishing of their churches, and to let them know that, if any shall presume contemptuously to disobey him therein, he shall hold them unworthy of any favour, and will proceed against them as manifest contemners of his royal power. And Sir Arthur is to countenance such private persons as shall institute proceedings to make void these bishops' unreasonable grants, many of which are probably void in law.—*Cal. Doc. Ireland* (1611—14), p. 264.

h BANISHMENT OF FRIARS.—1611.—An act that all friars and monks and nuns shall be expelled out of their dissolved houses where, for the most part, they still keep and hover; and if those persons to whom the king has given or let those houses or lands, with intent they should convert them to better uses, by planting and peopling the same, shall, by negligence or otherwise, suffer them to continue there contrary to his law, or shall participate in their abominable lures of supposed offerings or oblations, as many do, they shall forfeit their estate to the king, and endure fine and imprisonment.—*Cal. Doc. Ireland* (1611—14), p. 189.





CHAPTER XV.

THE RISING IN ULSTER IN 1641.

Primate Hugh O'Reilly—He takes a large Share in the political events of his day—The Catholic Confederates in Kilkenny—Oath of Association—The Rising in Ulster under Sir Phelim O'Neill—Scotch Troops sent into the country under Robert Monroe—Cruelties on both sides—Sir Phelim O'Neill burns Armagh Cathedral—Owen Roe O'Neill—Battle of Benburb—Trial and Execution of Sir Phelim O'Neill.

Supplementary Notes.—Primate Hugh O'Reilly—Causes of the Rising in 1641—Castle of Charlemont—Cruelty of Monroe at Newry—English Account of the Battle of Benburb—Character of Sir Phelim O'Neill.



ISHOP HUGH O'REILLY,^a of Kilmore, succeeded Hugh Mac Cawell in the primacy, and was translated from Kilmore to Armagh, on the fifth of May, 1628.^b He was a doctor of Civil and Canon Law, but little or no opportunity occurred for the display of his literary talents, during the greater part of the time in which he exercised primatial rights.

Ireland was then rent with internal factions and all the horrors of civil war. In the political movements of the day, Primate O'Reilly was very active. In March, 1642, he summoned the bishops and clergy of the Province of Ulster to a synod in Kells, in which the war then carried on by the Irish was declared lawful and pious. The nation was called upon to unite in so righteous a cause, but plunderers and murderers were denounced in terms of execration.

In the month of May, of that year, a general synod of the

We must now give a short account of the rising of the northern Irish, and of the war which followed as far as it affected Ulster. On Saturday, the twenty-third of October, 1641, the Irish rebellion commenced with a sudden insurrection of a part of the people in Ulster. The causes of this formidable revolt^b form a subject of curious inquiry, but it is utterly impossible, that a matter of such intricacy and importance could be discussed in the bounds allotted to the present history.

On the evening of the twenty-second of October, Sir Phelim O'Neill,³ of Kinnard, surprised and pillaged the castle of Charlemont^c and made Lord Caulfeild, the governor, with his family and the whole garrison, prisoners. He had invited himself to sup with this gallant officer, and thus gained admission for his followers. After this exploit, he seized on the town and fort of Dungannon, whilst some of his associates surprised the castle of Mountjoy. Tanderagee was then taken possession of by the O'Hanlons; Newry, by Conn Magennis, who found there a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition. Lord Blaney's house was unexpectedly assailed and carried, and his wife, with his seven children and two sisters, made prisoners. Roger, brother to Lord Maguire, soon became master of the greater part of the county of Fermanagh, and the ancient sept of the Mac Mahons, took possession of every stronghold in the county of Monaghan. In less than eight days, the insurgents were predominant in the counties of Tyrone, Monaghan, Longford, Leitrim, Fermanagh, Cavan, Donegal and Derry; and in a considerable part of Armagh and Down. The towns of Derry, Coleraine, Lisburn, Carrickfergus and Enniskillen resisted their attempts.

Sir Phelim O'Neill soon found himself at the head of thirty thousand men. In conjunction with Maguire, he formed a camp at Newry, and on the fifth of November, published a declaration, or address, to the people, in which he asserted that he had acted under the king's commission, with the great seal appended. To give this ruse the semblance of truth, a seal had been removed from an old patent, found at Lord Charlemont's castle, and this had been annexed to a forged commission.⁴

Sir Phelim O'Neill's chief northern associates in this insurrection,

were Torlogh O'Neill, his brother, Brian O'Neill, Roger Maguire, Philip O'Reilly, Maelmore O'Reilly, Sir Conn Magennis, Col MacBrien and MacMahon.

It is totally impracticable to give, in this historic narrative, a detailed account of the horrible acts perpetrated by the contending parties, in the progress of the insurrection.⁵ Lurgan castle, which was surrendered by Sir William Brownlow, was pillaged by the insurgents: dreadful barbarities were committed in the neighbourhood of Augher. Lord Charlemont was slain in Kinnard castle, Sir Phelim O'Neill's family mansion, to which he had been conveyed a prisoner. Many persons were drowned in the river Bann; many others in the Blackwater. At Loughgall, Kilmore, Grange, Killyman and various other districts in the neighbourhood of Armagh, most inhuman murders were perpetrated by the insurgents. On the other hand, Sir Charles Coote, Sir William St. Leger, Captains Pearsely, Brown, and others, infamously signalized themselves by the most atrocious barbarities, and thus disgraced the Protestant troops which they respectively commanded.⁶

In the year 1642, the English parliament determined to send a body of Scotch troops into Ireland. Of these, 2,500 men were, in the first instance, destined to resist the progress of the Irish in Ulster. This corps was to be put in possession of Carrickfergus, and was to wait the arrival of the whole force, amounting to ten thousand men. About the middle of April, the first detachment arrived at Carrickfergus, under Robert Monroe, and on the twenty-seventh of the same month, one body of his troops moved to Malone, where they were joined by one thousand foot, three troops of light horse and two of dragoons, under Lord Conway and Colonel Chichester. On the twenty-ninth, they marched to Lisburn, where they were reinforced with eight hundred foot and two troops of cavalry, belonging to Lords Claneboy and Ards. Monroe, with a part of this force, defeated a body of Irish, under the Lord of Iveagh, at Kilwarlin, slew one hundred and fifty of his opponents, and on the thirtieth of April, arrived at Loughbrickland, where he killed sixty of the insurgents. On the third of May, he advanced towards Newry, but, as he approached the town, his progress was arrested by some Irish troops,

DON EUGENIO O'NEILL.



Browne & Nolan, Lith.

OWEN ROE O'NEILL,

COMMANDANT OF ARRAS FOR KING PHILIP IV., 1640,
GENERAL OF THE IRISH ARMY OF ULSTER, 1642-1649.

From an original Dutch painting.

of strong passions and disordered imaginations. On such testimony who can rely? In many of the examinations, signed by the commissioners, and now deposited in Trinity College, Dublin, and said to be on oath, the pen has been evidently drawn through the words, "being duly sworn," and in others, various parts of the documents are crossed out. Neither are the cruelties, said to have been perpetrated by the Protestants on the Catholics, to be implicitly believed. That three thousand innocent persons were murdered, in one night, in the small district of Island Magee, is utterly incredible. At present the whole population of that island amounts only to 1,931 persons.

After this period, the people of Ulster were afflicted with a dreadful famine. In the month of June, the Scots, reinforced by Sir John Clotworthy, scoured the whole county of Antrim, with 3,450 soldiers, a troop of dragoons, and four of light horse. The castle of Dunluce was surrendered to them by the marquis of Antrim. Having garrisoned this fort, the Scots marched through Armagh, to Charlemont, whilst Clotworthy proceeded by Toome, through the barony of Loughinsholin. In the course of their march, they found the Irish reduced to dreadful famine. The Scots, unable to procure a sufficient supply of provisions in the neighbourhood of Armagh and Charlemont, were obliged to return without having attempted to storm the fort.

A spirited and adventurous garrison of Irish troops occupied Charlemont. These men, not satisfied with carrying on a merely defensive war, built a little fleet of boats, with which they sailed down the Blackwater, into Lough Neagh, and plundered the adjacent country. Their predatory excursions were observed by Sir John Clotworthy's regiment, which had erected a fort at Toome. Immediately, they built a boat of twenty tons' burden, and furnished it with six brass guns. This was accompanied by seven smaller boats, and the whole flotilla was manned with three hundred men, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Owen Connolly and Captain Longford. Thus prepared, these officers sailed over the lake, landed at the mouth of the Blackwater, raised and manned two small forts and then returned. The Irish, however, contrived to pass the forts

in dark nights and plunder the country. Nay, they rapidly erected a fort, at Clanbrassil, to protect their fleet in any sudden emergency. To counteract these measures, Connolly and Longford manned their little navy, and met the Irish flotilla near the shore of Clanbrassil. A naval battle ensued. The Irish were routed, driven on shore, followed to the fort and there compelled to surrender. Sixty of them were slain; sixty more taken prisoners; and their fleet itself was captured and brought by the victors in triumph to Antrim.

In 1643, a considerable portion of the country, in the neighbourhood of Armagh, remained in possession of the Irish army, then commanded by the famous Owen Roe O'Neill, grand nephew to Hugh, earl of Tyrone, aided by Sir Phelim O'Neill. These generals were attacked by Monroe, at Loughgall, in the month of May, and driven by him from their station to Charlemont. Loughgall, which was then not only the most tenable post in that vicinity, but the most thriving plantation in Ulster, was taken and burned by the victors.

About the end of May, 1646, Owen Roe approached Armagh, at the head of five thousand foot and five hundred horse. Monroe, who was then stationed within ten miles of the city, arrived there with eight hundred horse and six thousand foot, at midnight, on the fourth of June. Meanwhile, Owen Roe, aware of his advance, had encamped his troops at Benburb, between two small hills. The rear of his army was protected by a wood, and the right by the river Blackwater. Here Monroe determined to attack him, and for this purpose, marched at the head of his troops, on the fifth of June. He had ordered his brother, George Monroe, to proceed expeditiously with his corps from Coleraine, and to join him at Glasslough, or Benburb. Owen Roe, aware of this movement, had despatched Colonels Bernard Mac Mahon and Patrick MacNeny, with their regiments, to prevent the junction of this force with Monroe; a commission which, MacGeoghegan says, they executed to the satisfaction of their commander. Monroe himself passed the river, at a ford near Kinnard (Caledon), and marched towards Benburb. As he advanced, he was met by Colonel Richard O'Farrell, who occupied a strait, through which it was necessary for him to pass, but the fire of

his cannon compelled that commander, after a short encounter, to retreat. And now the two armies met in order of battle. The wary Owen Roe amused his enemy, during several hours, with various manœuvres and trivial skirmishes, until the sun, which, at first, had been favourable to the Scots, began to descend in the rear of the Irish troops, and shed a dazzling glare on their enemies. The detachment which Owen Roe had sent against George Monroe was seen returning towards the hostile armies. The Scottish general, at first, imagined that this was the expected reinforcement from Coleraine, but, when he perceived his error, he prepared instantly to retreat. Owen Roe, however, seized the opportunity with the promptitude of an experienced commander, and charged the Scots and English with the most determined valour. The gallant Lord Blayney, at the head of an English regiment, made a noble defence. He fell combatting with the most undaunted resolution, and his men maintained their ground, till they were hewn to pieces, around their beloved commander. Meanwhile the Scottish cavalry was broken by Owen Roe's horse, and a general rout ensued. A regiment, indeed, commanded by Colonel Montgomery, retreated with some regularity; but the rest of the English troops fled in total disorder. Lord Montgomery, twenty-one officers and one hundred and fifty soldiers were taken prisoners; 3,243 men were slain on the field of battle, and many perished the succeeding day in the rout. Monroe fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving his artillery, tents and baggage with the greater part of his arms, booty and provisions, to the enemy. Colonel Conway, accompanied by Captain Burke, also escaped to Newry, after having had two horses slain under him, in his flight. Owen Roe O'Neill lost in this battle, only seventy men killed and two hundred wounded.⁸⁶

On the fourth of October, 1652, a high court of justice was held at Kilkenny, for the trial of such persons as had been accused of the commission of barbarous murders, in the rebellion. This was followed by another which was held in Dublin, and here Sir Phelim O'Neill, who had burned Armagh, and was accused of complicity in horrid atrocities in Ulster, was arraigned, tried, condemned and sentenced for execution. He had concealed himself in an obscure island,

were in great need of episcopal vigilance. Great efforts had been made to withdraw the people from the Catholic faith, in which work, Dr. James Ussher, the Protestant primate, was showing himself peculiarly active. For ten years, Dr. O'Reilly laboured incessantly to defeat the efforts of Ussher, and at the end of that period, was rejoiced to find that his Catholic flock had multiplied, that chapels had sprung up in every direction, and that the tide of conversions was on his side. There is reason to believe that among the converts he reckoned either children or, at least, other relatives of former Protestant bishops, and it is certain that some of the descendants of Primate Ussher himself returned at a later period to the bosom of the Catholic Church. —*Rehahan*, p. 41.

In July, 1632, O'Reilly held a Provincial Synod, in which it was resolved to supplicate the Holy See that the bishops of the northern province might respectively obtain one parish for their support, as their income did not at this time exceed £160 per annum. —*Spic. Ossor.*, vol. i., p. 206.

This was the origin of the system of *mental parishes*, from which the income of the bishops throughout the country has been since mainly supplied.

In the following year, he proposed a *doubt* to the Holy See which throws a last lingering light on the Culdees. The Chapter of Armagh consisted of only five persons, viz., dean, archdeacon, theologian, precentor, and treasurer. The Chapter itself, as well as the primate, feeling that this was too small a number, the latter incorporated with it the twelve priests belonging to the *College of the Culdees*, with the proviso that they should begin once more the ancient practice of singing the Divine Office in common, as their predecessors did in the cathedral of Armagh. He also stated that he himself had been elected prior of the college of the Culdees. His *doubt* was whether he had acted in accordance with Canon Law. How the matter ended we are unable to say. —*Ibid.*, p. 187.

On the 17th of May, 1637, he held a

provincial synod, in which it was resolved to petition the Holy See to unite several of the northern dioceses, as the income of bishops had been reduced from year to year, till at that time it did not generally exceed £60 per annum. The unions proposed were Meath and Clonmacnoise; Kilmore and Ardagh; Derry and Raphoe; Dromore and Down and Connor. —*Ibid.*, p. 221.

Writing, in October, 1637, to Edmund O'Dwyer, his agent in Rome, afterwards bishop of Limerick, he relates how in the summer he was imprisoned for a fortnight in Dublin Castle, with great injury to his health. He signs himself by the pseudonym of Dill. Bitagh. —*Ibid.*, p. 228.

In 1640, he writes a warm letter in favour of the Dominican Order in Ireland. —*Ibid.*, p. 248.

On the 18th of May, 1649, he wrote a letter from Owen Roe O'Neill's camp at Cavan to His Holiness, declaring that the great majority of the clergy and some of the Catholic nobility were in favour of continuing the war. The letter was also subscribed by Owen Roe and others. —*Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 33.

About the same time, Sir Phelim O'Neill, who at this time was in correspondence with Ormonde, writes, complaining that the primate had excommunicated all his garrison at the fort of Charlemont, and forbidden any priest to say Mass for them, and that Owen Roe had encamped his army near it in order to seize it. —*Gilbert: Affairs in Ireland, 1641—52*, vol. ii., p. 208.

On the 4th of December of the same year, Primate O'Reilly and nineteen other archbishops and bishops assembled in synod at Clonmacnoise, and exhorted the people and the Catholic army to persevere in the "just war they had undertaken for their religion, their king and their country." At the request of Ormonde, twenty-four bishops, with the primate at their head, also met at Loughrea for a similar purpose, in March and April, 1650. He likewise presided at the episcopal assembly, held in the Franciscan Convent of Jamestown, county Leitrim, on the 6th of August, 1650, and several following days. In the

session, held on the 11th August, the assembly appointed six commissioners, whom they invested with full powers to transact all business relating to the religion and general welfare of the nation and the royal cause. Galway was selected as the place of their residence, as Connaught was the only part of the country where any considerable power remained at this time to the Catholics,—Renahan, p. 46.

In 1651, he convened a provincial synod at Cloghwater (Cloughouter, the strong castle, situated on an island in Lough Oughter, where Dr. Bedel, Protestant bishop of Kilmore, had been confined), which held its sessions from July 29th till August 4th. Many strong measures were passed for the purpose of carrying on the war, and resolutions taken against those Catholics who were for giving in. His principles brought him into conflict with some of the other prelates of the country who were in favour of peace.—Gilbert: *Affairs in Ireland, 1641—52*, vol. ii., p. 182. In pursuance of the statutes made at Cloghwater, the primate issued a monition to the Ulster regiments on February 9th, 1652. In this, he threatens with excommunication all colonels, commanders and officers who disobey the Lord General and remain away from the rendezvous. Among those cited by the excommunication we find the name of Sir Phelim O'Neill.—*Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 282.

Dr. Renahan very inaccurately describes the latter end of the primate's life, besides giving a wrong date for his death. He says that after leaving Galway, he returned to his diocese, to provide for the spiritual wants of his diocese, and then speaks of him as flying from Cromwellian persecution. In this crisis of the history of our country, the primate had wider interests than even the wants of his diocese. For some time he was the real leader in the war which the Ulster Irish were carrying on to the bitter end while the leaders in other provinces were surrendering to the enemy. He died fighting to the very end. We have seen that he was at Cloghwater, at that period a stronghold of the Irish, in

the February of 1652. On August 24th of the same year, he writes a letter to the Pope from the island of Innisboffin, off the west coast of Galway, which the Irish had strongly fortified. He tells him that there were still some thousands of Irish confederate soldiers in each of the four provinces who "had not bowed the knee to Baal," and who were ready to carry on the war for religion and country. He begs him to exhort the Duke of Lorraine to come over and assume the protectorate of Ireland. To this letter, besides the name of the primate, the signatures are appended of Eugene, bishop of Kilmore, Walter, bishop of Clonfert, William Burke, provincial of the Dominicans, Lord Iveagh, and Colonels Richard Farrell, Philip Reilly and John Burke.—*Spic. Ossor.*, vol. ii., p. 207.

From an interesting letter, dated at Brussels, December 14th of the same year, we learn the state of the island and what the primate was doing there. The place was well fortified with thirty guns and a garrison of seven hundred soldiers. Frigates carrying arms from Charles II. and the Duke of Lorraine had arrived there safely. Five thousand of the Ulster soldiers had traversed all Connaught to get some of these supplies. A new Supreme Council had been formed, and the primate was at the head of it. He had fitted out a small fleet of frigates which preyed on the Parliamentary vessels, and brought naval prizes to the island.—*Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 386.

The primate died in the following February (*Ibid.*, p. 396). As regards the place of his decease, we may take as perfectly correct the manuscript note, quoted by Renahan, that "he lived and died in Trinity Island, but was buried in Cavan, in the church of Gelasius Reylu." This note is in a copy of Dr. Plunket's *Jus Primatiale*, formerly in the possession of Dr. Carpenter, archbishop of Dublin. It is probable that the primate, seeing that Innisboffin was able to hold its own at the time, returned with the five thousand Ulster soldiers, already mentioned, to the rally the whole province, a duty that devolved on him, as being then the supreme

head of the civil as well as the ecclesiastical government of the Irish people. His presence in the strongholds of the north was absolutely necessary, as ignoble surrenders, in other parts of the country, were of frequent occurrence. Trinity Island was well fortified and garrisoned as well as several other islands in Lough Erne, and there was a large Irish force under Colonel Reilly encamped on the west shore of the lake.

However, the end was near. Trinity Island surrendered towards the end of the month in which the primate died (Gilbert, vol. iii., p. 371), and Innisboffin too was given up the same month. It is probable that these events would have taken place, even if the primate had lived, for Colonel Richard O'Farrell, writing to Rinuccini a few months later, declared that the late primate had often urged him to surrender on good conditions, as the affairs of the Irish had become desperate.—*Spic. Ossor.*, vol. i., p. 401.

Thus lived and died Hugh O'Reilly, one of the most noble and patriotic prelates who ever graced the primatial see.

b THE CAUSES OF THE RISING IN 1641.—Remonstrance of the Irish of Ulster.

The heads of the causes which moved the Northern Irish and Catholics of Ireland to take arms, anno 1641:

1. It was plotted and resolved by the Puritans of England, Scotland and Ireland, to extinguish quite the Catholick religion, and the professors and maintainers thereof, out of all those kingdoms; and to put all Catholics of this realm to the sword, that would not conform themselves to the Protestant religion.

2. The State of Ireland did publicly declare that they would root out of this realm all the natives, and make a total second conquest of the land, alledging, that they were not safe with them.

3. All the natives here were deprived of the benefit of the ancient fundamental laws, liberties and privileges, due by all laws and justice to a free people and nation, and more particularly due by the municipal laws of Ireland.

4. That the subjects of Ireland, especi-

ally the Irish, were thrust out forceably from their ancient possessions, against law, without colour or right; and could not have propriety or security in their estates, goods or other rights, but were wholly subject to an arbitrary power and tyrannical government, these forty years past, without hope of relief or redress.

5. Their native youth here, debarred by the practice of State, from all learning and education, in that the one only University here [Trinity College] excludes all Catholics thence; neither are they suffered to acquire learning or breeding beyond seas, of purpose to make them rude and ignorant of all letters.

6. The Catholics of this realm are not admitted to any dignity, place or office, either military or civil, spiritual or temporal, but the same conferred upon unworthy persons or men of no quality, who purchase it for money or favour, and not by merit.

This Remonstrance cites twelve other causes which would be too long to insert, relating principally to trading disabilities, persecution, and cruelties perpetrated in Ireland by the English armies.—*Desiderata Curiosa Hiberniæ*, pp. 78—101. See Gilbert's *Affairs in Ireland* (1641—1652), vol. i., p. 450.

O'Curry quotes at length a similar remonstrance of grievances from Cavan, drawn up by Dr. Bedel, Protestant bishop of Kilmore, who, as he says, "was a prelate too wise to be imposed upon, and too wise and resolute to advance any facts in excuse of these insurgents, of the truth of which he was not certain.—*Historical Review of the Civil Wars in Ireland*, p. 110.

c CASTLE OF CHARLEMONT. The fort of Charlemont—commanding five counties—was especially objectionable to the Ulster Irish, from its formidable position, as well as from its associations. It was erected to secure and maintain English domination over districts which had been for centuries the home and patrimony of the O'Neills and their correlative septs. The name of Charlemont kept alive the memory of the severities practised by Charles Blount,



CHAPTER XVI.

THE VENERABLE PRIMATE OLIVER PLUNKET.

Primate Edmund O'Reilly opposes the "Remonstrance"—He is Imprisoned—Primate Oliver Plunket—His Contest with Archbishop Talbot—He is accused of High Treason—Perjured Witnesses—Various charges brought against him—His Trial in London and Execution at Tyburn—His Head preserved in Drogheda—General account of the "Irish Plot"—Decision of the Apostolic See regarding the Primacy.

Supplementary Notes.—Primate Edmund O'Reilly—Career of Father Peter Walsh, the Franciscan—*Memoir* of the Venerable Oliver Plunket—His Trial—Propaganda Elections—The Keeper of the *Book of Armagh*.



EDMUND O'REILLY,^a a priest of Dublin diocese, who was appointed on the sixteenth of April, 1657, and received the pallium on September the twenty-fourth, succeeded his namesake, after a lapse of four years, in the see of Armagh. Much of his time was spent either abroad or in prison. He is unjustly accused by Peter Walsh^b and Cox of having betrayed the royalist army, at Baggotsrath, an event which was followed by the fatal battle at Rathmines. Probably after the ruin of the Catholic party and the massacre of their clergy, perpetrated by the Cromwellians, he fled from the kingdom. After the Restoration, he solicited, by letter, permission from the king to return to his native land. Charles II., in hopes that he would support a recognition of loyalty, which he expected the Catholic bishops would adopt, did not oppose his return. This recognition, which was not

only expressive of strong attachment to the king, but even disclaimed the Pope's supremacy in temporals, was signed by Oliver Darcy, bishop of Dromore, and fifty-four regulars, seventeen seculars, ten Catholic noblemen, and many of the gentry. The Primate, however, in a synodical meeting of the clergy, A.D. 1666, opposed the adoption of this remonstrance with all his powers. Shortly after this period, he and all the other Catholic prelates connected with him, except two, who were decrepid and unable to escape, fled from the kingdom.¹ It appears, however, that the primate did not effect his escape to the Continent, but was taken prisoner on the twenty-seventh of September, 1666,² and transmitted to England. In 1670, during the government of Lord Berkley, the anti-remonstrants were, in their turn, taken into favour, and their opponents prosecuted. But the Primate did not live to witness the mortification of his enemies and triumph of his friends, for he died in March, 1669.

His successor in the Catholic primacy of Ireland, was the venerable Oliver Plunket,³ a descendant of one of the most ancient and noble Anglo-Irish families in the country, and a near relative to the earls of Fingal. This divine had studied at the Irish College, at Rome. Here he took his degree, and became public professor of divinity, in Propaganda College, the duties of which he discharged in the most able and exemplary manner. On the ninth of July, 1669, he was nominated primate of Armagh, in a Congregation of the Propaganda.⁴ His brief was dated August the third. He was consecrated at Ghent, by the bishop of Ghent, assisted by the bishop of Ferns, and another bishop. The pallium was granted to him in the Consistory of July the twenty-eighth, 1670.⁵

Dr. Plunket, who was a most learned and pious man, laboured assiduously to amend the morals of the people committed to his ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and to diffuse a spirit of Christian love through the community. He is characterized by Bishop Burnet⁶ as a "wise and sober man, who was for living quietly and in due submission to the government."

His contemporary, Dr. Peter Talbot, Catholic archbishop of Dublin, who also was a man of talents, possessed a more aspiring and restless spirit. He not only sought to assume a superiority over

his primate in the church, but to direct the political movements of the Catholics of Ireland. He had excited a species of persecution against a body of the secular and regular clergy, who had signed "a remonstrance of their loyalty to the king," and he had even proceeded such lengths as to pronounce them excommunicated. In a synod, held in Dublin, he alleged that the king had appointed him to oversee all the clergy of Ireland. Dr. Plunket insisted upon seeing the document which invested him with such extraordinary powers, but he evaded the demand. The Primate then told him, explicitly, "that, till he should openly produce it, he would take care to oversee Talbot himself, from whom he should expect due obedience." The archbishop of Dublin, thus baffled in his object, proposed passing over to England, under colour of opposing Peter Walsh's efforts to have the "Remonstrance" enforced. But Dr. Plunket not only inhibited him from his intended voyage, but openly reproved him, declaring that "he did not believe he had any such matter in view, and that he had the reputation of intermeddling too much in affairs of state, contrary to the canons and the orders of the Pope." In short, the Primate was a man of loyal principles, who, on all occasions, expressed his abhorrence of political intrigue, and recommended peaceable submission to the government.

Thus it appears, that Archbishop Plunket, though a man of meek spirit, fulfilled his primatial duties with temperate firmness and dignity. His innocence and sanctity of life were not, however, sufficient to shield him from the diabolical malice of some unprincipled enemies. He had censured Murphy and MacMoyer,³ two ecclesiastics of profligate lives and abandoned character, for the gross immorality of their conduct. These miscreants, combining with one Duffy and other depraved wretches, accused their unsuspecting Primate of holding a treasonable correspondence with the French court. They pretended, that twenty thousand Frenchmen were to land at Carlingford, and that Dr. Plunket was to join them, at the head of seventy thousand men. Under this ridiculous charge, he was arrested on the sixth of December, 1679, and confined in Dublin Castle. In the following year, he was presented for trial in Dundalk, the scene of his supposed crimes, but, as no witness dared to appear against him, the

trial could not proceed, and the jury, all Protestants, refused to find the bills against him. His enemies, however, got the venue changed to London, whither he was brought a prisoner, in the following October. The conspirators who had now lodged examinations against him, were the friars MacMoyer, Hugh Duffy, and a priest called Maclean, another priest, Murphy, chanter of Armagh, four laymen, one of whom was named Florence MacMoyer, *MacMoyer (son of the keeper of the Book of Armagh)*, the second and third disgraced the name of O'Neill, and the fourth dishonoured that of O'Hanlon. The charges brought by these nefarious wretches against their Primate are thus enumerated in his dying moments by himself:—

First, That I have sent letters by one Neal O'Neill, who was my page, to Monsieur Baldeschi, the Pope's secretary, to the bishop of Aix, and Prince Colonna: that they might solicit foreign powers to invade Ireland; and also to have sent letters to Cardinal Bouillon, to the same effect.

Secondly, To have employed Captain Conn O'Neill, to solicit the French king for succour.

Thirdly, To have levied and exacted moneys from the clergy of Ireland, to bring in the French and to maintain seventy thousand men.

Fourthly, To have had in readiness seventy thousand men, and lists made of them; and to have given directions to one Friar Duffy, to make a list of two hundred and fifty men in the Parish of Faughart, in the county of Louth.

Fifthly, To have surveyed all the forts and harbours of Ireland; and to have fixed upon Carlingford, as a fit harbour for the French landing.

Sixthly, To have had several councils and meetings, where there was money allotted for introducing the French.

Finally, That there was a meeting in the county of Monaghan, some ten or twelve years past, where there were three hundred gentlemen of three several counties, to wit, Monaghan, Cavan and Armagh; whom I did exhort to take up arms to recover their estates.

It is clear that the accused prelate ought to have been tried in Ireland, where the impossibility of such crimes having been committed

by him would have been manifest to every man acquainted with the country.⁶ His papers and witnesses were in this kingdom. Five weeks were indeed granted to him by the chief-justice, after his arraignment, on the third of May, to have the evidence and documents necessary to his case transmitted to London. Contrary winds and untoward accidents rendered it impossible for him to effect this important object. His witnesses were scattered through various counties, and it was impracticable for a prisoner, in strict and rigorous confinement, to bring them forward at the appointed time. They had not arrived on the day of trial, a fact which he testified on oath, whilst he prayed the court to grant him the short period of twelve additional days. His request was refused; the judges proceeded on the trial; the band of conspirators stood forth against him, strong in perjury and in malice; and this good and loyal man fell the innocent victim of their murderous rancour, and of the unfeeling cunning of Shaftesbury, by whom, in all probability, they had been suborned.

Convicted of an impossible crime, and sentenced to an ignominious death, Archbishop Plunket was dragged on a sledge to Tyburn, and executed on the first of July, 1681, in the presence of an immense multitude of spectators. With his latest breath, he called on Heaven to witness his innocence. He reasoned, calmly and magnanimously, on the crimes imputed to him. In the course of his speech, he pointed out the romantic absurdity of the supposition that twenty thousand Frenchmen were to have been landed at Carlingsford, and the great improbability of his being able to levy an army of seventy thousand Irishmen, when the whole income of the Catholic clergy of Ireland would not have sufficed to raise, clothe, equip and feed a single⁷ regiment, and the entire revenues of the kingdom, both spiritual and temporal, would have been scarcely adequate to bear the expenses of such an army. No man who knew Ireland would, he alleged, credit such charges, or believe the still more extravagant assertion that he had surveyed all the forts and harbours of the kingdom, even if he were to admit their truth with his dying breath.

After the execution of this innocent man, his head was severed from his body, which was divided into quarters and buried in St. Giles's churchyard, in the fields. At the end of two years, it was

raised and conveyed to a monastery of English Benedictines, at Lamspring, in the Duke of Brunswick's territories, in Germany, and re-buried there, with much pomp. The head, however, even yet adorned with silver-coloured hair, is preserved in the convent of Dominican nuns, at Drogheda, and is, we are informed, in a state of good preservation. The features still retain the character of the archbishop's countenance, and awake in the mind of every spectator a lively recollection of his wrongs, his innocence and his sufferings, mixed with emotions of horror at the atrocities of his savage and perjured murderers.

Some of his accusers lived to confess, and to shudder at their crimes. One of those miscreants, Duffy, old, emaciated, abhorred, exiled from his church and tortured with remorse, visited a successor of Archbishop Plunket, and as he approached him, exclaimed in an agony of soul, "Am I never to have peace! Is there no mercy for me!" The prelate heard him in silence, then opened a glass-case, and in a deep and solemn voice said, "Look here, thou unfortunate wretch!" The head of his murdered Primate was before him, he saw—knew it, and swooned away.* It is, however, said, that such was the contrition of this miserable man, that he was afterwards reconciled with his church, and died a penitent.

Tragical events, like the premature death of Plunket, and crimes similar to that perpetrated by his murderers, were not unusual in those sanguinary times. Religious bigotry and party spirit agitated the contending factions of the country, and excited them to the most detestable acts. The life of Stafford, but a little before this period, had been falsely sworn away, for political purposes, in a manner strongly resembling the present case. Of the causes of Plunket's death, Hume gives the following concise account:—

"In England, where the Catholics were scarce one to a hundred, means had been found to excite an universal panic, on account of insurrections and even massacres, projected by that sect; and it could not but seem strange that in Ireland, where they exceeded the Protestants ten to one, there should no symptoms appear of any combination or conspiracy. Such an incident, when duly considered, might even in England shake the credit of the plot, and diminish the

authority of those leaders, who had so long, with such industry, inculcated the belief of it on the nation. Rewards, therefore, were published in Ireland to any that would bring intelligence or become witnesses; and some profligates were sent over to that kingdom, with a commission to seek out evidence against the Catholics. Under pretence of searching for arms or papers, they broke into houses, and plundered them: they threw innocent men into prison, and took bribes for their release: and, after all their diligence, it was with difficulty that the country, commonly fertile enough in witnesses, could furnish them with any fit for their purpose.

"At last, a certain Fitzgerald appeared, followed by two Macnamaras, Ivey, Samson, Dennis, Burke, and some others. These men were immediately sent over to England; and, though they possessed neither character sufficient to gain belief even for truth, nor sense to invent a credible falsehood, they were caressed, rewarded, supported, and recommended by the earl of Shaftesbury. Oliver Plunket, the titular primate of Ireland, a man of very peaceable disposition, was condemned and executed upon such testimony."

Some of Dr. Plunket's official acts, in the exercise of his primatial rights, have been recorded by Catholic authors. In 1670, he held cognisance, by his procurator, of an appeal in a matrimonial cause made by Dame Purcell, widow of Chivers of Mountown, in the diocese of Dublin, and decided the cause in the city of Dublin itself, and his adjudication was final.¹⁰ In 1671, a contest had arisen between the Dominicans and Franciscans, about the limits of their respective convents, viz., that of Gaula, on the borders of Lough Erne, in the diocese of Clogher, that of Newtown in Down, and that of Carlingford, in the diocese of Armagh. On the eleventh of October, Primate Plunket, to whom the matter was referred by the Pope, decreed that the Dominicans had been in ancient possession of convents in the three aforesaid places, and had the right of soliciting alms in the dioceses in which they were situated.

In 1672, Dr. Oliver Plunket wrote a book styled *Jus Primatialæ*, or the primatial right and preeminence of the see of Armagh above all other archbishoprics of the kingdom. To which Archbishop Talbot replied, A.D. 1674, in a dissertation, which, in English would be en-

titled, *The Primacy of Dublin, or the Reasons on which the Church of Dublin bases its Right to the Primacy of Ireland*. A warm contest had existed between these two prelates, on the subject of the primatial rights. At a convocation which took place in Dublin, in 1670, each of the contending archbishops refused to subscribe subsequent to the other. In order that their future meetings might not be disturbed by such altercations on the right of precedence, the point at issue was referred to the see of Rome, to which the claims of both prelates were submitted. Here the matter was duly and solemnly considered in a full meeting of cardinals; and Baldeschi, bishop of Cæsarea, secretary to the Congregation of Propaganda, pronounced as follows:—*L'Armacano sta a cavallo*, an Italian saying to the effect that the case for Armagh was overwhelming; and again, on the seventeenth of March, the Congregation of Propaganda, with the approbation of the Pope, decided "that Armagh was the chief see and metropolis of the whole island," and caused these words to be inserted in the Roman Breviary.

1 Harris's *Ware's Writers*, p. 195. 2 Cox, Charles II. 3 Brady, vol. i., p. 227. 4 *History of His Times*, vol. 1, f. 230. 5 Edmund Murphy was titular chanter of Armagh, and a secular priest. He wrote a book styled *The present Condition of Ireland, but more especially of the Province of Ulster* in which he details the exploits of Redmond O'Hanlon. He was himself a rapparee. Harris's *Ware's*

Writers, p. 199. 6 Archbishop Plunket resided a considerable time in a mudwall house, in the county of Louth, so ill adapted were his pecuniary resources to the raising of armies and surveying of harbours. 7 Ardslekin, *Theol. Trif.*, p. 762, et seq. 8 See Milner's *Inquiry*, pp. 378. 9 Hume's *England*, vol. viii., p. 160. 10 *Jus Prim. Armac.*, c. 24.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

a PRIMATE EDMUND O'REILLY.—He seems to have had a more chequered career than any other prelate who occupied the primatial see, and, in addition, has had the misfortune to find a biographer in the person of an inveterate enemy, Father Peter Walsh.—See Walsh's *History of the Remonstrance*.

Born about the beginning of the seventeenth century, he made an abridged course of studies in Dublin, and, after ordination, was appointed to a parish.

But not being satisfied with his knowledge of Theology, he obtained permission in 1628 to resign his parish and continue his studies on the Continent. It was probably on his way thither that he was imprisoned in Exeter for nearly two years, for refusing to take the Oath of Supremacy (*Spic. Ossor.*, vol. ii., p. 202). After spending about ten years at the University of Louvain, he returned to Ireland in 1641, and, in the following year, was appointed vicar-general of the diocese of Dublin, an office

he held till 1648. Being falsely accused by Walsh of correspondence with the Parliamentarians, he was deprived of the office, but, on the calumny being discovered, he was restored to it in 1650.

In 1653, he was arrested as a popish priest, and, after an imprisonment of several months, was banished to the Continent. He made his way to the Irish College at Lisle, in Flanders, and it was there, in 1657, that he received notice of his appointment to the primacy. As these colleges were beset with English spies, he went privately to Brussels, and was consecrated in the vestry of the Jesuits' Chapel, with the utmost secrecy. In the following year, he made an attempt to visit his diocese, and, on his way, stayed some time in London, where he concealed himself in cellars and garrets, and administered Confirmation and other sacraments to great numbers of Irish people, then in London. But after six weeks' stay there, he came across the notorious Father Walsh, who is supposed to have procured an order from Cromwell for his immediate departure for France. He did not, however, remain there for more than a year, for we find that he arrived safely in his diocese, in the October of 1659 (*Ibid.*) He was not long suffered to remain among his flock, for, in the beginning of the following year, some person (probably Walsh) wrote secretly to Charles II., then in the Low Countries, representing the primate as advocating the interests of Cromwell. This absurd fabrication was believed by the king, who obtained an order from His Holiness for the primate to withdraw from Ireland. This order had been sent over to the English court, and from thence transmitted to Walsh, who delayed, for reasons of his own, in giving it to the primate. In the meantime, the latter held a provincial synod at Clunilih, in the parish of Killeo [Kells?], diocese of Ardagh, in which many useful statutes were made, suitable to the times. See them in *Spic. Ossor.*, vol. ii., p. 196.

The letter of the bishops and clergy, secular and regular, of the Province of Armagh (*ibid.*, p. 201), written to the

Holy See, on the 13th of December, 1660, in defence of the primate, shows the great esteem they had for him, and gives many details regarding the hardships he was undergoing in the secret exercise of his ministry among them. They testify that during the whole time he spent in the diocese, he was hiding in the woods and caves, and had never any bed but a cloak thrown over straw. They also mention that he ordained twenty-nine priests.

The storm raised against him, by the followers of Walsh, as an incendiary and promoter of rebellion, obliged him to betake himself still more to the hiding places (*Letter read in Propaganda Congregation, July 12, 1661*). See Brady, vol. i., p. 226.

With due submission, he obeyed the papal mandate, leaving Ireland towards the end of 1661, though not without strong protestations of his innocence. He went first to France and then to Rome, where he stayed till 1665. He was allowed to return to Ireland in the following year, as it was thought by Ormonde that he would sign the Remonstrance, which was to be proposed to the Irish clergy in a National Congregation, appointed to be held on June the eleventh. But he defeated the hopes of his enemies, for, in the synod, he boldly opposed the "Valesian Remonstrance" as savouring of heresy, though warmly supporting another declaration of allegiance which was free from obnoxious clauses. His action gave great offence to Ormonde, who summoned him to the Castle that very night. Ormonde was so angry with the National Congregation which had unanimously rejected the Remonstrance, that he ordered all the bishops who had attended it not to leave Dublin without permission, though previously he had given them passports of safe-conduct. The primate obeyed the order, suspecting nothing, but one night at ten o'clock, five or six weeks after, about twenty soldiers entered his room, searched all his papers and took all his money. The next morning he was brought up for a secret examination, and as nothing disloyal was found among his papers, they, together with his money were restored to

him; but he was told that having first given security that he would not return to the country without the king's permission, he should prepare himself at once for exile. He was accompanied by a soldier to London, and after six days, was sent on to Dover, where he was placed on a vessel bound for Belgium. *Spic. Ossor.*, vol. i., p. 446.

On the Continent once more, his care was to look after the interests of the Irish Colleges there. He made his way to Louvain, and thence to other seminaries, and in 1667, ordained several priests in Brussels for the Irish mission (Renahan, p. 62). He then took up his residence in Paris, in the summer of 1667, and occasionally journeyed to visit the Irish seminaries in the country and hold ordinations. He still took an active part in the affairs of the Irish Church at home, as may be seen from his letters, published in the *Spicilegium Ossoriense*. He left Paris a short time before his death, as he found that living there was too expensive for his slender means, and died in March, 1669, at Saumur on the Loire.

Thus, Edmund O'Reilly, though primate for twelve years, was only able to spend about two years in his diocese, during one of which he was under orders to appear in Rome to answer the false charges made against him.

b FATHER PETER WALSH.—Peter Walsh was a native of Moortown, in the county of Kildare. He became a Franciscan in 1630. He became acquainted with Jansenius, to whom he dedicated his philosophical thesis, but to whose doctrines on grace he never gave his assent. He was introduced to the notice of Ormonde by the heated zeal with which he opposed the nuncio. While his country was oppressed and plundered, he took shelter under the patronage of its avowed enemies. He was the time-serving creature of Ormonde, with whose duplicity and implacable hatred for Catholicity he must have been well acquainted. In justice to his memory, it is only fair to state that he retracted all his errors before he died.—See Brennan: *Eccles. Hist. of Ireland*, vol. ii., p. 203, et seq.

c MEMOIR OF THE VENERABLE OLIVER PLUNKET.—The life of this great servant of God had been so ably and exhaustively treated by Cardinal Moran in his well-known and easily accessible work, that it would be futile for us to attempt even a slight sketch of his life. There is one omission, however, that detracts from the value of the work, viz., the original report of the trial of Dr. Plunket, printed immediately after his death, by permission of the judge, Sir Francis Pemberton. It deserves to be printed in extenso, in the next edition of the Cardinal's work.

The following few extracts from the report will throw some light on the way in which the trial was conducted:—

Edward Fitzharris and Dr. Plunket were both tried at Trinity term, 1681, at the bar of the Court of King's Bench.

Dr. Plunket had been arraigned, May 3rd, 1681, at Easter term. Pleading not guilty, and was allowed five weeks to produce witnesses for the defence.

The actual trial took place on Wednesday, June 8th, in Trinity term.

Having pleaded that his witnesses and records had not arrived, through no fault of his own, the judge said:—

"Look you, Mr. Plunket, 'tis in vain for you to talk and make this discourse just now. You must know that, by the laws of this kingdom, when a man is indicted of treason or felony, 'tis not usual to give such time. 'Tis rare that any man hath had such time as you have had—five weeks' time—to provide your witnesses. If your witnesses are so cautious, and are such persons that they dare not or will not venture for fear of being apprehended, or will not come to England without such and such cautions, we cannot tell how to help it."

Clerk of Crown—"Oliver Plunket, hold up thy hand. You of the jury look at the prisoner and hearken to his charge:—

He stands indicted by the name of Oliver Plunket, late of Westminster, in the county of Middlesex, doctor of divinity, for that he, as a false traitor against the most illustrious and most excellent prince, our sovereign lord, Charles the Second, . . . at Dublin, in the kingdom of

Ireland, in parts beyond the seas, with divers other traitors unknown, traitorously did compass the death of the King. And to fulfil and accomplish his said most wicked treasons . . . did consult and agree our said sovereign lord the King that is now, to death and final destruction to bring . . . and the religion of the Romish Church into the kingdom of Ireland aforesaid, to introduce and establish," etc.

Mr. Attorney General—"May it please your lordship and you gentlemen of the jury, the character this gentleman bears, as Primate under a foreign and usurped jurisdiction, will be a great inducement to you, to give credit to that evidence we shall produce before you. We shall prove that this very preferment was conferred upon him upon a contract that he should raise 60,000 men in Ireland, for the Pope's service, to settle Popery there and subvert the Government."

The first witness called was Florence Wyer (MacMoyre). He said the Primate was the first to set the plot on foot, and that he had seen warrants issued by him *sub pœna suspensionis*.

Plunket—"I never saw him with my eyes before in all my life."

The sixth witness was Edmund Murphy, a secular priest. This man was one of Shaftesbury's principal tools, and was so cunning that, though his evidence made more impression on the jury than that of any other witness, he pretended to have it forced out of him, and even deceived Dr. Plunket himself, who abstained from cross-examining him. For some time before the trial, he apparently lay hid at the Spanish ambassador's, and had to be dragged into court. On being questioned, he gave his evidence in a very hesitating manner, but after a little, blurted out his perjuries, as if by chance and under pressure.

Mr. Justice Dolbein—"I reckon this man hath given the best evidence that can be."

Jeffries—"I desire that he may be committed, my lord, because he hath fenced from the beginning." Which was done.

When all the witnesses had been heard, and the primate was asked for his defence, he protested again that he could not make it, as his witnesses had not arrived. The jury retired, and, after a quarter of an hour's absence, brought in a verdict of guilty.

On Wednesday, June 15th, 1681, the primate was brought to the bar to receive judgment.

Lord Chief Justice—"You have done as much as you could to dishonour God in this case, for the bottom of your treason was your setting up your false religion, than which there is not anything more displeasing to God or more pernicious to mankind in the world—a religion that is ten times worse than all the heathenish superstitions, the most dishonourable and derogatory to God and His glory of all religions or pretended religions whatsoever, for it undertakes to dispense with God's laws and to pardon the breach of them. So that, certainly, a greater crime there cannot be committed against God than for a man to endeavour the propagation of that religion. . . . Well, however, the judgment which we give you is that which the law says and speaks. And therefore you must go from hence to the place from whence you came—that is, to Newgate; and from thence you shall be drawn through the city of London to Tyburn; there you shall be hanged by the neck, but cut down before you are dead, your bowels shall be taken out and burnt before your face, and your head shall be cut off, and your body be divided into four quarters, to be disposed of as his Majesty pleases. And I pray to God to have mercy on your soul."

Plunket—"God Almighty bless your lordship. And now, my lord, as I am a dead man to this world, and as I hope for mercy in the other world, I was never guilty of any of the treasons laid to my charge, as you will hear in time; and my character you may receive from my Lord Chancellor of Ireland, my Lord Berkley, my Lord Essex, and the Duke of Ormonde."

Then the keeper took away his prisoner,

and, upon Friday, the first of July, he was executed, according to the sentence.

d PROPAGANDA APPOINTMENTS. The course pursued in the appointment of a bishop or vicar-apostolic, in countries under the care of the Propaganda, is as follows:—

The cardinals, sitting in congregation under the presidency of the cardinal-prefect, determine upon the election of the individual to be appointed bishop. The secretary or pro-secretary of the Propaganda brings this resolution, together with minutes of the other business of the Congregation, to the Pope for his approval. Audiences for this purpose are granted to the Monsignor Secretary of the Propaganda, once a week. The decree, when approved of by the Pope in one of these audiences, is then sent out by the Propaganda, and the Brief is issued in due course by the office of the Cardinal Secretary of Briefs, which is situated in the Ospizio dell'Anima, in the Piazza del Pace.—Brady: *Introduction to Epis. Succession*, p. xvi.

e KEEPER OF THE BOOK OF ARMAGH.—The safe keeping of this book was committed to a native, probably a descendant of the primatial family, whose office was regarded as both honourable and important, so that the term *Maor*, or "Keeper," became, like Stuart in Scotland or Butler in Ireland, a family designation, which gradually, with the prefix Mac, grew into a surname, and was borne by the hereditary keeper, and the various offsets of his family.

The Keeper had also a good endowment of land in virtue of his office. It was so before 1375; for in Primate Sweteman's rental of that year, one item is:—"Out of the land of the Bearer (*Bajulator*) of the Canon—five shillings." Of this holding we shall presently speak. The *Bajulator*, or Bearer, probably carried the Book of St. Patrick in processions and on state occasions, as the Senior Proctor of Trinity College does the old Registry of the University at Commencements; and from this part of his duties derived his peculiar designation.

Of the name MacMoyre, the earliest in-

stance on record is in Primate Sweteman's Register, at 1367, where Thomas MacMoer is stated to owe the Primate the sum of four shillings, probably a year's rent of his holdings. In the following century, the tenant was reduced to great straits by reason of the usurpations of the O'Neill family in the territory of the Fews, where these lands lay. On the 21st August, 1427, Primate Swayne granted an Indulgence of forty days to all and singular who should contribute out of their substance to the relief of Moyre Nakanany, (i.e. *Maor na Canoine*, "Keeper of the Canon,") of the diocese of Armagh, who had been impoverished by depredations made upon him at royal instigation. But Primate Mey was obliged, not long after, to check the presumption of this official, or his successor, when, in 1455, he, in conjunction with the Keeper of St. Patrick's Bell, laid claim to the firstlings of sheep through the diocese, and drew forth a prohibition against paying the said contribution to any unauthorized person, and especially the *Bajulator Canonis*, and the *Custos Campanæ*.

Whether there was subsequently a temporary withdrawal of the Canon from the MacMoyre family, or that O'Mulmoid, now called Mulloy, was the hereditary, as MacMoyre was the official, name of the family, cannot now be decided: but certain it is that, on the 16th of July, 1484, Maurice O'Mulmoid, *Bajulator Canonis*, and Peter O'Mulmoid, Prior of the Culdees, were witnesses to the oath of fealty which was taken by the Bishop of Raphoe.

The next notice that we meet with of the family is in the Armagh Inquisition of 1609, in which it is found that "the sept of Clann MacMoyre, and their ancestors, tyme out of mynde, were, and yet are, possessed of eight tounes of land, with the appurtenances, in the barony of the Fuighes, and that they hold the same of the Lord Archbishop of Armagh for the yearly rent of a mark Irish, out of every of the said tounes, amounting in the whole to four pounds per annum." There was also a house in Armagh, which was held under the Abbot of St. Peter and St.

Paul's, called "the Serjeant of Ballymoyrie's tenement, which passed, together with the other possession of the abbey, to Lord Caulfeild; whose tenant on the premises, in 1663, was Art MacMoyer. These eight townlands, now known as Aghincurk, Ballintate, Ballintemple, Cavanakill, Corlat, Knockavannon, Lurgana, and Outleekan, contain 7,381 acres, estimated at £3,490 a year, in the Poor Law valuation; and in themselves constitute a parish, called Ballymyre, that is, "Keeper's Town," in the union of Armagh. Before 1622 they had passed out of the MacMoyre family, and George Fairfax was the possessor under the see of Armagh.

Its possessor soon after Sir James (Ware's) publication, was Florence MacMoyer. This appears by his autograph on a blank page at the reverse of the 104th leaf:—"Liber Flarentini Muire. June 29th, 1662:" which is the more interesting as he was the last hereditary keeper of the book, and his signature identifies the volume as the veritable "Canon of Armagh," ere it passed into strange hands, where its ancient prestige soon died away. From a letter of the date 1681, lately brought to light, we further learn that Florence MacMoyer's calling was that of *Ludi-magister*, or "Schoolmaster." And it is a curious coincidence that, at a later date, Henry Mulholland, the last hereditary keeper of St. Patrick's Bell—on whose death it passed to his former pupil, Mr. Adam McClean—was also the childless teacher of a grammar school.

In December, 1679, Dr. Oliver Plunket, titular Archbishop of Armagh, was apprehended on a charge of high treason, and a number of witnesses were suborned against him by Hetherington, Lord Shaftesbury's agent. At the close of the succeeding year, one Owen Murphy was busily employed collecting witnesses to prove the alleged Popish Plot. Of these he gathered together a plentiful supply, who, as Lord Ormonde said, "went out of Ireland with bad English and worse clothes, but returned well-bred gentlemen, periwigged and clothed; brogues and leather-straps converted to fashionable shoes, and glit-

tering buckles; which, next to the zealotries, thieves, and friars have for the Protestant religion, is a main inducement to bring in a shoal of informers. The worst is, they are so miserably poor, we are fain to give them some allowance; and they find it more honourable and safe to be king's evidence than a cow-stealer, though that be their natural profession." The witnesses arrived in London, January, 1681, and on the 9th of June, Doctor Oliver Plunket was arraigned at the King's Bench for high treason, before Chief Justice Sir Francis Pemberton. The Keeper was one of the witnesses; and the first man examined was this Florence MacMoyer, or Florence Wyer, as he is called by the Solicitor-General on the trial, and by two contemporary writers. Among other things, he stated in his examination, that Captain O'Neill, who had urged him to enter the French army, alleged that he could return to Ireland as a captain, under the French king, surprise the kingdom, and settle the Popish religion; and that then *he would be restored to his estate*. He further declared himself to be "a Roman Catholic and Papist."

Another witness was a friar, called Moyer, who was his kinsman; and a third, John Moyer. All of whom Doctor Plunket in his defence characterised as "merciless perjurers," and declared in his dying speech, that he was not acquainted with the layman, Florence MacMoyer, at all. Sergeant Jeffries, in summing up, insisted most on Florence Wyer's testimony. Doctor Plunket was executed on the first of July, 1681. The same party next appeared against Lord Shaftesbury, and when their gains were expended, most of them returned to Ireland, to endure the horrors of remorse, or end their days in degradation and want.

The following description, which was found among Edward Lhuyd's papers (nearly all, alas! since destroyed by fire, while in a binder's hands), was communicated by the Right Honourable Charles Wm. Wynne to the Rev. Doctor O'Connor, who, in 1814, presented it to the public in

the first volume of his *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores* :

"This manuscript [the Book of Armagh], beyond all question, is exceedingly ancient, whether written in part by the hand of St. Patrick himself (as stated at the foot of folio 24), or, as appears to me more probable, the work of a latter age. And possibly it is that *Textus Evangeliorum*, which St. Bernard, in the Life of Malachi, reckons among the insignia of the see, and states to have been St. Patrick's own Text. By Ussher and Ware, it is designated the Book of Armagh, but by the natives "the Book of the Canons [Canon] of St. Patrick;" being so termed, I suppose, from the Canons of the Gospel Harmonies, which commence at folio 26. This book was in old times held in great esteem by the native Irish, so much so, that the family commonly called *MacMaor*, in English *MacMoyre*, borrowed their name from having the custody of it. For *Maor* in Irish is "Keeper;" and the whole family was, without distinction, called *Maor na Canon* [*Canoine*], or "Keeper of the Canons." From an early time they held under the see of Armagh eight townlands in the county [of Armagh] called the lands of BalliMoyre, in virtue of the safe custody of this book. In whose hands this book remained for many ages past, till Florentine MacMoyre went over to England in the year of grace 1680, to give evidence, untrue, I fear, against Oliver Plunket, Doctor of Theology, and Archbishop of this kingdom in the Roman communion, who was hanged at London, though undeservedly, as is believed. Moyre, being in want of money at the time of his departure, left the book in pawn as a security for five pounds sterling. It very acceptably came into the hands of Arthur Brownlow, who, not without much labour, arranged in their proper order the leaves, which were at the time displaced, wrote the numbers at the head of the pages, to mark the leaves, added others in the margin, to distinguish the chapters, and took care, when they were so arranged, to have them secured, stitched in their old cover, in the condition in which it

now appears, and caused the whole to be kept in the ancient case, together with a Bull of a Roman Pontiff, which was found in company with it," &c.

Florence MacMoyre does not appear to have been ever afterwards in a condition to redeem his precious manuscript. It had been pledged in 1680, and was in Mr. Brownlow's possession before 1707. Who was the holder, or what happened, in the meantime we are not informed, nor is it essential to know: the important fact in the history of its transmission is that the new owner was in possession of the book at least seven years before the death of the last hereditary keeper. Florence died in 1713, and was buried in the old churchyard of Ballymoyre, where his tombstone was placed, bearing the matter-of-fact, but cheerless, inscription: BODY OF FLORENCE WYRE WHO DYED FEB. THE 12TH 1713. Owing to the abhorrence in which the memory of the leading witness against the Archbishop and supposed martyr was held, his monument was subjected to the grossest indignities; and having, in the lapse of a century, been greatly injured and broken, it was removed for preservation by the late Marcus Synnot, Esq., from the churchyard to Ballymoyre House, where it now remains.

Strange to say, there is not an individual of the name of MacMoyre or Wyre now living in the parish, nor is either form at all remembered there; but there is a tradition that the discredit brought upon the name was such, that those who bore it adopted in its stead that of M'Guire, which was kindred in sound, though very remote in structure. It is said that Florence and his three brothers resided in a glen of the townland Tate, or Ballintate, known from the occupants by the appellation of Glenuyre; and there are those still living who remember the remains of his reputed house in this spot. Among the old people in the parish, this individual is supposed to have been Registrar of Armagh, and it is believed that he is annually cursed by the Pope at Rome, as one who was an apostate from the faith, and a bitter enemy of the Church.—Reeves: *Book of Armagh*.



CHAPTER XVII.

ARMAGH DURING THE JACOBITE WAR IN IRELAND.

Dominic Maguire succeeds to the Primacy—Saves Trinity College Library—Goes into Exile and Dies in Paris—James II. and the Charter of Armagh—Catholics admitted as Burgesses—Lord Blaney takes Possession of Armagh, and Proclaims King William—The “Council of Union”—Blaney abandons Armagh—King James stays there—Taken possession of by Schomberg—Siege of Charlemont—Forfeitures under King William—Destruction of the Woollen Industry—Manufacture of Linen, Diaper, Camlet, and Damask.

Supplementary Notes.—Primate Maguire—King's *State of the Protestants in Ireland under James II.*—Catholic Prelates excluded from King James's Parliament—Unjust Conduct of King William's Commissioners.

AFTER an interval of two years from the death of the Venerable Oliver Plunket, Dominic Maguire, a Dominican, was promoted to the primacy. He was elected in the Propaganda Congregation of December the fourteenth, 1683, and by brief, dated the twelfth of January the following year, he was empowered to perform archiepiscopal functions without the pallium.

He had entered the Dominican Order at an early age, and made his novitiate in the convent of Gaula. The village of that name was situated in the barony of Magerastephena, on the eastern shore of Lough Erne, county Fermanagh. It is now no more, and is scarcely known, even in name.

Dr. Maguire having finished his studies in Andalusia, in Spain, went to London, where he became honorary chaplain to the Spanish ambassador, and, during a long series of years, zealously fulfilled the duties of his office. Immediately, on his promotion to the see of Armagh, he returned to Ireland, and employed himself sedulously in regulating the ecclesiastical affairs of his diocese.² In 1686, he presided at a session of the Catholic clergy, which was then held in Dublin, and in which Dr. Patrick Russell, archbishop of Dublin, was present. At two other similar meetings, which took place in 1691—the one at Limerick, the other at Galway, his claim to superiority was also fully admitted;³ and in the same year, he held cognisance of an appeal, made from a decree of the ecclesiastical court of the archbishop of Tuam.

Dr. Maguire was one of those Catholic leaders, who, in 1684, transmitted to London a series of charges against Tyrconnell, in which he was accused of bribery and various other odious practices. Tyrconnell, however, triumphed over his opponents, and, in revenge, prevailed on James II. to solicit the Pope to appoint a coadjutor to the primate, and thus shackle him in the exercise of his episcopal functions. But the Pope did not intermeddle in the affair, and Dr. Maguire's ecclesiastic powers remained undivided and uncontrolled.⁴

To Primate Maguire and his subordinate bishops, the preservation of the valuable library, now in Trinity College, Dublin, during the commotions which took place in the reign of James II., is in some measure due. Father Peters had almost persuaded the king to confer the establishment on the Jesuits. The Catholic prelates, however, exerted their influence, and induced the monarch to nominate Dr. Michael Moore, a secular priest, provost of the university. This ecclesiastic, who possessed much taste, integrity, and learning, opposed the intended transfer of the college to the Jesuits, against whom he preached an animated sermon, taking as his text, "If the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch." In this text, he probably not only alluded to Peters, who laboured under a deficiency of sight, but also to James, whose mental optics were not very clear. Be this as it may, he, with the most scrupulous attention, preserved the books from injury, even when the library was converted into a

military garrison, the chapel into a magazine, and the students' chambers into prisons.

After the surrender of Limerick, and the escape of many of the Catholic prelates to France, various deliberative meetings were held by them in Paris, and on all such occasions, Dr. Maguire's primatial rights were fully admitted. In 1687, Pope Innocent XI. sent two palliums to the archbishops of Armagh and Dublin. At first, the procurators, by whom these palliums had been forwarded, thought that the prime token of respect was due to Russell, because his consecration as an archbishop had been solemnized prior to that of Maguire; but, upon more mature consideration, the pallium was, in the first instance, presented to the primate of Armagh, in acknowledgment of his ecclesiastical superiority.

During his exile in France, Dr. Maguire bore the adverse strokes of fortune with exemplary patience and magnanimity.⁵ He died at Paris, on the twenty-first of September, 1707, and was buried in the church of the Irish College.

After the decease of this prelate, Dr. Richard O'Heyne, another Dominican, who was teaching Theology in Naples, was nominated by the Pope archbishop of Armagh, but, through extreme diffidence and humility, declined that dignity.

The events of the war in Ireland, waged at this period between King James II. and the Prince of Orange, affected Armagh very considerably. James II. was better qualified, by nature and by habit, to manage the ecclesiastical affairs of a friary, than to govern a spirited, turbulent and divided people, or to direct the councils of a mighty empire. His steadiest and most intelligent friends perceived the deficiency of his understanding, and foreboded the ruin of his affairs, from his absolute subserviency to the priesthood. Even the Spanish ambassador, Ronquillo, remonstrated with the king on this subject. "What," replied James, "is it not the custom in Spain for the King to consult with his confessor?"—"Yes," said the ambassador, "and 'tis for that very reason our affairs succeed so ill." The Pope himself disapproved of James's rash and precipitate measures, and scarcely treated his ambassador, Lord Castlemaine, with common civility.

The unhappy monarch was soon deserted by his British subjects, and his dominions were transferred, in the year 1688, to his son-in-law, William Henry, prince of Orange and Nassau. In Ireland, however, where the majority of the inhabitants were of the Catholic communion, a very considerable portion of the people remained steadily attached to his interest.

James, in his efforts to destroy the ascendancy which the members of the established church possessed over nonconformists of every description, endeavoured to annul the charters from which the various corporations of the kingdom derived their power, and to substitute others of a more comprehensive nature in their stead. According to King, by process, under "Quo Warrantos," and by forced surrenders, he, in a great measure, attained this object.⁶ In the city of Armagh, the existing sovereign and burgesses were excluded from their offices, and the following persons were nominated, under the new system, on the 9th October, 1688, viz:—

Constantine O'Neill, Sovereign. Burgesses 24 in number, as follow:—Moriertagh Magennis, Esq.; Walter Hoveden, Esq.; Marcus Clerk, Esq.; Robert Stuart, Esq.; George Blyke, Esq.; Ralph Booth, Esq.; John Blyke, Gent.; Hugh Buidhe O'Neill, Gent.; Torlogh O'Neill, Gent.; Bryan Murphy, Esq.; Conn O'Neill, of Tohlice, Gent.; Conn O'Neill, of Toaghy, Gent.; John Stuart, Gent.; Paul O'Neill, Gent.; Patrick Savage, Gent.; Edmund Roirke, Vintner; James Dowgan, Merchant; John King, Vintner; Edmund O'Hugh, Vintner; Torlogh O'Neill, Gent.; Thady Tallon, Saddler; Edward Stone, Merchant; David Cullane, Gent.; Thomas Donnell, Gent.; James Croley, Town Clerk.⁶

Of these, we believe Marcus Clerk, Robert Stuart, John Stuart, John King, George Blyke, John Blyke, Ralph Booth, and Edward Stone were Protestants.

Marcus Clerk, the third in order of the new burgesses, had been appointed high sheriff of the county of Armagh on the 16th of February, 1686—7. Constantine O'Neill and Francis Stophard were returned, under the influence of King James's adherents, as representatives for the new borough in parliament, in 1689; Arthur Brownlow and Walter Hoveden (the second burgess mentioned above), for the

county, of which the same Walter Hoveden and Conn O'Neill were made deputy-lieutenants. The corporation of Charlemont was dissolved by King James, and not restored by that monarch; of course, it sent no members to the House of Commons during that session.

About this period, the records of the borough of Armagh, were, probably, either lost or destroyed. If any of these documents, written prior to the revolution, are yet in existence, we know not where they are deposited.

Tyrconnell, a steady adherent of the house of Stuart, and then lord-lieutenant of Ireland, was thoroughly convinced that King James's interest in this kingdom could only be maintained by force of arms. Peculiarly anxious to secure Ulster, where the great mass of the Protestant population resided, he had, expeditiously, levied several regiments of horse and foot, with which he garrisoned Newry, Dundalk, and Drogheda, and thus rendered all direct communication between Dublin and the northern province impracticable. But, whilst he was thus occupied in fortifying the frontier towns, the inhabitants of the interior of Ulster began to assemble in formidable bodies, and to surround the detached corps of Irish troops, which were scattered in various districts of the country. About the beginning of March, 1688—9, some troops of dragoons and companies of foot soldiers were stationed in the city of Armagh and the neighbouring villages, under the command of Lieut. Archbold. That officer, perceiving that the Protestants were arming themselves and preparing to collect in considerable force around his headquarters, instantly determined to retreat. Secret orders were, therefore, issued to his troops to be ready to march at a stated hour; but the matter transpired, and the citizens of Armagh assembled at night, surprised the officers in their chambers, and, with much promptitude and courage, secured the horses and arms of the greater part of the dragoons. A number, however, of Archbold's soldiers, who happened to be then on guard, posted themselves in the sessions-house and gave battle to the townsmen, who attacked them with vigour, wounded the sergeant and compelled his men to surrender. The whole force was then secured in the cathedral—their horses and arms distributed amongst the people—and, after a few days, the disarmed prisoners were dismissed

and permitted to retreat, unmolested, to the county of Louth. Lord Blaney now took possession of Armagh, with a regiment of horse and one of foot. After his arrival there, this active commander was, every day, engaged in a desultory warfare with the Irish garrison of Charlemont and various flying parties, which then pillaged the country. Not satisfied with merely preserving the pass and repelling the incursions of his enemies, his lordship openly proclaimed King William in the city, and in his name, summoned the troops in the fort of Charlemont to surrender before the tenth of April, 1689. The Protestant inhabitants of the counties of Down, Antrim, Monaghan, Derry, Donegal and Tyrone had determined to imitate the example of Londonderry and Enniskillen, and to give every opposition in their power to Tyrconnell's measures. Each of these counties chose a commander and appointed a council for its internal defence. A general "Council of Union" was also established at Hillsborough, for the common interest and safety of the whole associated body. Regiments were raised by these councils, and letters secretly despatched to England, to solicit aid and protection from William, Prince of Orange. The lords Blaney and Mount-Alexander—with Colonels Rawdon, Skeffington, and other Protestant leaders—were peculiarly active in perfecting this association and maturing its plans.

In the county of Down, Lord Mount-Alexander was elected commander-in-chief; in Derry, Donegal and Tyrone, Colonel Lundy and Major Gustavus Hamilton; in Armagh and Monaghan, Lord Blaney. Whilst this active officer was daily occupied in various military movements, an attempt was made to seize Lady Blaney and other persons of distinction, in the castle of Monaghan. Against this place, Major John MacKenna marched at the head of 600 men, with whom he intended to storm the fort. He was, however, attacked at a very critical moment, by Matthew Anketell, Esq., who had suddenly collected two troops of horse and three companies of foot. The Irish, perceiving his movements, had manned a rath, situated upon an eminence, and from this advantageous position, galled their advancing enemies. But Anketell, a man of undaunted courage and great prowess, burst into the fort at the head of his troops, routed and pursued his flying foes, but was slain, in the moment of victory,

by an Irishman, who took aim at him from a bush, in which he lay wholly unobserved. Eighty-nine of Major MacKenna's men were killed in the contest, and he himself and his son were made prisoners. Anketell's soldiers, or rather perhaps a brutal mob which had followed them, murdered the major in cold blood, in revenge for the death of their leader. After the battle, Lady Blaney and her friends escaped to Londonderry, with two troops of horse and three companies of foot.

The Protestant coalition, having received assurances of supplies from England, boldly proclaimed King William in the north-eastern towns, and even made an unsuccessful attempt to reduce Carrickfergus. A body of troops now marched against them, under General Hamilton, and drove them from Newry, Dromore and Hillsborough. Yet Lord Mount-Alexander and Col. Rawdon kept 4000 of the north-eastern associates embodied at Coleraine, whilst those of the north-west sought refuge in Enniskillen.

Lord Blaney had kept possession of Armagh, and there maintained his little army. But Lundy, commandant of Derry, who, though confidentially entrusted by William, was secretly in the interest of James, had neglected to send any reinforcements to his aid, and the Irish had almost surrounded the city. Blaney, therefore, determined to march, on the western side of Lough Neagh and the Bann, to Coleraine, with seven troops of horse and eight companies of foot. Aware of his movements, the garrisons of Mountjoy and Charlemont endeavoured to cut off his retreat. With this view, 1200 men pushed rapidly forward on the 16th of March, to seize the pass at Artrea Bridge, and 500 others were despatched to assail his army in the rear, and thus place them between two fires. But the vigilant Blaney gained the bridge fifteen minutes before his enemy were able to overtake and fire on his troops. He halted, gave battle, slew 155 of the Irish assailants, drove a number of the survivors into the river, and compelled the remainder to retire with precipitation. After this conflict, he made good his retreat to Coleraine. Some companies of his army which had endeavoured to escape on the east side of Lough Neagh, less fortunate than their commander, were overpowered near Antrim and disarmed. Coleraine itself was soon deemed untenable,

and the associated Protestants withdrew by different routes to Londonderry, as their last refuge.

King James who, on the 12th of March, 1688—9, had arrived at Kinsale, from Brest, with a small army, officered chiefly by Frenchmen, determined, after a short delay in Dublin, to take possession of Derry in person.

In his progress through the north, he was desirous of inspecting the state of his garrison in Charlemont, and on his route to that fort, stayed a few days in Armagh. He describes the town as "pillaged by the enemy and very inconvenient, as well for himself as his train, whilst he sent Monsieur de Rosen and Monsieur de Mammont, to view and give an account of the troops at Dungannon." James revisited Armagh on his return from Derry, by Omagh, whence he had gone to Charlemont. He is said to have resided at first in a house (an inn) in Abbey-street, lately occupied by a blacksmith named Magill, from which he removed to a large habitation, situated where the infirmary now stands, but at that period, probably the property of the Dawson family.⁷ Afterwards he lodged, it is said, at Mr. Field's house in Market-street. He and his officers had a storehouse in a lane, situated on the southern side of Scotch-street; and, in a garden contiguous to this old building, many of his coins have been accidentally dug up from time to time.⁸

The disappointments experienced by King James before the city of Derry, the bold defence made by its valiant inhabitants, and the final retreat of the Irish army from its walls, are circumstances so accurately and so generally known to the public as to render it unnecessary to detail them in this work.⁹ Amongst the resolute Protestants who sought refuge in Derry, were many daring and active spirits who had marched from Armagh with a very gallant officer, John Cochrane, of Ballyrath, and his friend, Robert Pooler of Tyross. The former of these men displayed considerable prowess as a soldier and talents as a commander, in various hazardous exploits. In a curious historical account of the siege, written and printed immediately after its termination in uncouth rhymes, honourable mention is made of this officer and his companions in arms.

Pooler, in almost every sortie made by the famous Murray and

by other adventurous commanders, was always in the thickest of the battle, and yet escaped unhurt. When, however, the garrison had received the joyful information that the Irish army had commenced its retreat by night, this gallant soldier looked through an embrasure on the city battlements in hopes of witnessing its final departure. At that moment, a random shot, discharged by some of the flying foe who had loitered in the rear, struck him on the head and killed him on the spot. Some of the posterity of Pooler and of Cochrane reside, at this hour, in Armagh and its vicinity, and some in Newry.

In 1690, the troops of Duke Schomberg took possession of Armagh, and formed there a *depôt* of provisions, in a building situated in a lane off Scotch-street, which had been previously used, as already stated, by King James as a store-house.

The Irish garrison of Charlemont had, for a considerable time, been blockaded by two regiments of French Huguenots, and a detachment of English troops. It was reduced to extremities, when King James sent Lieutenant-colonel MacMahon, at the head of 500 men, to relieve and strengthen the besieged. Duke Schomberg had summoned the governor, Teig O'Regan, an able and spirited Irish commander, to surrender. His answer was, "The old knave Schomberg shall not have this castle."

On the second of May, MacMahon's troops advanced—and Schomberg was anxious that they should pass into the garrison which, he knew, was nearly exhausted of provisions. They entered unmolested—and O'Regan's soldiers, deprived of the scanty food which they possessed, by this increase of numbers, were soon reduced to the utmost distress. He therefore commanded the new reinforcements to fight their way back, which they in vain repeatedly attempted to effect. O'Regan, incensed at their failure, compelled them to lodge in huts, in the dry ditch within the palisades and on the counter-scarp. At last on the thirteenth of May, 1690, he capitulated, and on the fourteenth, 800 men and a multitude of women and children marched out. Duke Schomberg, when he saw so many females, said, that "Love rather than policy prevailed in Irish garrisons." The famished soldiers, as they moved along, were seen devouring

pieces of dried hides with hair on—but Schomberg ordered a loaf to each of them from the stores at Armagh, and entertained the officers with hospitable attention.

During the remainder of the war, few, if any, military actions of moment took place, either in the city of Armagh or its vicinity. Some acts, however, of King James's parliament,^c which had assembled on the 7th of May, 1689, were highly interesting to the gentry of that neighbourhood, and indeed to the whole kingdom, and are therefore worthy of record. A declaratory law was enacted by it, affirming that the parliament of England cannot bind Ireland—another repealed the Acts of Settlement and Explanation—another decreed liberty of conscience and annulled the clauses contained in former acts of parliament, held to be inconsistent therewith—another was passed for the encouragement of strangers to settle in Ireland—another prohibited the importation of coals from Great Britain—another vested in the King the goods of absentees—another was enacted for the advancement and improvement of trade. But “the act for the attainder of divers rebels and for preserving the interest of loyal subjects,” would have been pregnant with mighty consequences, if King James's authority had been durable. By this act, about 2600 persons were attainted by name, amongst whom were two archbishops, one duke, seventeen earls, seven countesses, twenty-eight viscounts, two viscountesses, seven bishops, twenty-four barons, thirty-five baronets, fifty-one knights and one hundred and fifty-five clergymen. Among the proscribed, were various persons who had either a direct interest in Armagh or its vicinity, or had signalized themselves in the war which had been carried on in that district.

The acts of King James's Irish parliament were declared null and void by the English legislature in the year 1690; and on the second of October, 1695, its rolls, records and papers were cancelled and publicly burned. The abortive measures of James's parliament were followed in William's reign by real forfeitures of lands, which were executed by its victorious enemies, under a commission issued by the Crown. These were carried into effect with unrelenting severity, and the violent proceedings of the commissioners exceedingly exasperated the Irish, and almost compelled them to continue the war.^d

The immediate evils resulting from this rigorous measure were, perhaps, but of temporary duration; but a most effective blow was aimed at the prosperity of Ireland by the destruction of its woollen manufacture.¹ This was sacrificed to the jealousy of England, in 1698, when such heavy additional duties were laid on the exportation of woollen cloths (friezes excepted), as were tantamount to a prohibition. Shortly afterwards, indeed, essential encouragement was given to the linen manufacture—a species of business, which, though less productive than the other, as to pecuniary emoluments, is far more conducive to human happiness.¹⁰

At the period when these arbitrary laws were enacted, woollen cloth was manufactured in many districts of Ireland, notwithstanding the distracted state of the country. Molyneux informs us, that cloth of every description, fit for household purposes, was woven in the immediate neighbourhood of Armagh. “I have,” says that writer in a letter to Locke, dated September twenty-sixth, 1696, “as good diaper, made by some of my tenants nigh Armagh, as can come to a table, and all other cloth, fit for household uses.” A camlet manufacture was carried on, in the year 1680, in Scotch-street, Armagh, by Thomas Prentice, who died at the advanced age of 107. About the year 1712, James Quin of Carlow, established a damask manufactory at Lurgan. But, however excellent the diaper may have been of which Mr. Molyneux speaks, the manufacture of that article was subsequently carried to a much greater degree of perfection, by the exertions of James Bradshaw, a Quaker, who, in the year 1728, presented to the Linen Board a slewing table, of a peculiar construction, for its further improvement. Afterwards, he passed over, under the auspices of the Board, to Holland and Hamburg where he obtained the requisite information concerning the most approved methods and machinery used in those countries for weaving and bleaching figured diapers. On this system, he afterwards carried on the manufacture most successfully in Ireland.”

¹ Brady *Epis Suer.* vol i, p 229. ² Burke *Hib. Dom.* p 449. ³ *Fus. Prim. Armae.* c 29. ⁴ Leland, vol iii, p 508. ⁵ O Heyne. ⁶ Harris's *Life of King William*, p. xiv. appendix. ⁷ In the

year 1784, a very old man, and a woman, still older, met accidentally in the shop of Mr. Robert Cochran, Market-street, Armagh. The man, who was a beggar, had accompanied King James in his visit to

Armagh, and had afterwards fought at the battle of the Boyne. The woman, who resided near Hamilton's Bawn, was the widow of a soldier, who had carried arms under King William. They quarrelled and scolded each vehemently about the politics of the preceding century. They both, however, coincided with the ancient tradition, relative to the houses in which King James had lodged in Armagh. The author of this work and Mr. Cochran's family were present at their meeting. The woman lived to the age of 140, her daughter to that of 122. 8 Lieutenant Benjamin Bassnett Stuart, father to the author of this work occupied the premises to which this old storehouse and the adjacent garden were appurtenances, till his decease in the year 1778, and many of these coins were found by his servants in digging the ground. 9 The besieged were reduced to the most abject distress in the course of the siege, as will appear from the following quotation from Walker's Diary, p. 39 (edit. London, 1689). — "July, 27. Horse flesh sold for 1s 8d per lb. A quarter of a dog, fattened by eating the bodies of the slain Irish, 5s 6d. A dog's head 2s 6d. A cat, 4s 6d. A rat, 1s. A mouse, 6d. A small fluke, taken in the river, not to be bought for money, or purchased under the rate of a quantity of meal. A pound of grease, 1s. A pound of tallow, 4s. A pound of salted hides, 1s. A quart of horse blood, 1s. A horse pudding, 6d. An handful of sea wrack, 2d. An handful of chickweed, 1d. A quart of meal, when found, 1s. We were under so great necessity, that we had nothing left unless we could prey upon one another. A certain fat gentleman conceived himself in the greatest danger, and fancying several of the garrison looked on him with a greedy eye, thought fit to hide himself for three days. Our drink was nothing but water, which we paid very dear for, and could not get without great danger. we mixed in it ginger and aniseeds, of which we had great plenty; our necessity of eating the composition of tallow and starch, did not only nourish and support us, but was an infallible cure of the dysentery, and recovered a great many that were strangely reduced by that distemper, and preserved others from it."

10 Formerly our farms were better suited to the woollen manufacture than the linen; our flocks were numerous and our sheep shearing began in May, the wool was immediately sorted and scoured, the short fine wool was preserved for grey spinning the web made of it was called a grey web, as in an Act of Henry VIII. This was dyed drab, blue, or brown, and was spun on the great wheel, woven in summer, and dressed for clothes for the male branches of the family. Tuck-mills were then more numerous than our bleach-mills are at present. The long fine wool was laid aside for the comb. This was generally spun upon the small wheel, the same as used for flax-spinning, and was dyed of different colours, and woven as poplin, the warp and weft being of different colours, when doubled it was woven as camlet, and worn by men in summer, or made into stockings. The middling kind of wool was made into blankets. J. M. Stephenson's *Fasciculus* 2nd, Belfast L.S., p. 3.

11 The destruction of the woollen manufactures compelled many Episcopalian Protestants (some of whom were English settlers, engaged in the manufacture of woollen cloth), to desert the country. At the same time, the encouragement given to the linen trade induced many Presbyterian Scots, French Huguenots, and various highly respectable Quaker families to form establishments in Ulster. Since that period, the spinning of linen-yarn and the manufacture and bleaching of linen webs have been carried to a very high degree of perfection. It is stated, somewhere in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, that Bond, Esq., of Bondville, near Armagh, had presented about the year, 1735, a piece of what was then deemed remarkably fine linen, to the Queen. But if we rightly recollect, the degree of fineness specified in the paper would not at present, be deemed worthy of record. In spinning linen-yarn some of the industrious females of this country have arrived at an almost unparalleled degree of perfection. At Dundonald, in the county of Down, in February, 1799, a woman, out of one pound and a half of flax, which cost about two shillings, produced yarn of so fine a texture, as to sell for £5 2s 4d. A Miss M Quillan, in Comber, county of Down, spun sixty four hanks out of one pound of flax, producing one hank every fortnight. She split the fibre with a needle to give this degree of fineness. A hank was lately spun in Belfast, weighing $3\frac{1}{4}$ drachms, about 73 hanks to the pound. A hank has been since spun, equal to 130 hanks to the pound. But in December, 1815, Wm. Dawson, Esq., of Woodbank near Gifford, had in his possession a hank of yarn spun by Catherine Woods, of Dunmore, near Ballynahinch aged about 15 years, which weighed exactly 10 grains, giving above 700 hanks to the avoirdupois pound of flax. These would make a thread 2,521,440 yards in length. 17lbs. 6oz. 3½drs. of this yarn, would contain a thread 21,912 English miles in length equal to the circumference of the earth. The finest piece of cambric perhaps ever manufactured in Ireland, was sold in 1794, in Lurgan market. It counted 2700 warp and 3000 woof, and was valued at £25 sterling. The extremes of the manufacture are, from 700 to 2400. The author of this work has in his possession a piece of bleached diaper, still unwashed, which was one of the first webs finished by James Bradshaw, who was his great grandfather, *a parte matris*. It bears his name, and shews the state of perfection to which he had brought the art. The late Robert Bradshaw, sen., of Mile Cross Lodge, (Newtownards,) Lucy Crymble, of Lurgan, and Ruth Brady, of Antrim, used to relate the following anecdote of their father, James Bradshaw. "Before he went to Holland, he was aware that the Dutch would be unwilling to impart any of the more important secrets of their manufacture, to a stranger. But after his arrival there, he got access to a factory through which he seemed to wander with idle curiosity, apparently gazing at the machinery, with the vacant stare of ignorance. Bradshaw, who was blessed with a most tenacious

memory, and a highly improved and comprehensive intellect made hasty but correct sketches of what he had seen, immediately on his return to his lodging. A few days after this, he spent some time on the public exchange, where having accidentally met with an Irishman, he conversed with him for a short time in his native language, of which he possessed a critical knowledge. A gentleman who had overheard part of the discourse, invited him to his house, where he informed him, that he himself, though long settled in Holland, was originally from Ireland. 'I feel for you, Sir,' said he, 'as my

countryman, and I now tell you, that our diaper manufacturers have recently received information concerning you. They know the object which you have in view—they have formed a due estimate of your talents, and dread the overthrow of their trade, if you be permitted to return home. In short, if you do not instantly decamp you will be assassinated.' Bradshaw took the friendly hint which he had received. His countryman accompanied him by night, with a considerable body of his relations, till he had passed all danger of pursuit."

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

a PRIMATE MAGUIRE.—In the Congregation of Propaganda, held on the 14th of December, 1683, it was stated that the Internuncio at Brussels had forwarded (to the Congregation) a letter of the Spanish ambassador to the English court, recommending Father Dominic Maguire for the see of Armagh. The letter described him as a person of great merit, well-known to the same Internuncio as learned and exemplary, in the time of the last persecution, when Maguire came to Brussels to transact some important business with him. The ambassador further asserted, that his promotion would be very agreeable to the Duke of York, and that, being well pleasing to all [i.e. to the clergy and laity of Armagh], they would avoid the great difficulty they had experienced in the time of the late Monsignor Plunket. The appointment was made at the same Congregation.

Towards the close of 1685, Primate Maguire and the bishop of Clogher were delegated, at a synod of the Irish bishops, to go over to London and offer congratulations to James II., on the overthrow of the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion. They were well received by the king, and, at more than one audience, the king promised that relief should come to the Irish clergy, though without offering any violence to the Protestant party. —*Spic. Ossor.*, vol. ii., p. 273.

The delegates remained in London till the approach of the next Easter. They obtained the following letter from the King to the Irish bishops, on March 20th:—

JAMES REX.

'Most Rev. and Right Rev. Fathers in God: we greet you well. We have received from the hands of the Primate of Armagh the letter which you sent us upon the occasion of our accession to the Crowne. The expressions of your date are very acceptable to us, and, therefore, you may be assured of the continuance of our Royal Protection and favour unto you upon all occasions wherein you may stand in need thereof,' etc., etc.—*Ibid.*, p. 279.

This letter was followed in a few days by another from Lord Sunderland to the Primate, as follows:—

'The King commands me to signify unto your Grace that he allowes you and the rest of the Catholick Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland to weare your ordinary habit, as Prelates, in Publicke, except the Crosse usually worne about the necke and brest, which his Majestie would have you and the rest forbear at present and till further orders from him.—*Ibid.*

The primate spent sixteen years in Paris, from his exile after the siege of Limerick, in 1691, till his death, which took place in 1707.

On February 18th, 1692, he and five other bishops, viz., James of Tuam, Dominic of Elphin, John of Limerick, Peter of Cork and Cloyne, and Gregory of Clonmacnoise, directed a letter to His Holiness, describing their destitute condition and begging his assistance.—*Ibid.*, p. 304. On December 8th of the same year, a letter from the same bishops to

the Secretary of Propaganda acknowledges the receipt of 300 crowns, which they had divided equally among them.—*Ibid.*, p. 311.

In 1698, he received from the Nuncio in Paris the brief of His Holiness, directed to the suffering Catholics in Ireland, on the occasion of the violent edicts against religion, issued by the English Parliament under William III. Maguire is described in the same letter as—*Le Primat que demeure, à St. Germain auprès du Roi.*—*Ibid.*, p. 334.

On the twenty-first of the same month, the Primate, together with William Daton, bishop of Ossory, and Richard Maginn, dean and vicar-general of Dromore, in a joint letter, acknowledged the brief of His Holiness, and besought him to send succour to the multitudes of poor Irish, driven over to the Continent, as well as to the hundreds of friars and other ecclesiastics who had been forced into exile by the late Act of Parliament.—*Ibid.*, p. 342. In the following year, we find that the Pope had contributed generously to the wants of the Irish exiles, for the primate had received 1,250 livres for himself, and 1,500 for distribution among those Irish friars who up to that time had received nothing else.—*Ibid.*, p. 350.

In 1700, he went to Rome to be present at the Jubilee, and was graciously received by Innocent XII. —*Ibid.*, p. 361.

After paying his respects to the Apostolic See, he once more took up his abode in Paris, where he remained till his death. The following is the inscription on his tomb:—

Hic jacet Illust^{us} ac Rever^{endus} D. D. Dominicus Maguire, archiep^{iscopus} Arm. totius Hib. Primas. 21 Sept. an^{no} 1707, defunctus. Requiescat in Pace.

b KING'S BOOK CENSURED.—It is manifest from Lord Clarendon's authentic account of these matters, that the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of Dublin and many other corporations, had been prevailed upon, long before Tyrconnel's time, to admit Catholics to freedom and offices among them.—O'Curry's *Historical Review*, p. 332.

Many and foul are the misrepresen-

tations of Irish Catholics exhibited in Archbishop King's *State of the Protestants in Ireland under King James II.*, and, although Mr. Lesley, a learned contemporary Protestant divine, has demonstratively proved most of his charges to be absolutely false or grossly exaggerated (without any defence or reply from his Grace or his friends), yet the archbishop's book has passed, with applause, through several editions since Mr. Lesley's decease, and, is generally quoted, as if of unquestionable authority, by all writers foreign and domestic, who have since treated of that part of Irish history, while Mr. Lesley's refutation of it is hardly anywhere to be met with, having been suppressed by authority, in the first edition of it; and it was then so far stifled in its birth that it has never since been re-printed.

"I can't say," proceeds he (Mr. Lesley), "that I have examined into every single matter of fact which the author relates, I could not have the opportunity; but, I am sure I have looked into the most material, and by these, you shall easily judge of his sincerity in the rest. But this I can say, that there is not one I have enquired into, but I have found it false in the whole or in part; aggravated or misrepresented, so as to alter the whole face of the story, and give it perfectly another air and turn; insomuch, that though many things he says are true, yet he has hardly spoken a true word, that is, told it truly and nakedly, without a warp."—*Ibid.*, pp. 325—327.

It is very much to the credit of our author that he quotes King only once.

c CATHOLIC PRELATES EXCLUDED FROM JAMES'S PARLIAMENT.—King James, however, was so intent on following the advice of his favourites, not to act anything in favour of the Irish, or for the re-establishment of the Catholic worship, that might dissatisfy his Protestant subjects in England (who, as they [the favourites] believed, would undoubtedly recall him, if he continued his wonted moderation), that, pursuant to this maxim, he would not admit the Catholic bishops to take their place in the assembly of the State, though he allowed it to four Protestant

bishops; all the rest of that stamp being gone into England to join with William, and for whom, these also declared as soon as he appeared with any power in Ireland. So that, whoever considers the different behaviour of the Prince in the temple and the senate, would take him for a serious Catholic in the one and a true Protestant in the other.—*The Jacobite War in Ireland*, by Charles O'Kelly, colonel in King James's army. New edition, p. 6.

d UNJUST CONDUCT OF THE COMMISSIONERS.—At the commencement of the Revolution in 1688, 3,920 persons were outlawed in Ireland, who together possessed more than a million acres of land. After the Treaty of Limerick, Commissioners were appointed, who, after determining the claims of those who were included in the articles of that treaty, were to sell the remainder of the forfeited lands and raise out of them £20,000, to enable William to pay off his Dutch soldiers. Such was the speculation and corruption of these officials, that an Act of Parliament was passed, in 1698, appointing other Commissioners to inquire into the proceedings of the former. Their inquiry brought to light several acts of open robbery, committed by men holding the highest positions.—See *Report* to the English House of Commons, December 15th, 1699.

e TRADE OF IRELAND.—Sir William Petty, writing shortly before this period, "On the Trade of Ireland," throws a curious light on the wretched condition of the people: If it be true, that there are about 16,000 families in Ireland who have above one chimney in their houses, and 180,000 others; it will be easily understood what the trade of this latter sort can be,

who use few commodities; and those such as almost every one can make and produce. That is to say, men live in such cottages as themselves can make in three or four days; eat such food (tobacco excepted) as they buy not from others; wear such cloaths as the wool of their own sheep, spun into yarn by themselves, doth make; their shoes, called brogues, are but a quarter so much worth as a pair of English shoes, nor of more than a quarter in real use and value. A hat costs 20d., a pair of stockings 6d., but a good shirt near 3s. The taylors work of a doublet, breeches and coat about 2s. 6d. In brief, the victuals of a man, his wife, three children, and servant, resolved into money, may be estimated 3s. 6d. per week, or 1d. per diem. The cloaths of a man 30s. per ann., of children under 16, one with another, 15s., the house not worth 5s. the building; fuel costs nothing but fetching. So the whole annual expence of such a family, consisting of 6 persons in number, seem to be about 52 shillings per ann., each head one with another. So as 950,000 inhabitants of these edifices may spend £2,375,000 per ann. And the 150,000 who inhabit the 16,000 other houses, may spend £10 per ann., each one with another, viz., one million and half. So the whole people of both sorts spend under 4 millions, whereof the 10th part, viz., £400,000 for foreign commodities, tobacco included, whereof every 1,000 souls spends one tun per ann., or 1,000 tobacco-takers, viz., people above 15 years old, spends two tuns, one with another; for it appears by the latest account of importance, that what is here said is true to a trifle.—*Political Survey of Ireland*, p. 74.



CHAPTER XVIII.

PRIMATES OF THE PENAL TIMES.

Banishment of Prelates and Regulars—Armagh governed by a Vicar—Primate Hugh MacMahon—He writes the *Jus Primatiæ Armacanum*—Primates Bernard and Ross MacMahon—Primate Michael O'Reilly—He publishes an Irish and an English Catechism—Primate Anthony Blake—His Contest with some of the Clergy—Primate Richard O'Reilly—He is known as the *Angel of Peace*.

Supplementary Notes.—Government Register of the Catholic Clergy of County Armagh—Death in Prison of the Dean of Armagh—Dr. Patrick O'Donnelly—Career of Primate Hugh MacMahon—Reports made in 1731 on the Growth of Popery—Establishment of the Dominican Nuns in Drogheda—Poetic Eulogy on Primate Bernard MacMahon—Character of Primate Ross MacMahon—Character of Primate Michael O'Reilly—Suspension of Primate Blake—Primate Richard O'Reilly builds St. Peter's in Drogheda—Outrages of the Peep-of-Day Boys in Armagh.



ABOUT this period, several severe laws were enacted against the Catholic hierarchy and regular clergy. In 1697, all the "Popish prelates, vicars-general, deans, friars, Jesuits, and others who exercised ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Ireland," were ordered by Act of Parliament, to depart from the kingdom before the first of May, the following year. In case of their return to the country, they were liable to imprisonment and transportation to foreign parts, and, if they returned again after transportation, they were to be arraigned as traitors.

This law was followed by others still more rigid; and, it is said, that in the reign of Queen Anne, there was an active tribe of informers and bailiffs, styled "Priest-catchers," who were so much on

the alert, that it was dangerous for any Catholic prelate to remain in the country.^a Owing to the severity of the laws, there was no primate resident in Ireland for a period of twenty-three years after the flight of Primate Maguire, in 1691.^b In the meantime, the see was managed by a vicar, Patrick Donnelly, a priest of Armagh diocese,^c who, in 1697, was appointed bishop of Dromore, retaining the administration of Armagh for several years afterwards, till the appointment of Hugh Mac Mahon as primate. Dr. Donnelly resided near Forkill, and must have been a man of no ordinary courage, since he dared to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Ulster, in defiance of the existing laws.^d

Hugh Mac Mahon, who was the next to succeed Dominic Maguire in the primacy, was born in the year 1660, studied in the Irish College at Rome, and was made canon of the church of Cassel, in Flanders, of which his uncle, Arthur, was provost. In 1703, he was elected vicar-general of the diocese of Clogher, and was promoted to the bishopric of that see, in 1707. On the sixth of October, the following year, he wrote to the Internuncio at Brussels, to say that he had succeeded in reaching Dublin, after many difficulties and dangers. In 1711, he received the diocese of Kilmore in administration, which he held till 1728. On August the sixth, 1714,^e he was translated to the see of Armagh, by decree of Propaganda, and the translation was approved of by the Pope on the twenty-second. On the ninth of July, 1715, he had a brief, enabling him to exercise all archiepiscopal acts without receiving the pallium.^f He administered the diocese of Dromore from 1731 till his death in 1737.

In the year 1722, Dr. Mac Mahon not only consented but gave active help to the establishment of a convent of Dominican nuns at Drogheda.^g Augustine Pipia, Master-General of the Dominican Order, issued the letters patent, by which the foundation was made and Catherine Plunket, then in Brussels, appointed the first prioress. In this nunnery, many females have been educated, and many, after a regular novitiate, have taken the veil.^h The community is in possession of an accurate portrait of Dr. MacMahon and another of the Right Rev. Thomas Burke, bishop of Ossory, and author of an erudite work styled *Hibernia Dominicana*. From the former of these,

it appears that the primate's complexion was florid and his countenance strongly expressive of candour and intelligence.

Dr. MacMahon has transmitted to posterity a literary work which will remain a durable monument of his industry, learning and controversial powers. A contest had arisen between Dr. Oliver Plunket, Catholic primate of all Ireland, and Dr. Peter Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, relative to the primatial rights, which each claimed as due to his respective see. Talbot had replied, with some talent and much warmth, to a pamphlet written by Plunket on the disputed points, and the death of those unfortunate divines had left this literary contest undecided. The immediate successor of the primate found his rights undisputed by the other prelates, and was contented with the free exercise of his acknowledged powers, without entering into any minute investigation of the sources from which they had been derived. Dr. MacMahon, however, deemed himself bound in duty, to defend and illustrate the ancient claims of his see, in contradistinction to those of Dublin, and to demonstrate on what foundation its privileges rested. He justly thought, that anything which derogated from his primatial powers tended to bring the whole hierarchy over which he presided into contempt. Actuated by such motives, he published, in the year 1728, his *Jus Primatiale Armacanum*, and his reply to an anonymous pamphlet, written by a Jesuit of Clonmel, named John Hennessy, who had taken a part in the controversy, the reply being published as an appendix to the original work. The style of Dr. MacMahon's work is perspicuous, the arguments are unanswerable, and the author, as is justly remarked by Harris, "has accurately handled, or rather exhausted, the subject." The minuteness of his research and the extent of his learning, on the points which he had undertaken to elucidate, are truly surprising; yet, when he wrote this very erudite and elaborate dissertation, he was by no means possessed of competent literary ease, or of robust health. The duties of a Catholic prelate cannot be faithfully discharged, in a country like this, where no provision is made, by the state, for his support, without incessant mental labour and a kind of patriarchal vigilance and attention. But Dr. MacMahon, not only justified his claims with his pen, but exercised

primatial rights in regard to Dublin as often as occasion required. Thus, without any hesitation, he took cognisance of a cause relative to the parish of St. Catherine in Dublin.⁶

It may, perhaps, seem strange to some of our readers, that the Catholic prelates should have been so tenacious of ecclesiastical rights, apparently nominal, when the law of the land had transferred the efficient power to the Protestant hierarchy of the church of Ireland. But it should be remembered, that voluntary obedience, as well as voluntary support, is tendered and paid to them by those laymen, who, through education, habit or choice, are placed under their superintendence. They, therefore, possess a real operative authority, not indeed derived from the law of the land, but founded on the powerful basis of public opinion, and on the respect and reverence which members of their own communion think justly due to the acknowledged pastors of their church.

Outlawed as a Popish dignitary, Dr. MacMahon could take no active part in the political contests of the age in which he lived. It is said, that he delighted in the correct performance of his duty; that he was a strict economist, as to his pecuniary expenses; husbanding his means, that he might relieve the necessities of the indigent. Parsimonious with regard to his personal expenditure, he was liberal to his friends and generous to the unfortunate. He was gifted with a pleasing poetic talent. The late Rev. Dr. Crawley, of Armagh, had in his possession a manuscript lyric hymn to the Blessed Virgin, and a translation of the Song of Moses into classic Latin verse, which, he said, were the productions of MacMahon's muse. The *Carmen Mosaicum* was written in a genuine spirit of poetry, highly creditable to its author. Dr. MacMahon died in the city of Dublin, on the second of August, 1737, aged seventy-seven, and was buried in St. Peter's church, Drogheda.⁷

Of the archbishops of Armagh who succeeded Dr. Hugh MacMahon, little or no traces are to be found in the publications of the last or present century. We are, however, enabled by the kindness of the learned and Right Rev. Dr. Edmund Derry, bishop of Dromore, to give a succinct but correct biographical sketch of that primate's successors.

We subjoin Dr. Derry's narrative, in his own words—"The venerable and learned Hugh MacMahon was succeeded by Bernard, commonly called Bryan MacMahon,^f the then Catholic bishop of Clogher, who studied with great diligence at Rome. [He was translated from Clogher to Armagh, by brief, dated November the eighth, 1737. He had a second brief, dated September the thirtieth, 1738, in which the primatial dignity of the see was set forth. And in December of the same year, he had a brief to exercise all the archiepiscopal acts without the pallium.] This prelate resided at Ballymasculan, in the county of Louth, where his habitation was nothing above the style of a farm-house. Here he lived, in a kind of domestic exile, on account of the severity of the times, and was generally known by the name of Mr. Ennis. He was, however, remarkable for the holiness of his life and the simplicity of his manners. [Bernard MacMahon died on May the twenty-seventh, 1747, and was buried in Edergole churchyard, in the county Monaghan.]

After his decease, his brother Ross,^g who succeeded him in Clogher, was translated to the see of Armagh [August third, 1747.] Of him there is nothing more recorded than that he was a good and pious prelate. [He died on the twenty-ninth of October, 1748, and was buried, like his brother, in Edergole churchyard.]

Michael O'Reilly,^h on Ross's demise, was promoted to the see of Armagh. I first find him vicar-general of Kilmore, and next, bishop of Derry, which diocese he governed for some years, but Armagh for a longer space of time. [He was parish priest of Drogheda, and was recommended for the see of Derry by King James, the Pretender, on the tenth of April, 1739. His brief to Derry was dated April the twenty-fourth, 1739. In 1740, he was one of the assisting bishops at the consecration of Francis Stuart, bishop of Down and Connor. He was translated from Derry to Armagh, by brief, dated January the twenty-third, 1749. The recommendation by Jacobus Rex, was dated at Rome, the twenty-third of December, 1748.] He published two catechisms, one in Irish, the other in English; and, though there have been many others written and printed since that period, his work (particularly in Ulster) has the ascendant. He was a most rigid disciplinarian, and it was often his practice to surprise the priests on

Sundays, whom (if he discovered that the children committed to their care were not instructed in the catechism, or that the sacerdotal vestments or ornaments of the altar were not in that decorous state in which he would wish to find them) he publicly rebuked with unfeeling severity. It is uniformly said of him, that he never ordained a priest in Derry or Armagh [*sic*], and he was often heard to boast that he had never ordained a 'bad priest.' His residence was in the parish of Turfegin (Termonfechan), near Drogheda, in a farm-house, where he died, about the year 1758, and was interred in the burial ground called the Chord, on the outside of Laurence's Gate, Drogheda.

He was succeeded by Anthony Blake,ⁱ the then Catholic bishop of Ardagh, a Connaught gentleman, and grand-uncle to the late Walter Blake Kirwan (the pervert), a famous preacher of charity sermons, in Dublin. [His brief to Ardagh is dated August the eleventh, 1756. The brief of his translation to Armagh is dated August the twenty-first, 1758.] That prelate lived many years after his translation to Armagh, but never could be prevailed on to reside permanently in his diocese. As soon as his visitations were finished, he returned to the county of Galway, and lived there with some of his relations. His appearance was very respectable, and, in travelling to Ulster and during his residence there, he always used an elegant carriage. The clergy, particularly those of the county of Louth, at length opposed him, and accused him of non-residence and of too great severity in his exactions. In the Rev. Philip Levins, P.P. of Ardee, commonly called Doctor Levins, and the Rev. Peter Markey, P.P. of Louth, he had two able opponents, who carried on and directed a prosecution against him, at Rome, with great ability. A suspension from his functions was the consequence. Some time after this, Doctor Troy, then residing at Rome, was there promoted to the See of Ossory, and, on his return to this country, [in 1777], was commissioned to re-establish peace in the archiepiscopal diocese of Armagh. He held a meeting for this purpose, in the chapel of Drogheda, which continued for some days, and was attended by many of the clergy of the diocese. The result of this meeting is not

generally known with accuracy, but it is commonly believed that Doctor Blake was then released from the suspension. [He was released].

Soon after this, he became so paralysed that he was rendered incapable of performing any sacred function; of course, the Right Rev. Richard O'Reilly, the coadjutor of Doctor Keefe, of Kildare and Leighlin, was appointed coadjutor of Armagh. This venerable prelate, whose death is now sincerely lamented by every one who knew him, was a native of the diocese of Kildare, and descended, as the name O'Reilly imports, from a respectable parentage. But those who believe their priesthood to be derived from that of Melchisedeck, never resort to a long line of illustrious ancestors, in order to shed a lustre on the memory of their deceased ecclesiastics; as Melchisedeck is described without *Father*, without *Mother*, without *genealogy*.

At the age of sixteen, Richard O'Reilly was sent to Rome, in the year 1762, and became a student in the missionary university, founded by Urban VIII., for two and twenty nations or tongues. This seminary, denominated "The College for the Dissemination [Propagation] of the Faith," possessed, at that time, several highly celebrated professors. Here, Doctor O'Reilly's intense application to his studies, till he reached the years requisite for priesthood, the strict rules of the college, and the bright examples of every virtue which he had before him, severely regulated his morals and deeply informed his understanding. After his return, he laboured eleven years as a missionary priest. In 1781, he was appointed coadjutor of Bishop Keefe [of Kildare], and was, in his chapel of Kilcock, consecrated by the then Catholic archbishop of Dublin, the Most Rev. John Carpenter, assisted by the senior suffragans of Dublin and Armagh, Bishops Troy of Ossory, and Plunket of Meath. In 1782, he was appointed coadjutor of Armagh.^h Doctor Blake retired to Connaught, and had a pension out of the diocese till he died, in 1786 [in 1787, when Richard O'Reilly succeeded him in the primacy].

At this time, the diocese of Armagh was disorganized by confessed anarchy. It was the glory of Primate O'Reilly, and the first blessing of his auspicious entry, to have tranquillized this most ancient diocese. At his presence, the demon of discord, with his horrid

train of attendants, disappeared. The pious and benevolent prelate founded then a system of concord and practical government, and was therefore emphatically called the *Angel of Peace*. [On the first of July, 1792, the use of the pallium being now conceded, the Pope gave to the Master of Ceremonies the office of consigning the pallium for Armagh to Father Luke Concannon, a Dominican and proctor for the archbishop of Armagh.]

Having an independent fortune, he was the first Catholic primate, since the Revolution, who had it in his power to live in a manner becoming his dignified station. [He lived at Green Hills, near Drogheda]. The writer of this article had often the honour of dining with the late learned, liberal and hospitable, the Right Rev. Doctor Percy, Protestant bishop of Dromore, and frequently with Doctor O'Reilly. He could not, except in the number of servants, observe any difference in their style of living. At their tables, there was the same kind of rational and improving conversation, and the like sober and modest magnificence. Doctor O'Reilly was rendered agreeable to all by the gentleness of his mind, the affability of his manners, the extent of his information and the sweetness of his disposition. He was the delight of his flock, the honour and protection of the priesthood and the light of pastors. Worn out by a combination of diseases, and full of merit, he gave up his precious spirit to God, January 31st, 1818. The good people of Drogheda would not permit a hearse to carry his remains, they carried them themselves; and the emulation that existed between them, to get under and support what they considered the sacred relics, very much retarded the awfully solemn procession. He was interred in the chapel of Drogheda, [in front of the High Altar], with every appropriate solemnity."¹

¹ *Hib Dom.* pp 154, 155, 158. ² Brady, vol. i. p. 303. ³ Brady, vol. i. p. 230. ⁴ *Yus Prim Armagh pref.* p. 6, et sequent. ⁵ *Yus Prim Armagh*, c. 24. ⁶ *Hib Dom.* p. 360. ⁷ Harris's

Writers, p. 195. ⁸ In order to leave Dr Derry's narrative entirely unchanged, we have put additions and corrections, taken almost wholly from Brady, within square brackets.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

A GOVERNMENT REGISTER OF THE CATHOLIC CLERGY OF CO. ARMAGH.—A List of the Names of the Popish Parish Priests, as they are Register'd at a General Sessions of the Peace held at Lurgan, in and for the said County of Armagh, the tenth day of July, 1704, and were Return'd up to the Council Office in Dublin, pursuant to a Clause in the late Act of Parliament, Intituled, *An Act for Registring the Popish Clergy*.

[This list is subdivided under the several following headings, viz., Popish priests' names; places of abode; age; parishes of which they pretend to be Popish priests; time of their Receiving Popish Orders; places where they received Orders; from whom they received them; sureties' names that entered for such Priests, according to the said Act].

1. John Parlin [MacParland] — Latbrigidy [Latbirget, parish of Forkill] — 54 years—[P.P. of] The upper part of the parish of Killeavy [This is the parish now called Forkill]—Receiv'd Orders in 1672—at Ballybarrick, [Ballybarrack] near Dundalk, in the county of Louth, from Dr. Oliver Plunket, then Popish archbishop of Armagh.

Sureties { Abraham Booth, of Carrickastick, [Carrickasticken, in the parish of Forkill] in the said county, gent., £50;

{ Daniel Callaghan, of Lishra, [Lissaraw, in parish of Killeavy (lower)] in the said county, husbandman, £50.

2. Bryan Henry — Maghernahely [in parish of Killeavy (lower) immediately adjoining Bessbrook] — 50 years—[P.P. of] The lower part of the parish of Killeavy—Receiv'd Orders in the year 1672—at Dundalk, in the county of Louth, from Dr. Oliver Plunket, etc.

Sureties { Patrick Savage, of Maghernahely, in the said county, gent., £50;

{ Pat MacArdle, of Maghernahely, in the said county, yeoman, £50

3. James [O'] Callaghan—Killeavy — 60 years—[P.P. of] The middle part of the parish of Killeavy [parish of Upper Killeavy now]—Receiv'd Orders in the year 1666—at Dublin, in the county of Dublin, from Dr. Patrick Plunket, then Popish bishop of Meath.

Sureties { Edmund — of — in the county, yeoman, £50;
{ Hugh Callaghan, of Aghatarraghan, [Aghantarraghan, in parish of Ballymore, beside Poyntzpass] in the said county, yeom., £50.

4. Peter Finan [Feenen] — Cassel [Cashel, in parish of Forkill] — 50 years—[P.P. of] Loghgilly—Receiv'd Orders in the year 1675, at Ard-Patrick, in the county of Louth, from Dr. Oliver Plunket, etc.

Sureties { Edmund MacIvallely [Vallely], of Tulliherrive [Tullyherron], in the said county, yeoman, £50;
{ Jacob Dally, of Tete [Tate], in the said county, yeoman, £50.

5. Terence Neill—Sigaghan [Seagahan, parish of Lisnadill] — 41 years—[P.P. of] Kilicluny [parish in Lower Fews]—Receiv'd Orders in the year 1690, at Stroaks-town, in the county of Roscommon, from Dr. Dominick Burke, Popish Bishop of Elphin.

Sureties { Neile MacKee, of Ballymacknab, in the said county, yeom., £50;
{ Loughlin MacGrana, of Killmore, alias Killvore, in the said county, yeom., £50.

6. Patrick Donelly—Corrimallagh — 55 years—[P.P. of] that part of the parish of Newry that lies in the county of Armagh—Receiv'd Orders in the year 1673, at Dundalk, in the county of Louth, from Dr. Oliver Plunket, etc.

Sureties { Terence Murphy, of Lurgan, in the said county, yeom., £50;
{ Patrick Guinnisse, of Lurgan, in the said county, yeom., £50.

7. Owen Donnelly— —55 years—
[P.P. of] Armagh—Receiv'd Orders in the
year 1672, at Ballibark, near Dundalk, in
the county of Louth, from Dr. Oliver
Plunket, etc.

Sureties { Terence Murphy, of Lurgan, in
the said county, yeom., £50 ;

8. John Byrne—Ballynimony—47 years
—[P.P. of] Sego [Seagoe, parish in diocese
of Dromore]—Receiv'd Orders in the
year 1683, at Crigin, in the county of
Galloway, from Dr. Thady Keogh, Popish
Bishop of Clonfert.

Sureties { Christopher Willson, of Derry-
anvin [Derryinver], in the said
county, yeom., £50 ;
Henry Guinnisse, of Lurgan,
yeom., £50.

9. Owen Gonnley—Carrickclean [Car-
ricklane]—[P.P. of] Tynan—Receiv'd
Orders in the year 1670, at Bridge [Knock-
bridge], in the county of Louth, from Dr.
Oliver Plunket, etc.

Sureties { Patrick Savage, of Magherne-
hely, in the said county, gent.,
£50 ;
Edmund Hughes, of Middle-
town, in the said county, gent.,
£50.

10. Hugh Quin—Tassagh—45 years—
[P.P. of] Tassagh [townland in Keady
parish]—receiv'd Orders in the year 1670,
at Stroakstown, from Dr. Dominick Burke,
etc.

Sureties { Alexander Trelld of Lurgan, in
in the said county, glazier, £50 ;
William Forbes of Knockcaver,
in the said county, yeom., £50.

11. Patrick Murphy—Timore—55 years
—[P.P. of] part of the parish of Cregan
[Creggan]—Receiv'd Orders in the year
1672, at Ballybark, near Dundalk, from
Dr. Oliver Plunket etc.

Sureties { Corm. MacCann, of Tandragee,
in the said county, gent., £50 ;
Carol. Murphy, of Magherle-
cowbegg [Marlacoo Beg], in
the said county, yeom., £50.

12. Daniel MacGillmurry—Carnally
[near Silverbridge] 54 years—[P.P. of]
part of the parish of Cregan—Receiv'd
Orders in the year 1676 at Ardpatrick in
the ——— from Dr. Oliver Plunket, etc.

Sureties { Edward Hughes of Middleton,
in ——— gent., £50 ;
Denis Haighan [O'Hagan] of
of Aghnacloy, in the said
county, yeom., £50.

13. Patrick Parlan—Derrycoose—54
years [P.P. of] Loghgall and Tar-
taraghan—Receiv'd Orders in the year
1684—at Cregin, in the county of Galloway,
from Dr. Thady Keogh, Popish Bishop of
Clonfert.

Sureties { Edmund Murphy of Knock-
camor [Knockramer], £50 ;
Patrick Guinnisse of Lurgan,
yeom., £50.

14. Bryan Kiernan—Tullymore—44
years—[P.P. of] Kilmore and Drumcree—
receiv'd Orders in the year 1684, at Sevil
in Spain, from Ambrose Spinola, Popish
Archbishop of said city of Sevil.

Sureties { Edmund Hughs, of Middleton,
gent., £50 ;
Johan Derry, of Ballynemoney,
yeom., £50.

15. Daniel MacKeogh—Cavagh [Cam-
agh]—51 years—[P.P. of] Derenuse—
Receiv'd Orders in the year 1680, at —,
in the county of —, from Dr. Mark
Forstall, Popish Bishop of Kildare.

Sureties { John Gormul of Tullyglis,
yeom., £50 ;
Roger Drum, of Mallon [Mad-
dan], yeom., £50.

16. Thady Gallogly—Ulleekin—57
years—[P.P. of] Tannaghly *alias* Bally-
more *alias* Tandragee—receiv'd Orders in
the year 1671, at Dublin, from Dr. Patrick
Plunket, Popish Bishop of Meath.

Sureties { Cormick MacCana of Tandra-
gee, yeom., £50 ;
Philip Murphy of Tandragee,
tailor, £50.

17. Art MacGilmurphy — Ballymoire [Ballymoyer]—56 years—[P.P. of] Mulla-brache—receiv'd Orders in the year 1671, at Dublin, from Dr. Patrick Plunket, etc.

Sureties { Johan Creely of Derrybegg, gent., £50;
Johan Gillaspy of Kenedus [Kennedies], yeom., £50.

18. Dennis Hughs — Sesscagh - Ma-gerrel, in the county of Tyrone — 53 years—[P.P. of] that part of the parish of Clouseikell [Clonfeacle] that lies in the county of Armagh—Receiv'd Orders in the year 1670, at Ardpatrik, in the county of Louth, from Dr. Oliver Plunket, etc.

Sureties { Thomas Bond, of Tyra, in —, gent., £50;
Johan Gillaspy, of Ballyne-metagh, in —, yeom., £50.

19. Roger Phelan - Creenagh, in the county of Tyrone—54 years—[P.P. of] that part of the parish of Killiman that lies in the county of Armagh—Receiv'd Orders in the year 1673, at Ballybarrick, in the county of Louth, from Dr. Oliver Plunket, etc.

Sureties { Thomas Bond, of Tyra, in —, gent., £50;
Johan Gillaspy, of Ballyne-metagh, in —, yeom., £50.

By Order of His Grace the Lord Lieutenant and Council.

H. PULTENEY, Dep. Cler. Conc. Priv.
—Irish Record Office, *Returns: Religion: Popish.*

This register, from which we have extracted the part relating to County Armagh, embraces the whole of Ireland.

b SEVERITY OF THE LAWS.—In October, 1712, when the proclamation ordering the laws against Popish priests, &c., to be put into force, was published in Armagh, Walter Dawson, a cousin of the Secretary at the Castle, received intelligence that "a Popish Dean of Armagh" was concealed in the neighbourhood of the primate city. He had him accordingly arrested without delay and thrown into prison. The official correspondence in the Irish Record Office gives us full details

concerning this most singular case. The captive dean was the Rev. Brian M'Quirk, who proved to be a bedridden old man, in his ninetieth year, weak of mind, being now in a second childhood, and so poor that he depended entirely for his support on the charity of his neighbours. The brother of the captive wrote to the Government, deprecating the inhumanity of this arrest, and urging that it could not fail to bring serious discredit upon the law. A few months later, Walter Dawson again addressed the authorities of the Castle, setting forth that, in pursuance of the proclamation, he had arrested the Popish titular Dean of Armagh, and had obtained witnesses against him, but that, on the 13th of February, before the assizes had begun, his prisoner had died in Armagh gaol: he adds a prayer that, notwithstanding this mischance, he may not be deprived of the reward of £50 which he would have been entitled to, on the Dean's conviction. —Moran: *The Catholics of Ireland under the Penal Laws of the Eighteenth Century*, p. 46.

It may seem strange that we are taking the liberty, in compiling the notes of the present chapter, of making such large extracts from a book published only last year. Our excuse is that no previous work has thrown such light on the penal times as this little book of Cardinal Moran, who, in writing it, has utilised not only his own valuable collection of documents, the *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, but also the traditional lore, gathered by him from old people in various localities.

c DR. PATRICK O'DONNELLY.—He was born about the year 1649, and was ordained priest at Dundalk, in 1673, by Dr. Oliver Plunket. He was a doctor of civil and canon law, a distinction that fitted him for the post of vicar-general of Armagh. A document connected with his appointment to the see of Dromore, in 1697, gives some painful details of the state to which that diocese had been reduced by the persecution. The cathedral of Dromore as well as the town, the latter having four thousand inhabitants, the episcopal house, sacristy and parishes, were all in possession

of the Protestants. The sacraments had to be administered in private houses. The bishop had no fixed revenue, and was supported by the charity of the faithful.

It is probable that his appointment as bishop of Dromore was made, that he might be able to perform episcopal functions for the diocese of Armagh, during the exile of Dominic Maguire, the primate. The nomination to the see was made by Jacobus Rex, and the bishop-elect got an indult, allowing him to be consecrated by one bishop. In the list of Popish parish priests of 1704, O'Donnelly is described as residing at Corrimallagh, and as being the pretended Popish priest of part of the parish of Newry, in the county Armagh. His real position may have been soon discovered, for in 1707, the Propaganda granted 100 scudi for the relief of Bishop O'Donnelly, who was in prison in Dublin on a charge of high treason, and was in danger of exile or death. His death took place in 1716.—See Brady: *Epis. Succ.*, vol. i., p. 302.

In 1720, Terence Donnelly was consecrated bishop of Derry, "in the chapel situated in the place of refuge of the illustrious Patrick (O'Donnelly) bishop of Dromore."

Some interesting information has been recently elicited about Dr. O'Donnelly's domicile. He is put down in the register as we have seen, as residing at Corrimallagh. This is probably the old name of the townland, now known by the curious name of *Doctor's Quarter*, called no doubt after him. This place is situated five miles from Newry, on the far side of Canlough, and a little beyond Lislea chapel. From inquiries made on the spot, some years ago, as to the origin of the name of the place, an old woman gave the following account which tallies exactly with what we know otherwise of the doctor. "You want to know," said she, "why this is called *Doctor's Quarter*? It is called that from a priest who used to live here. He was a Doctor O'Donnelly, a bishop of Dromore, and he used to live up there," pointing to a house of modest appearance on one side of the road, "and used to say Mass over there," pointing to a cluster of

trees on the other side, "and that is six generations ago."

It seemed strange to the inquirer, that a bishop of Dromore should have resided in the diocese of Armagh, but a perusal afterwards of Brady's *Episcopal Succession* solved the difficulty and proved to satisfaction the truth of the woman's information.

d PRIMATE HUGH MACMAHON. Dr. Hugh MacMahon went to Rome to prosecute his studies, at the age of twenty-two. He spent many years after this on the Continent, for we find in a letter of commendation, issued in his favour by the Dean and Chapter of Cassel, in Flanders, in 1706, that he was a canon of that church and had lived ten years there.—*Spic. Ossor.*, vol. ii., p. 385.

After his appointment in 1707 to the see of Clogher and his return to this country, the affairs of the diocese of Armagh engaged his attention at an early date. Towards the close of the same year, he wrote a long letter in French to the Inter-nuncio, under the assumed name of Nelson, calling his attention to the vacancy in Armagh, caused by the recent death of Primate Maguire, and strongly urging on him the necessity of making an early appointment to the see, and of not appointing anyone unless a native of the province.—*Ibid.*, p. 392. His advice having been neglected and no appointment made, he drew attention in 1714 to the terrible state of the diocese, rent by internal schism in the face of the terrible persecution to which it was subjected by the penal laws. He again urged an appointment of a pastor to the see, and recommended for the post Father Philip Maguire, a Franciscan, then residing at the College of St. Isidore's, in Rome.—*Ibid.*, p. 482.

This account of the see of Armagh, which was merely a portion of a very full and elaborate report, presented to Propaganda, on the state of all the dioceses of the province of Armagh, and that of his own diocese of Clogher in particular, was probably written at Cassel, in Flanders, for we find from another letter, written on May 10th of the same year, that he had

been there since 1712, arranging the affairs of his deceased uncle, Arthur, who had left all his money to found burses for the education of students of the dioceses of Clogher and Kilmore. He also states that, on his way there, he had been captured in England, but was fortunate enough to make his escape.—*Ibid.*, p. 469. He had already administered the diocese of Kilmore for three years previous to this.

It was probably before his return home that he received the brief of his translation to Armagh, and his appointment was, no doubt, owing to his intimate knowledge of the diocese shown in his able statement to Propaganda. Four years later, he informs the Internuncio of the consternation caused in Ireland by the arrest of the Archbishop of Dublin and some of the secular and regular clergy, and tells him that though the prisoners had been set at liberty, on giving security to appear when called on, there was a fear of further arrests, and that he, in consequence, had brought to an abrupt conclusion some diocesan visitations on which he had been engaged. *Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 131.

There are very interesting letters from the Primate to the Cardinals of Propaganda, in the years 1720–21, explaining the difficulties he was under in writing his great work, *Jus Primatiale Armacanum*, which he was commanded to bring out by a brief from the Pope. These arose not only from the Protestant persecutors, but from certain *false brethren*, who, for the sake of the pecuniary reward offered for the apprehension of a Catholic prelate, were watching all the roads and searching for him both in the towns and the country. He had been, in consequence, compelled not only to fly from place to place, but to leave the diocese altogether and betake himself to a remote and secluded spot. This put him out of touch with the friends who might have been of service to him in making extracts from the Armagh registers. He adds that, not knowing where the registers were kept, whether at Armagh or Dublin or Drogheda, he had secretly set his friends on the search for them, but without success. The Pro-

testant officials had denied all knowledge of their whereabouts, and hinted that they might have perished at Armagh during the late war. In the meantime, while not giving up hope of finding the registers, he was writing a small work on the primatial rights of the diocese, drawing his arguments from the best works on the subject and the annals of the country.—*Ibid.*, p. 133.

On April 15, 1720, he had finished his great work, but a new difficulty presented itself. The manuscript was so large and heavy, that it could not be sent through England, and the Primate awaited a favourable opportunity to send it by sea direct to France, and thence, by special messenger, to Rome. *Ibid.*, p. 134. He managed to send it shortly afterwards by the hands of his own brother, Bernard, then dean of Clogher.

We subjoin the following description of the life of the Primate from Dr. Renahan:

If Dr. MacMahon had a dwelling, he dared not always inhabit it, and his revenue must have been quite inconsiderable. During a great part of his time, he was obliged to wander about from place to place, often saying Mass and administering Confirmation in the open air, or under the arch of a deserted lime-kiln, or in the solitude of the wood, or the sequestered valley, for, except in Louth, he had scarcely a chapel in the entire of his extensive diocese. The excessive labours he took upon himself in the beginning of his administration, added to the privations he was obliged to endure, soon impaired his constitution; but, in spite of debility and peril, he continued to the end of his life frequently to visit every part of his diocese, correcting, consoling, and instructing all unto salvation. History may not deem the religious performance of ordinary, though arduous, duties sufficiently remarkable to claim its notice; but it was in such duties alone Dr. MacMahon delighted, and it was by the exactness and perfection with which he discharged them, that he became a truly great and extraordinary prelate. The fury of intolerance began to abate towards the end of his life, and

these last few years were passed in comparative security and comfort. He carefully husbanded his little revenue, that he might be able to relieve the indigent; he practised the strictest economy in his own expenses, that he might be liberal to the poor and unfriended. In the Irish College, Paris, there is a portrait of this venerable primate, painted in 1714, with the inscription: "Illustrissimus et Reverendissimus Hugo Mattei (MacMahon) Archiep. Armachanus, Totius Hib. Primas, Collegii Ludoviciani de Urbe olim alumnus, ætatis 54, A.D. 1714." The coat of arms of the MacMahons is added, with the motto, *Virtus omnia terit*. — See Moran: *The Catholics of Ireland under the Penal Laws of the Eighteenth Century*, p. 155.

The portrait referred to was painted in the year of his translation to the primacy. Brady and Cardinal Moran both erroneously ascribe this event to 1713 (See *Spic. Ossor.*, vol. ii., p. 385).

In two petitions, one sent to Propaganda, the other to Cardinal Imperiali, then protector of Ireland, Hugh MacMahon complained that the title of Primate had been omitted from his brief, the omission causing great dissatisfaction to the Irish clergy. In consequence of this, the Pope sent him a second brief, dated July 5, 1715, in which the omission was supplied.

It is curious that a similar complaint had to be made by Hugh's successor, Bernard MacMahon, in consequence of which a second brief had to be despatched to him. Authenticated copies of these briefs are preserved in the archives of St. Clement's, Rome.

In order to throw fuller light on the times in which Primate Hugh lived, we quote from the following reports:—

In 1731, a report was made, styled "A Report made by his Grace, the Lord Primate, from the Lords' Committee appointed to inquire into the present state of Popery in the Kingdom and to propose such Heads of a Bill, as they shall think most proper for explaining and amending the Acts to prevent the growth of Popery, and to secure the kingdom from any danger from the great number of Papists

in the kingdom." In the preface, it is said:—"As leading perseverance in promoting and increasing Protestant seminaries (Protestant charter schools) and due execution of the laws against the Popish clergy, will, it is hoped, in the next age, root out that pestilent, restless, and idolatrous religion," etc.

We take the following extracts from the report itself:—"In the course of their inquiries, the lords' committees have had frequent occasion to observe, that the parish priests, even unregistr'd ones, appear everywhere with little reserve; and that the Papists frequent their mass-houses as openly as the Protestants do their churches. . . . But the Regulars may live more retired, and it is their interest to conceal themselves, at least in some parts of the kingdom; because, though subject to the same penalty only, that unregistr'd seculars are, they are usually and justly accounted the most dangerous and inveterate enemies to our present happy settlement in church and state. . . .

Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that the number of Popish priests, monks and friars, and of public mass-houses and convents, has of late years, greatly increased in this kingdom, to the manifest danger of the Protestant religion, of his majesty's government and of the peace and welfare of this kingdom.

Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that several pretended archbishops, bishops and other officials continue to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction within this realm, in contempt and defiance of the laws.

Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that to remedy those great and growing evils, and prevent the dangerous consequences that may follow from them, to our present happy settlement in church and state, it is absolutely necessary that the magistrates of this kingdom, particularly those of the city of Dublin, do immediately enter upon a more steady and vigorous execution of the laws against popery, especially those against

regulars and persons exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, contrary to the laws of this kingdom.

Nov. 30, 1731.—In obedience to your Grace's commands, I have made diligent enquiry and find that there is no nunnery, friary, nun or friar in the county of Armagh.—Thos. D. Clarke.

The Rev. Dr. Browne's Return.—Pursuant to an order from my Lord Primate for inquiring into some particulars, concerning the state of Popery in my parishes, I do set forth that in the Parish of Kilnian there is no Popish Priest; in each of the Parishes of Ballymony and Kinnech there is one. What they call their Mass-houses are no more than open Cabbins. Tho' there be neither nunneries nor friaries, yet the Priests seem to be more insolent than they used to be; and what is very observable, as far as I have had an opportunity of making remarks, is that, whereas I am informed about seventeen years ago, they were content to have their Mass-houses in remote and private places, they now have them near public roads, and in the most frequented parts of the whole county.—Dec. 7, 1731.—Saml. Browne.

From returns made by the Protestant archbishops and bishops, from their clergy, in their respective dioceses:—Diocese of Armagh—No. of old Mass-Houses, 25; No. of Mass-houses, built since the first year of George I., 1; priests officiating, 77; frieries, 5; friars, 22; nunneries, 1; nuns, 9; private chapels, 7; popish schools, 40.

His Grace, the lord archbishop of Armagh, has observed that two of the private Popish chapels, returned by His Grace, which lie at Carlingford, are not used; and one, situated at Dunleer, but for a burying-place.

e DOMINICAN NUNS IN DROGHEDA.—An amusing story of the first prioress is preserved in the annals of the convent. A licence to teach, having been obtained from the Protestant primate, the nuns opened a boarding-school. Though they wore secular dress both inside and outside the house, rumours began to spread in a short time, that these ladies were Popish

nuns, and an official was sent to the place to make inquiries. On his being ushered in, the prioress presented herself and demanded his business. He was rather taken aback by her appearance, but summoned up courage to ask what work they were all engaged in. She politely informed him that they were keeping a boarding-school. "But," said he, quite unaware that the lady he was addressing was a nun, "there is a report that there are nuns in the house." "Sir," she replied, "I can assure you the ladies of this establishment are as much nuns as I am." With many apologies for the pain he must have caused her, by suspecting she had nuns in the house, the official withdrew and left them in peace.

However, after some years, the truth became commonly known, as we see from the reports of 1731, in which one nunnery is returned for the diocese with nine nuns.

There is a clock still preserved in the convent and still keeping good time, given to the nuns by Dr. MacMahon, on their first coming to Drogheda. It bears the date 1722, in large figures, and the Primate's name.

But their great treasure is the head of the Venerable Oliver Plunket, enshrined in a beautiful reliquary of silver and ebony, made in the seventeenth century. This was given to them for safe keeping by Dr. MacMahon, who received it from Rome, where it had been for some years. On the silver plate in the front door are the Primate's arms, surmounted by a silver mitre. The head itself is quite perfect, with the exception of the nose, which is slightly injured. No better place could have been selected by Dr. MacMahon for the safe keeping of that sacred deposit, which has now been under the careful guardianship of the nuns for close on two centuries.

f PRIMATE BERNARD MACMAHON.—Bernard MacMahon, nephew of the preceding archbishop, was appointed to Clogher in 1718 as administrator and Vicar Apostolic, but without episcopal consecration. His brief of appointment as Bishop of Clogher is dated April 7,

1727, and he was translated to Armagh in 1737. The Internuncio in Brussels writes of him in 1728 that he held the office of Dean of the Diocese of Clogher, and that he was "of sound doctrine and of exemplary life, and beloved by the clergy of the diocese." Dr. Renahan also relates of him that "His whole life was remarkable for humility, holiness, and simplicity."

In a memorial presented to Cardinal Corsini, Protector of the Kingdom of Ireland, in 1737, Bernard MacMahon is spoken of as "a near relative of the deceased archbishop: as Bishop of Clogher he has been remarkable for zeal, charity, prudence, and sound doctrine; for many years he has been *socius laborum* of the deceased primate, and he is quite imbued with his spirit. He has all the qualities which St. Paul requires in bishops in his Epistles to Timothy and Titus. He is in his 58th year, and belongs to a highly distinguished family in that province."

In connection with this prelate, there is preserved an interesting document, probably unique in its eulogy of an Irish bishop at this dreary period of Ireland's suffering for the Faith. The document to which we refer is a poem of twenty-nine verses in the Irish language, written by a local poet, Patrick O'Prunty, in 1738, and, as far as we are aware, has never been printed. It is described, in its MS. heading, as "composed on the occasion of the Primate Brian MacMahon, and his brother, Ross MacMahon, Bishop of Clogher, coming to live at Ballymacscanlan, near Dundalk." A copy of the original, with a literal translation, was given to the writer of these pages many years ago by the Rev. C. P. Meehan, of SS. Michael and John's, Dublin. We insert a literal translation of the poem, as it serves to make better known to us the prelates who, despite all the terrors of the Penal Laws, continued to watch over their flocks, and to hand on uninterrupted the sacred traditions of the Faith in Ireland.

Of welcomes ninety millions I give to thee,
Who comest with Christ's symbol in thy hand,
Gifted with wisdom and with power supreme,
To rule and guide the myriads of our land

A glorious tree thou art, dispensing shade,
Sprung from the noble root of Heremon,
True essence of the best blood of the Gaels,
Whose sceptre ruled our soil in days long gone

Rich jewel of the Church of Innisfail,
Successor of St. Patrick, psalmist sweet,
Whose voice is loudest in the sacred choirs,
Praising the Lord in strains most exquisite
etc., etc.

—Moran: p. 158.

Bernard MacMahon wrote to Dr. Lingard, archbishop of Dublin, on November 7, 1741, telling him that four bishops had been looking for him, and that he had been obliged to leave his usual place of refuge.

g PRIMATE ROSS MACMAHON.—On the death of Bernard MacMahon, the Chapter of Armagh sent the following three names to his Holiness, as worthy of succession to the see—1st, Francis Stuart, a Franciscan, bishop of Down and Connor; 2nd, Nicholas Devine, D.D., parish priest of Dundalk; 3rd, Nicholas Sweetman, bishop of Ferns. But the Holy See, passing over these nominations, decided to translate Ross MacMahon from Clogher to the primatial see, which had been successively under the guidance of his illustrious uncle and brother.

Cardinal Moran says (p. 162):—Dr. Ross [Ros, or Rossa, was a favourite name in the MacMahon sept] MacMahon, like the two preceding prelates, studied in the Irish College, Rome. When the see of Armagh was vacant in 1737 by the death of Hugh MacMahon, some friends of Ireland in Rome petitioned to have Dr. Ross MacMahon appointed his successor. He is referred to as a younger brother of the Bishop of Clogher, and acting as his vicar-general. "He was then in his thirty-ninth year, and was renowned for zeal and ability. He was laureate in the sacred and profound sciences, of known integrity and religious spirit, of great nobility of soul, never weary of work, and never deterred by any obstacle, however great, when there was the question of duty." The Holy See, however, deemed it expedient to translate Dr. Bernard MacMahon from Clogher to Armagh, and to appoint Dr. Ross MacMahon Bishop of Clogher.

A memorial presented to Propaganda about the year 1740 in connection with the Irish College, refers to Ross MacMahon, then Bishop of Clogher, as one of the most talented and distinguished students who had gone forth from the Irish College. "Whilst pursuing his studies at the Gregorian University," it says, "he was considered as gifted with extraordinary talent. The General of the Jesuits, Tamburini, used to say that he had never known a student of so acute a mind. John Baptist Cenni, Prefect of Studies, used to call him *Scotinus*, and this designation was universally given to him by his companions. By express command of the General of the Jesuits, Father Tamburini, he made a Public Defence, morning and evening, in all Theology, a privilege and distinction, seldom, if ever, granted even to the largest colleges in Rome. When proceeding to the Irish Mission—in 1727—he, at the request of his uncle, Archbishop Hugh MacMahon, visited in Paris the Archbishop Cardinal de Bissy, who, being struck by his singular ability, urged him to accept of some high position in that city. In like manner, before he quitted Rome, he was offered a canonry in Liège, in Belgium. But Ross, faithful to his missionary vow, refused to listen to such suggestions, and hastened to devote himself to the Irish Mission." On the death of his brother, Bernard, he was translated to the see of Armagh. He held the primacy only for about a year, and died in October, 1748. Dr. Renehan records the popular tradition regarding him when he writes that "he lived long enough to excite a great admiration of his virtues, and to make him be remembered for many years with affection as a truly pious and charitable prelate."

The two last named brothers primates were interred, not at Errigael, as Dr. Maziere Brady writes, but at Edergole, in the county of Monaghan; and Evelyn Shirley, in his *History of the County of Monaghan* (London, 1878), publishes the inscription on their tomb. He thus writes: "The most curious of the old inscriptions on tombstones at Edergole is the following to two brothers of the MacMahon sept,

Bernard and Ross, who were successively bishops of Clogher and archbishops of Armagh in the Roman Catholic Church. Above is the rude representation of the complicated coat of debased heraldry which was borne by some of the MacMahons, in the reign of James the Second, two swords in saltier between two bears, and two ostriches in chief and base, two stars are also here added; the arms are supported by lions; above is a coronet and mitre." The following is the inscription:—"Hic jacent Bernardus et Rochus MacMahon, fratres germani, uterque successive Episcopus Clogherensis, uterque etiam successive Archiep. Armacanus, totius Hiberniæ Primates. Quorum nobilissimi generis memor pietas atque æmula doctrina vitæque titulis non impar merentem patriam decoravere. Bernardus obiit die 27 Mai, 1747, ætat. 67; Rochus die 29 Oct., 1748, ætat. 49. Ambo pares virtute, pares et honoribus ambo. This monument was erected by Mr. Roger MacMahon, Bro. to the deceased Primates, Anno Dom. 1750."

h PRIMATE MICHAEL O'REILLY - The College of Propaganda in Rome gave two distinguished prelates to the See of Armagh in the eighteenth century. Dr. Michael O'Reilly was appointed to the See of Derry on the 24th of April, 1739. "This diocese," writes Dr. Renehan, "suffered more from persecution than perhaps any other in Ireland. During the whole of the seventeenth century it was bereft of a bishop, owing to the virulent spirit of the Scotch and English planters and the general extirpation of the Catholic proprietary and population. Hence it was that from the year 1601, when the blood of the holy prelate, Redmond O'Gallagher, was shed for the Faith, until the days of Dr. O'Reilly, Derry had seen no bishops of its own, but was managed by a vicar under the tutelary superintendence of one of the adjacent bishops."

"The blaze of persecution," to use Dr. Renehan's words, "not regularly fed by the blood of the martyrs, had been for some time gradually expiring, and had at length dwindled into a rambling flame, showing

itself to-day in one county, to-morrow in another. The clergy, it is true, dared not avow their character, nor the Catholic slaves show dissatisfaction with their chains; but while they remained concealed no reptiles were systematically employed to dislodge them from their retreats, unless, perhaps, now and again to gratify the caprice or malice or bigotry of some little local persecutor. But, after about twelve years' respite, a general conflagration was again re-kindled by an ill-advised Viceroy. On the 28th of February, 1744, the Duke of Devonshire published a Proclamation, commanding the magistrates to hunt out the clergy, and offering an additional reward for the apprehension and conviction of every priest or bishop. £50 was hitherto the highest price paid for catching a bishop, and £20 for a priest; £150 more was now added to the former, and £50 to the latter, and £200 for the conviction of those gentlemen that might afford them lodging, entertainment, or shelter. The reward was to be obtained until October 1, 1745, but his Grace's humanity, shocked at the loss of life and other atrocities caused by his own decree, soon discountenanced its execution, and before the term had elapsed, Chesterfield entered upon his more liberal, or more crafty, administration. During this tempest, the bishops and clergy flocked from every part of the country into Dublin, as a place where, amidst multitudes of strangers and a vast population, their concealment would be more practicable. Some of Dr. O'Reilly's official letters are still preserved, that were written on this occasion from an alley in the metropolis, for the regulation of his clergy (in Derry). When the storm subsided, he returned to his diocese under an assumed name.

On his translation to Armagh he was not free from peril. In three letters the Internuncio refers to the arrest of the archbishop of Armagh, Most Rev. Michael O'Reilly, and eighteen of his priests, in the neighbourhood of Dundalk. On the 25th of May, 1756, he writes from Brussels as follows:—"A letter from Dublin conveys the intelligence

that some Catholic priests had met at a place called Killicurly. When it became known that eighteen priests were assembled having the Archbishop of Armagh at their head, the house in which they were, was surrounded by the military, and all were arrested, and led off to gaol in Dundalk, it being alleged that though they may not have met for any wicked purpose, yet the sole fact of assembling at such a critical period was in itself a crime." On the 28th of May, he again writes:—"The arrest of the Archbishop of Armagh and eighteen priests at Dundalk has been confirmed," and he encloses the following note communicated to him by the representative of England at the Brussels Court: "Dublin, 4th May, 1756. Mr. Reilly, Titular Primate of Ireland, and some priests who were with him, were arrested and brought to the house of Lord Limerick, at Dundalk. Being closely and separately examined by him, they were again set at liberty, as it resulted from the examination that the sole purposes for which they had met together was to make arrangements regarding some holidays lately abrogated, and to receive the consecrated oils, which are usually distributed to the clergy after Easter." The Internuncio adds that the same English representative had assured him of the friendly sentiments of the present Viceroy for the Irish Catholics:—"This information has given me no little consolation, but nevertheless I fear the Catholics will continue to be persecuted, as enemies of religion are never wanting to avail of every shadow of suspicion to assail them."

He again writes on the 1st of June, 1756: "I am consoled to be able to inform your Eminence and the Sacred Congregation that the Archbishop of Armagh has been set at liberty. The news was not only confirmed on yesterday by Madame d'Ayroll, wife of the English minister, an Irish lady, but to-day I received the authentic information of such favourable intelligence, by letter from the archbishop himself, who under date of the 11th of May writes that, either through ignorance or through malice, information was laid

against him to the effect that he was collecting funds to set the Pretender on the throne. The Viceroy, by special dispatch, commissioned Lord Limerick to act on this information, who caused him at once to be arrested and led off to prison, where he was detained for some days, till at length, being found wholly innocent of the imputed crime, he was honourably set at liberty."

A few years ago, when stopping for a short time in the neighbourhood of Termonfeckin, the writer of these pages was conducted by a reverend friend, to visit the house in which the Primate had lived. It is a small thatched house, and inside, under the thatch, there is a narrow loft, formed of the dried branches of trees, where at times Dr. O'Reilly used to be concealed, whilst the priest-catchers were in close pursuit. In the adjoining orchard a fine old apple tree is pointed out, under which, like St. Philip Neri on the Janiculum, the Primate was wont to gather the little children around him to instruct them in the catechism. At a short distance from the hut, at a spot where the main road crosses a little stream, tradition tells that he remained bent under the arch, and up to his knees in the water, while a troop of military galloped along the road and scoured the country in search of him.—Moran: pp. 166, 184, 26.

j PRIMATE ANTHONY BLAKE.—He was not, however, suspended a *beneficio*, for Dr. Troy, in a letter from Kilkenny, November 4, 1778, to Dr. Anthony Nowlan, precentor of Armagh, directs him to restore the proxies he had received during the administration of the diocese, to Dr. Blake, deducting a part as recompense for his trouble. Dr. Blake was restored to the "primatial jurisdiction," in 1777, by the delegate of the Apostolic See, Dr. Troy, bishop of Ossory, who "held a meeting for this object in the chapel of Drogheda, which lasted for several days, and was attended by many of the clergy of the diocese. In a letter, written to Castelli and the Nuncio, December 27, 1777, by Dr. Troy, "he assured them that the absence of the prelate from his diocese

was occasioned by necessity, and that he would henceforward study to preserve peace." This hope was, however, not realised.—Renehan, p. 110.

j PRIMATE RICHARD O'REILLY.—In the writer's edition of Stuart's *Armagh* there is the following MS. note, which throws some additional light on the habits and customs of those days:—"Having resided in Drogheda for some years, during Primate Richard O'Reilly's time, I have often seen that worthy prelate, a very venerable old man, his hair as white as snow, and flowing thickly to his shoulders, his complexion clear, florid, and of healthy hue, and his features most agreeable, showing that he had been a handsome man in his youth. He was of middle stature, well made, stout, active, and vigorous, though then 70 years of age, and generally walked every Sunday morning to say Mass in St. Peter's chapel. He walked from his house on the banks or the Boyne towards Green Hills, about a mile from Drogheda, into the town, and through Lawrence Street and West Street to St. Peter's. While walking through the streets he was saluted by crowds of all classes, and as he made it a rule to take off his hat to every one, rich and poor, his head was hardly a moment covered; in fact, he walked bareheaded through the streets, carrying his hat in his hand the whole way, whether it was a winter's or a summer's day. He gave a discourse always after Mass. He was an excellent and persuasive preacher, though making no pretensions to florid eloquence, but his words flowed on fluently, naturally, and gracefully, with great sweetness and touching power, and the doctrines of religion and morality were so simply and beautifully explained and so sincerely inculcated that they made a deep impression on all, from the most learned to the most illiterate of the congregation."—Moran: p. 168.

We have gathered the following incidents of the Primate's life from local tradition:—

The chapel which served Primate O'Reilly for some years as his pro-cath-

edral was situated at Westgate, outside the walls of Drogheda, on the site now occupied by Christian Brothers' schools. During the penal times the Catholic chapels, when allowed at all, were, in nearly every instance, situated just outside the walls of towns, as owing to the intolerance of the Protestants, the Catholics dared not build them inside, even in places where they formed an overwhelming proportion of the population. The primate determined to break through that unjust exclusion. A lease of a good building-site within the town was secured, with great difficulty, through the influence of a wealthy Catholic, a Mr. Chester, after it had been persistently refused when it became known for what purpose the ground was wanted.

On the day on which the foundation-stone was to be laid, a memorable day for the Catholics of Drogheda, a great concourse had gathered from far and near, to witness the ceremony. But an untoward incident marred the proceedings. Just as the ceremony was about to commence, the Mayor and Protestant Corporation of Drogheda, wearing their robes and carrying the mace and sword, appeared on the selected site and forbade the Primate to lay the stone, warning him that it was against the law that a Popish Chapel should be erected within the town of Drogheda, and, at the same time, threatening to take proceedings if he persisted in going on with the ceremony.

The primate paused, and it seemed for a time as if the project would have to be abandoned. However, an unexpected turn was given to the proceedings by Lord Bellew of Barmenah, a Catholic. He jumped forward in a great passion and harangued the Corporation, and what he said appears to have been of a nature to terrify. He used very strong language, so strong indeed, that the Corporation withdrew and nothing more was heard of the opposition. The foundation-stone having been duly laid, the building of the church went on without interruption, and it was opened for divine worship, in December, 1793. Its length in the clear was 96 feet 3 inches, and it was 50 feet 3

inches in breadth. It is said to have cost £12,000.

In front of the church, some very fine gates of wrought iron, about fifteen feet high, were erected. In 1798, the Protestant Corporation ordered the gates to be taken down and placed across the bridge over the Boyne, to prevent the entry of insurgents. The Primate, afterwards, had some difficulty in getting them back. They are still to be seen in their original place, in front of the church.

Primate O'Reilly was one of the twenty-seven trustees, appointed by Parliament, in 1795, for the proposed college at Maynooth, by the "Act for the Better Education of Persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic Religion." He was present at the first meeting, held in the Lord Chancellor's Chamber, House of Lords, and, on the following day, took part in another meeting, held by the Catholic trustees, in John's Lane Chapel House. From this time forward, he regularly attended the meetings of the trustees, for the next twenty-two years.

In 1799, he was a Unionist in politics, and advised Dr. Dillon, of Tuam, when he was hesitating, to sign Castlereagh's resolutions in favour of the Union.—Healy: *History of Maynooth College*, pp. 109, 114.

In 1811, some of the Catholics of Drogheda, with the sanction of Primate O'Reilly, asked the Presentation Nuns to establish a convent in the town. They organised a collection, from the proceeds of which, they purchased a house for the nuns in Fair Street, for a term of seven years. Two sisters came on June 7, 1813, and began their work of teaching. They suffered fearful privations for several years, and at one time thought of abandoning the place altogether. So poor were they, that they could not buy a chalice, and used one, borrowed from the Dominican Fathers, from 1813 to 1854. They had no regular chaplain for many years. At present, they have four large schoolrooms, in connection with the convent.

* STATE OF COUNTY ARMAGH AT THIS PERIOD.—The "Peep-of-Day Boys" ASSO-

ciation was already widespread in Ulster in 1785. It allowed none but members of the Established Church to be enrolled in its ranks, and it avowed its hostility alike to the Presbyterians and the Catholics. Its attacks, however, were wholly directed against the latter, against whom, especially in the county of Armagh, a Holy War was openly declared. Several Catholics had by this time begun to prosper there. They were engaged particularly in weaving, and in the silk and poplin trades. Some of the large proprietors also gave them a preference, admitting them to the small holdings as tenancies became vacant. With this return of prosperity, the outward splendour of Catholic worship revived. Several neat churches were built, and the sacred rites were performed with due decorum. All this stirred up the bile of the vilest dregs of the Protestant Ascendancy. The special pretext of the Peep-of-Day Boys was to search for arms, for Catholics at this time were not allowed by law to keep arms. Bands of the miscreants, under pretence of enforcing the law, assembled at dawn of day, and attacking some Catholic household, seized on any arms that could be discovered, and then made a bonfire of the furniture, and regaled themselves with whatever provisions could be found. As Catholics were the victims, the Government, for some time, took no steps to redress these disorders. Gradually the scope of the rioters became enlarged, and at length they resolved not to rest content until they had driven every Catholic family out of the county of Armagh. A contemporary historian, himself a minister of the Established Church, relates that "they posted up papers at night on the houses of their adversaries, ordering them to go to hell or Connaught; and threatening severe punishment on their disobedience, which they took care to inflict. Hence, some hundreds of Catholic families—it is said fourteen hundred—were forcibly expelled from their houses, and obliged to take shelter in that province or other parts." A number of the lower order of Catholics organized themselves into a counter so-

ciety, under the name of "Defenders," and terrible scenes of rioting between the rival parties were witnessed in Armagh and the adjoining counties. The most serious affray was at a cross-roads called the Diamond, in the county Armagh, between Richhill and Portadown. Both factions mustered their strength, but there was this difference, that the Peep-of-Day Boys were well armed and had plenty of ammunition, whilst the Defenders were, to all intents, unarmed. This "Battle of the Diamond," as it was called, was fought on the 21st of September, 1795. The Defenders left forty-eight of their number dead on the field, and their adversaries, jubilant in their triumph, inaugurated on that day a permanent Association, under the name of the Orange Society. As a result of these outrages, most of the Catholic churches were wrecked, and it was calculated that half of the Catholics of the County Armagh were driven from their homes, whilst most of the remainder were subjected to all sorts of indignities and hardships. Lord Gosford, whom the Government, in this emergency, appointed Governor of the County Armagh, addressing the assembled magistrates on the 28th of December, 1795, said:—"It is no secret that a persecution, accompanied with all the circumstances of ferocious cruelty, is now raging in this county. Neither age nor sex, nor even acknowledged innocence as to any guilt in the late disturbances, is sufficient to excite mercy, much less to afford protection. The only crime which the wretched objects of this ruthless persecution are charged with is a crime, indeed, of easy proof, it is simply a profession of the Roman Catholic Faith. A lawless banditti have constituted themselves judges of this new species of delinquency; and the sentence they have denounced is equally concise and terrible. It is nothing less than a confiscation of all property and an immediate banishment. It would be extremely painful, and surely unnecessary, to detail the horrors that attend the execution of so rude and tremendous a proscription"—Moran: pp. 193, 4, 5.



CHAPTER XIX.

CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION.

Long Struggle for Catholic Emancipation—Primate Curtis—His Career at Salamanca—Appointment to the Primacy—Takes an active part in public affairs—His Death—Primate Kelly—Appointed Bishop of Dromore—Coadjutor to Primate Curtis—Succeeds to the Primacy—His Saintly Character—His Epitaph.

Supplementary Notes.—History of the Act of Catholic Emancipation—Primate Curtis's Appointment—Dr. Curtis and Dr. Doyle—Evidence of Dr. Curtis in 1825—Famous Letter of the Duke of Wellington—Manners of Dr. Curtis—Cathedral of Newry.



REPEATED EFFORTS had been made by the Catholics of Ireland, during the long incumbency of Primate O'Reilly, to free themselves from the shackles of the Penal Code, but they were only partially successful at the time. Unreasoning prejudice and the jealousy of the Irish Protestant party still kept them to a great extent in the position of serfs. Some relief from their disabilities had, indeed, been conferred on them in 1793. In the previous year, they had presented a petition to the Crown, praying for the abolition of the restrictions to which they had hitherto been subjected. Upon this, a recommendation was addressed from the Throne to the Irish Parliament, to contrive means for the amelioration of their condition. Accordingly, what is known as the *Irish Act* was passed in 1793, which conferred the elective franchise on the Catholics and threw open to them all

employments in the army in Ireland, with some exceptions, and all offices in the navy. They continued, however, to be excluded from thirty public offices and from Parliament—an arrangement which could not be changed without the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts.

The full measure of Catholic Emancipation, such as we enjoy at the present day, agitated for with apparently hopeless results, during the time of Primate O'Reilly, was destined to become an accomplished fact, during the incumbency of his successor, Primate Curtis.* Belonging to a county Meath family, of Stamullin parish, Patrick Curtis first saw the light in Drogheda, in 1747. He was engaged for a short period of his youth in mercantile pursuits, but his inclination for the ecclesiastical state soon manifested itself, and induced him to leave his native country and become a student of the Irish College of Salamanca.[†]

On July the twenty-eighth, 1771, he received minor orders, and, on the twenty-first of September of the same year, he was ordained subdeacon and began his theological course. The students, at that time, attended the lectures in the famous university. Having completed his course of studies in 1774, he was appointed chaplain to a Spanish man-of-war, in which he made a voyage to the Indies. Spain and England being at war at this time, on his voyage back, his vessel was attacked by an English frigate, and he was taken prisoner with others and brought to England. He devoted himself there to the care of the Spanish prisoners of war, and was so zealous in the discharge of his duties, that he was recommended to the King of Spain, Charles III., by the Spanish ambassador in London. The king, accordingly, on the death of Dr. William Birmingham, rector of the Irish College in Salamanca, appointed him to the vacant post in 1780. It is important to remark, that the appointment to the rectorship of that college, rested then as now, with the King of Spain, the four archbishops of Ireland being merely nominators. Shortly after this, he was appointed professor of physics in the university.

Dr. Curtis was a great success as president of the college, and his efforts for improvement were well seconded by the students. A high Spanish dignitary, who visited the college in 1790, was so par-

ticularly struck by their general demeanour, that he broke out into a fervent prediction as to their future distinction in the church. His prediction was verified, for within five years after his appointment as rector, Dr. Curtis had as students, within the walls of his college, four men who afterwards became most distinguished in the Irish Church:—Dr. Murray, archbishop of Dublin; Dr. Laffan, archbishop of Cashel; Dr. Kelly, archbishop of Tuam; and, a little later, Dr. Everard, president of Maynooth and afterwards archbishop of Cashel. In 1791, he, in conjunction with rectors of the English and Scotch colleges of Valladolid, drew up new constitutions for the college, which received the approval of the archbishops of Ireland, at their meetings in November and December, 1793.

After having acted as rector for twenty-seven years, Dr. Curtis, in 1807, tendered his resignation, but, owing to the War of Independence, then distracting the Peninsula, it was deemed desirable that he should remain in charge. When Wellington entered on his memorable campaign against the French in Spain and Portugal, Dr. Curtis was able to render inestimable services to him, and had many of the students of the college employed as interpreters and distributed among the officers commanding in the various garrisons. Consequently, when the French occupied Salamanca, and used the college as a military hospital, in 1811—12, he had to fly from the country. His action, too, though prompted by a concern for the Spanish nation, and done at a time when anarchy reigned in the country, was looked on with disfavour by the Spanish ecclesiastical authorities.

He returned to his post after the war, finding the college almost totally destroyed by the French, but resigned in 1817, and came back to his native country, after having spent more than forty-six years abroad.² The primate, Richard O'Reilly, died early in the following year, and a long interval elapsed before any successor was chosen; but, at last, Propaganda appointed Dr. Curtis, on August the second, 1819, and the appointment was confirmed by Pius VII., on the eighth of the same month.³ It is worthy of note that the Irish prelates had, with one exception, postulated for him unanimously.

His consecration took place on the twenty-eighth of October.^b It was generally believed at the time, that the Duke of Wellington, who never forgot the services Dr. Curtis had rendered to him in Spain, had a great deal to do with his appointment to the primacy, and that he wrote to His Holiness, to the effect that, if Dr. Curtis were appointed, he would show him more favour than any other person who might get the dignity. A recommendation at the time from the Duke of Wellington would have great weight in Rome, especially as great hopes were entertained of the speedy granting of Catholic Emancipation.^c

Dr. Curtis made Drogheda his residence and lived in a house in Fair Street. His well-known friendship with the Iron Duke secured for him marks of esteem and respect from the Protestants of that town, to which former primates had been strangers. In the year after his consecration, the Protestant Corporation presented him with the freedom of the town, enclosed in a golden box. But the flattering distinction could never make him depart from the honest line of rectitude, and, whenever he found that corporate body in error, as was generally the case on every National measure, he always voted against them.^d He also got permission to erect a bell on his church. This may sound strange to modern ears, but it must be borne in mind that up to that time and for some years after, no steeple or bell was allowed on a Catholic chapel, the people having to assemble for Mass, at the sound of a hand-bell, which was rung in the streets, either by the priest or by the sacristan. The hand-bell used at St. Peter's is still preserved as a relic of penal times. Tradition, too, ascribes to Dr. Curtis the power, received from the Duke, of releasing three men from the gallows every year, a power he is said to have exercised one year on two occasions. Though we may reject the tradition as it stands, as incredible, it must have had a foundation, and it is not improbable that he made a successful recommendation for mercy in the case of these two condemned men. In Cork, there is a similar tradition about Dr. Moylan, the bishop, who was intimate with the pro-Union ministers.^e

The Protestant archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Magee, delivered a charge to his clergy, in 1822, in which he indulged in a series of

malevolent misrepresentations of Catholic doctrine, and levelled unprovoked insults at the Catholic body. He was answered at once with great force and eloquence by the famous bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, Dr. Doyle, and shortly afterwards by Dr. Curtis, who, in a voluminous public letter pronounced Dr. Magee's charge to be "inflammatory and contumelious," and indignantly called upon him to retract and repair the injury he had done the Catholics.⁶

When the Irish bishops were summoned before a Parliamentary Committee, in 1825, those selected being the archbishops of Dublin, Armagh and Tuam, the famous Doctor Doyle and Doctor Magauran, bishop of Ardagh, to give evidence on questions connected with the religious and political state of Ireland, in view of the proposed measure of Catholic Emancipation, the primate's evidence made a deep impression, and the candour, wisdom, and consistency of his observations, enhanced by his mild and venerable appearance, commanded the most respectful attention from men of every political party.⁴

In the same year, he consecrated Dr. William Crolly bishop of Down and Connor, who was to succeed him, after an interval of a few years, in the primacy. The consecration took place in St. Patrick's chapel, Belfast, on the first of May. On December the first, 1828, Thomas Kelly, bishop of Dromore, was appointed his coadjutor, with right of succession, and with retention of the diocese of Dromore. The Primate at this time was very feeble, being in his eighty-second year, and used to be carried in a sedan-chair from his house to St. Peter's when he pontificated.

Born in penal times, when no Papist was legally presumed to exist in the country, he lived through that long period in which Catholics were struggling for the elementary rights of citizens, and, at last, had the happiness before his death, of witnessing the chain of oppression broken by the passing of the Act of Catholic Emancipation. He took an active part in the agitation for that measure, and he and Dr. Doyle were the first Irish prelates who joined the Catholic Association, a body which the other prelates had refrained from joining, partly through motives of timidity. But Dr. Curtis cordially co-operated with the gentlemen who formed it, as his

interesting communication to them, on the seventh of November, 1824, clearly shows. He also wrote public letters to the Duke of Wellington and Lord Anglesey, in 1828, on the same question, with singularly good effect on public opinion. The latter, when Lord Lieutenant, in 1828, wrote a public letter to the primate, urging the Catholics to agitate with redoubled vigour, but the Duke was so displeased with him for this that he recalled him at once. The Duke himself, on the eleventh of December, the same year, addressed a private letter to Dr. Curtis, urging that although he himself was most anxious for a settlement of the question, it would be necessary to postpone it for a time. The unauthorized publication of the letter in the newspapers, by one of the Primate's curates, drew forth a strong complaint from the Duke, but, at the same time, had the effect of rapidly hastening on the measure to a successful conclusion.*

His paternal regard for the religious orders had been manifested during his primacy, on various occasions, and, at his death, he bequeathed small legacies to the regular communities of Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinians, established in the town of Drogheda. He died at his house in Fair Street, of the cholera, on July the twenty-sixth, 1832, and was buried before the High Altar, in Saint Peter's church, West Street. Unfortunately the inscription is worn off his tomb, and has not been otherwise preserved.

Called to the purple at the advanced age of seventy-three, Dr. Curtis was never known to preach. This is not to be wondered at, for the duties he was called on to perform, during the greater portion of his life, were not such as would enable him to begin preaching in his old age. After the passing of the Act of Catholic Emancipation, when Protestant feeling was stirred to its depths, some strong controversial preaching took place in the Protestant church of St. Peter's, and the venerable old man was challenged to reply to it. Enfeebled by old age himself, he commissioned one of his curates to take up the challenge in his own church.

Having been, for most of his age, a witness of the ceremonies of the Church as they are carried out in Catholic countries, he endeavoured to infuse some life into the Church services at home, where everything was bare and meagre. Accordingly, he introduced

the procession of Corpus Christi, a remarkable feature of which, redolent of Spain, was a small boy dressed in sheepskin to represent St. John the Baptist, who preceded the procession, carrying a cross. This was probably the origin of the famous procession, held every year at the village of Ballypousta, near Ardee, in which the boy dressed in sheepskin held a prominent place.

Dr. Curtis was a tall, handsome man, of very striking appearance. "His commanding person and dignified demeanour," says the obituary, published on his decease, "impressed every observer with a reverence for his station and character; and, such was the ascendancy of his manners in support of his office, it has been said of him that in the synods of the prelates, he was Primate of them all."⁹

Thomas Kelly, a native of that part of Tyrone which belongs to the diocese of Armagh, succeeded, by the death of Dr. Curtis, to the primacy. Born in 1793, he entered Maynooth on August the twenty-fifth, 1814, where he took the first place in his class, the first year. Having been ordained by the archbishop of Dublin, on the twenty-third of September, 1820, he was appointed junior dean, an office which he filled with zeal and discretion, till September the fifteenth, 1825. On Dr. MacHale resigning his position as professor of dogmatic theology, in 1825, having been appointed bishop of Killala, Father Kelly was appointed to succeed him.⁹ Having discharged the arduous and important duties of senior professor for little more than a year, he was appointed to the then vacant see of Dromore, on the sixteenth of June, 1826. He was consecrated bishop in the chapel of Newry, by the archbishop of Dublin, on the twenty-seventh of the following August, just six years after the completion of his studies and his ordination to the ministry. As we have seen, he was appointed in 1828 coadjutor to Dr. Curtis, with whom he was a great favourite. During the few years he spent in Drogheda, he showed himself very zealous in discharge of his duties, and, unlike his predecessor, preached regularly every month in St. Peter's, taking his turn with his three curates. He has left a memorial of his short primacy, in the diocesan statutes he drew up, which are used not only in the archdiocese, but generally through the northern province.

He was a zealous defender of the rights of the primatial see, for in 1833, some questions having been referred to Rome, which he thought should have been first brought before him, he addressed a respectful letter to His Holiness, explanatory of the ancient rights in this respect of the see of Armagh.¹⁰ In 1834, on the death of Father James Byrne, the last parish priest of Armagh, the Primate petitioned the Holy See for the parish of Armagh as a mensal parish in addition to that of Drogheda, the only mensal parish hitherto possessed by the primates. His petition was granted, but his own death intervened before he could take possession of it.

The Primate lived in Laurence Street, opposite the Whitworth Hall. In appearance, he was tall, slender, ascetic-looking and rather stooped, as may be seen from an oil-painting, preserved in the Presentation Convent of Drogheda. In manner, he was austere and reserved, and was commonly believed to practice great austerity of life. Every morning, he walked down to St. Peter's, where he celebrated Mass. As he glided down Laurence Street and along West Street, bowed in solemn meditation or absorbed in prayer, his stooped, emaciated form at once attracted attention. The people looked on him as a living saint. He was worn to a thread; and, when the doctor, who was called to examine him, after he became unconscious on the day of his death, opened his vest, he found a coarse hair-shirt next his skin. He died on the thirteenth of January, 1835. His death was caused by the faithful discharge of his duty. In the absence of his priests, he attended a soldier dying of fever in the barracks, and caught the infection which carried him off in a few days. Dr. Murray, archbishop of Dublin, sang the Requiem Mass, and the primate was buried before the High Altar in St. Peter's, West Street. Dying at the early age of forty-three, the Primate was deeply regretted by all classes of people. It is more than probable, that if God had spared him some years longer, he would have begun, at least, some of the great works accomplished by his successors. The inscription on his tomb is as follows:—

IN SPERM BEATÆ RESURRECTIONIS,
 HIC JACET
 ILL^{MUS} ET REVEREND^{US} DOM. THOMAS KELLY, D.D.,
 ARCHIEPISCOPUS ARMACANUS,
 TOTIUS HIBERNIÆ PRIMAS,
 COLLEGII APUD MAYNOOTHUM DECANUS;
 POSTEA EPISCOPUS DROMORENSIS,
 POSTREMO AD HANC SEDEM PRIMATIALEM EVECTUS.
 VIR PIETATE ET DOCTRINA ILLUSTRIS.
 OBIIT
 DIE XIII. JANUARI, MDCCCXXXV.
 ÆTATIS XLIII.
 REQUIESCAT IN PACE. AMEN.

IN HOPE OF THE BLESSED RESURRECTION,
 HERE LIES
 THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS AND MOST REVEREND
 LORD, THOMAS KELLY, D.D.,
 ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH,
 PRIMATE OF ALL IRELAND,
 DEAN OF MAYNOOTH COLLEGE;
 AFTERWARDS BISHOP OF DROMORE,
 FINALLY RAISED TO THIS PRIMATIAL SEE.
 DIED
 JANUARY 13TH, 1835.
 AGED 43 YEARS.
 MAY HE REST IN PEACE. AMEN.

¹ Brennan: *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, vol. ii., p. 401. ² We are indebted for the details of Dr Curtis's career in Salamanca, to the Very Rev. Dr Maguire, president of the Irish College of that city. ³ Brady, vol. i. p. 231. ⁴ Brennan, *Ibid.* ⁵ We are indebted for the details of the Primate's life in Drogheda, and of his successor, Primate Kelly, to Mr. Edward Lambie, sacristan of St. Peter's church, who has interviewed old persons who well remember these two primates. Amongst these is Mr. Joseph Donogh, born in 1821. ⁶ Fitzpatrick: *Life of Dr Doyle*, vol. i., p. 211. ⁷ Brennan, *Ibid.* ⁸ It is a pity

that so little can at present be known about such a distinguished man as Dr Curtis. Owing to the carelessness, with which valuable documents and other papers have been treated in this country within living memory, materials for ecclesiastical history in many cases are very scant. Fitzpatrick says, in his *Life of Dr Doyle*, vol. ii., p. 47, that the voluminous papers of Dr Curtis were found in the year 1841, scattered about the hay-loft of a grocer in Drogheda. ⁹ Healy: *Maynooth College, its Centenary History*, p. 554. ¹⁰ Fitzpatrick, vol. ii., p. 75.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

a CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION.—This act of justice to Catholics was not carried till after a long and bitter struggle in the English Parliament, as the following figures plainly indicate. In the year 1805, a majority of 128 in the House of Commons refused to act on the petition of the Catholics, moved severally by Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox. In 1807, Lord Grenville withdrew his motion in favour of Emancipation, it being understood that his Majesty was averse to it.

In 1808, Mr. Grattan's motion was rejected, in the House of Commons, by a majority of 153, and Lord Donaghmore's, in the House of Lords, by a majority of 57. In 1810, a motion to the same effect, by the same members, was again lost, by a majority of 112 in the Commons, and 86 in the Lords. In 1812, there was a majority of 72 in the Lords, and 85 in the Commons against the movers. Mr. Canning's motion was lost, in the same year, by a majority of 129 in the Commons, and that of the Marquis of Wellesley, by a majority of 113 in the Lords. In 1813, the motions of Mr. Grattan, Sir John Cox Hipplesey, and Doctor Duigenan, drew forth majorities against the Catholics of 40, 48, and 42; and, on the 24th of May, the bill was given up.

In 1821, Mr. Plunkett carried the bill through the House of Commons by a majority of 19, but it was lost in the Lords by a majority of 39. In 1822, Mr. Canning carried it, in the Commons, by a majority of 21; but it was thrown out in the Lords, by a majority of 42. In 1825, Sir Francis Burdett carried it in the Commons by a majority of 27; but it was again thrown out in the Lords, by a majority of 48. In 1827, Sir Francis Burdett's motion for a committee was lost in the Commons, by a majority of three. In 1828, the motion for a conference with the Lords was carried, in the House of Commons by a majority of six, but thrown out in the Lords, by a majority of 45.

Finally, in 1829 (April 10), a *Relief Bill*, abolishing the civil disabilities on Roman Catholics, by repealing the oaths of supremacy, etc., was carried through the Commons, by Mr. Peel, with a majority of 180 on the second reading and 178 on the third; and through the Lords, by the Duke of Wellington, with a majority of 105, on the second reading and 104, on the third. By this bill, Catholics are eligible to all offices of state, excepting the Lord Chancellorships of England and Ireland, the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, the office of Regent or Guardian of the United Kingdom, and that of High Commissioner to the Church of Scotland. Attached to the bill is a clause for the gradual suppression of the Jesuits and monastic orders (religious establishments of females excepted).

b DR. CURTIS'S APPOINTMENT.—The truth of this belief is considerably confirmed by a letter of the Primate to Lord Castlereagh, on the 22nd of September, 1819. In it he says:—

"In obedience to the dictates of duty and gratitude, I have the honour of informing your Lordship that I have just now received, from Rome, the authentic advice of my appointment by His Holiness to the Roman Catholic See of Armagh, and that the Papal brief for that purpose will be transmitted to me as soon as it can possibly be expedited. My consecration and instalment to that charge will, in consequence, be then performed in the parish chapel of Drogheda, unless Government should think proper, in the meantime, to order the contrary—which I have no reason to think will be the case, as I should never have acquiesced in the election made of me by our Prelates, had not Government previously vouchsafed to grant its consent, and even approbation, to that measure, adding, by such condescension, a powerful stimulus to my already fixed resolution, to employ every exertion and influence in my power for promoting peace, concord, and conciliation, rather

than controversy, among all classes of people," etc.—See *Life of Dr. Doyle*, vol. i., p. 165.

The following story of the future Primate and Wellington, is told on the authority of Father Tierney, one of Dr. Curtis's curates in Drogheda. While Wellington was in Salamanca, he called, on a cold frosty morning, at the Irish College, to see Dr. Curtis. The latter noticed that the general was without an overcoat, and insisted on his taking his own ample college cloak. Wellington put it on him, and often wore it during the rest of the campaign. Soldiers, in time of war, are apt to magnify the most trifling incidents, and, when the story got through the ranks, the "doctor's cloak" soon made its reputation and became an omen of victory. Whenever they saw it on Wellington, word went round that there was some hard fighting in store, as "the General had the Doctor's cloak on him."

c DR. CURTIS AND DR. DOYLE.—As introductory to the following anecdote, it may be mentioned that the bulls for the consecration of Dr. Curtis and Dr. Doyle had just been conveyed from Rome by the Rev. J. Harrigan, O.P.

Some ecclesiastical arrangements demanded Dr. Doyle's presence in Dublin, a fortnight or three weeks previous to his consecration. He proceeded to North Cumberland Street, the residence of Dr. Murray, coadjutor-archbishop of Dublin. Dr. Murray happened to be particularly engaged when Dr. Doyle called, and the latter was requested by the servant to take a seat in the ante-room until he would be ready to receive him. On entering the apartment, Dr. Doyle found another visitor in the person of a very aged and venerable-looking priest. They had not been previously introduced, but the old man advanced as the bishop-elect of Kildare entered, and bowed with much continental *politesse*. His manners were so easy that Dr. Doyle at once fell into familiar conversation with him. "They sometimes do strange things at Rome," said the old priest. "Why, yes," replied the young bishop-elect, "it occasionally

happens so. What last?" "In nominating an old man with one foot in the grave and a beardless boy (Dr. Doyle), bishops," replied the old priest, who was no other than Dr. Patrick Curtis, archbishop-elect of Armagh and primate of all Ireland. "Ah!" replied Dr. Doyle, aptly quoting from Psalms ciii. and cxlviii., "God will not permit so good a man as you to perish on the threshold of a grand primatial career. 'Your youth shall be renewed like the eagle's.'"

Another anecdote is told of the two primates. At an important meeting of the bishops in Dublin, Dr. Doyle, though by far the youngest member of the episcopal bench, was the first to rise and open the subject. Dr. Curtis could hardly believe his eyes, and, with an alacrity which seemed almost incompatible with his advanced years, started to his feet, and rebuked him severely for presuming to speak first in presence of his seniors.—Fitzpatrick: *Life of the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle*, vol. i., pp. 93, 491.

d EVIDENCE OF DR. CURTIS IN 1825.—Minutes of Evidence before Committee of Lords, 18th Feb.—21st March, 1825. (1825—vol. ix. Reports).

The Rev. Patrick Curtis, D.D., is called in and examined as follows:—

Have the goodness to state to the Committee what are the different stations in the Roman Catholic Church, in the province of Armagh, of which you are the head?

There is the R.C. archbishop—the titular primate—the bishop of Meath, in the ecclesiastical province of Ulster, though in the civil province of Leinster; the bishop of Ardagh, the bishops of Clogher, Raphoe, Derry, Down and Connor, and the bishop of Dromore.

From what sources are the incomes of the R.C. bishops in Ireland derived in the province of Armagh?

The income of the R.C. Archbishop of Armagh is one of the smallest in Ireland; it has never come up to £500 a year; it would come to a little higher if I urged the clergy. In fact, the people give nothing to the bishop, unless he had a parish,

what they call a manse. Some of them have two, but they cannot be said to have the full income of such parish, because there must be servitors there who take up almost all the fruits. I have one parish of that sort, and it produces me but thirty guineas a year, and is so ill-paid that sometimes it is not even required.

Can you state, and if so have you any objection to stating, the average income of the R.C. bishops in your province?

I have no objection to state—I am on my oath, and I am moreover, on my honour. I do not know that there is any one of them which has less than that already stated, about £500; because, where there is a poor bishoprick, the bishop has generally a tolerably good parish. I do not think that in Ulster any one bishop has more than £600 a year, and it must cost them some difficulty to collect that—a difficulty which it is very hard for a man to submit to.

Can you state the sources from which the incomes of the R.C. priests are derived? They are derived either from the administration of certain sacraments—the sacrament of marriage, that of baptism, etc.

Funerals? Yes; they do give at funerals, but it is not imperative; they give or not. People may be buried without any solemnity—it is only when they insist on a grand solemnity, and a number of Masses, and what we call an office, music and so on; then those things are troublesome and costly, and must be paid for; but people who prefer their friends should be buried without any ceremony, it costs them very little or nothing.

Are there not annual payments made by the parishioners at Easter?

Yes; what they call *Easter Dues*. We give them that name, because, although in reality they are no more than free gifts, or free contributions, the people comprehend that it is not entirely free; that the parish priest is called for by them to serve them day and night, and that he has no other return; but it cannot be exacted nor called for in any tribunal.

Can you state what is the average income of the Parish Priests in your province?

There are some parishes small, there are others that are large—too large. Our predecessors were obliged to unite several, as well because there were not clergy for all of them as because the people were few and very poor, and it would be very necessary now to separate them. I have divided some of them myself, because there are some of them that, when the population was increased, one man or two had to go great distances. Some of them were poor, and could not have curates, and there is not in one parish enough to maintain them without such union. But I believe that there is no parish that is worth less than £100 a year, from that to £120, perhaps £130; and I do suppose that there is no parish in all the province of Ulster that is worth more than £400 a year.

Is not Belfast worth more?

I do not know that it is. If it is, it must be on account of particular ceremonies. In large towns, they preach charity sermons, but the product of these is generally for schools—they do not go to the clergy by any means; on the contrary, they are a very great burden to the clergy. Everything now must be done by a charity sermon. It becomes so very common, that I am surprised the people have not got tired of them; because there must be a great repetition of things which, however holy, will lose a great part of their merit and a great part of their effect. It is the only way of raising money for pious purposes among Roman Catholics. Even Protestants have very often been obliged to do so. They cannot do as they might here, meet at a tavern or an hotel, and make a collection after dinner. They have tried it, but there has been very little got. It must be a sermon.

Should you think it desirable that any provision should be made by the State towards the maintenance of the Roman Catholic Clergy?

Indeed I believe in general it would be very desirable, if all circumstances would concur, and would not be very apt to lead some people to imagine that there was a certain dependence meant to be

produced between the clergy and the government, and that, either at the beginning or in process of time, the government would govern and rule the church as it does the state; and that paying them, and paying them perhaps at a considerable rate, they would think themselves entitled to the same attention that perhaps Roman Catholic princes do in Catholic states. I am sure the government of England would never attempt to do more than Roman Catholics do, and sometimes Protestants have made concordats with the Pope, and are permitted to do that. And we are often asked, why should we not permit it here? We cannot permit it. Surely we are called upon to express what we think of it, and that we are obliged to do candidly. Those, for instance, who govern the foreign states in question, act in that as they do in other things—they are despots, and govern the state despotically, they govern *en militaire*, and we do not think it would be well that either the state or the church should be governed so in England or Ireland, and we would not wish to see that done. But, if that were set at rest, and peoples' minds were convinced that there no fear of that, I fancy that might be very readily done, if not in one or two years, in process of time, or perhaps in a year or two. If I saw there was no attempt made or would be made to overturn or imperil religion, I declare I believe the people would be very happy—it would be a very great boon to them. They are obliged to do things they are not able to do; they distress themselves by doing them. Your Lordships will certainly suppose that the maintenance of a large body of clergy must be a great subsidy. Nor is that all they have to do. That is only the beginning. They have to build all their chapels and keep them in order. They have to supply a great many other things. We have a ritual religion that requires a great deal of expense; and we are obliged to maintain and support, and to send to school and to send abroad, or even at home, their children to prepare them to be churchmen. At present, it is only a boon offered to those

who are so, but to make them so requires several hundred pounds. Where is that to come from? It may be said is there not Maynooth for several hundreds. The number that can be maintained at the college of Maynooth is two hundred. There are four hundred there, but a great number of them are pensioners. And even those that are on the foundations, it costs them nearly £20 a year. There are a number of things not given to them by the college. All those then must come from the poor people, who are not able to do it, and consequently, a subsidy would be extremely convenient, if there be not some motive that would withhold the people from wishing it. The people are not convinced of that. I wish they were. I would be very glad to aid and assist in convincing them of it, but I cannot think of convincing them of that which I am not well convinced of myself. That I will never do. But I think the thing might be done extremely well, and shows a good deal of sense in government. But I hope it will not be taken amiss if the people are a little alarmed. They have been often promised and made to hope for what was not fulfilled afterwards, and they are afraid that that may happen again.

If Parliament were to place the Roman Catholics upon an equality of civil rights, do you not think in that case, some provision being made, not for the individual maintenance of the clergy, but towards their maintenance, it would be a relief both to the clergy and to the people?

That it would be a most essential relief there is no manner of doubt, if it is not coupled with something which is worse to them than the misery they are suffering at present. The people are obliged now to do that which they are not able to do. They are endeavouring to do it, and it keeps them poor. It is in the case of perfect emancipation alone that the thing should be proposed. If it be proposed without it, it would be understood by them to be a bribe to us, the clergy.

In that event, what do you think of it?

In that event I think it would be a very

salutary measure, if it was not coupled with something that would mar the thing.

In what does the oath taken by the Catholic Archbishops differ from that taken by the Bishops?

In nothing. They take another oath when they take what is called the Pallium, which is nothing but a declaration which comes from Rome.

Is there any difference?

Not the smallest; it is the same. It was corrected some time ago, because there were some words, "hereticos persequar et impugnabo," that did not mean that they should be persecuted, but we will endeavour to find them out. But, however, it was altered, and the first words of the oath say:—"I so much the more willingly take this oath because I see that it contains nothing but what is perfectly consonant with the duty I owe to the Serene King of Great Britain." It is published in Mr. Butler's book. It has been submitted to Parliament frequently.

There is but one oath before or after the consecration?

Before the consecration; it is sometimes called an oath of allegiance, but that is very false. It is not an oath of allegiance. It is there called an oath of fidelity, and that is only to distinguish it from the oath that every priest I ordain takes to myself, and that oath—it is an oath of canonical obedience, that is all that we swear to the Pope. It is called the oath of fidelity, merely to distinguish it, because it is to a higher personage. But it means nothing more than canonical obedience, the obedience which the canons of the Church or General Councils require to be paid to the Pope as Head of the Church. Not that we are to believe it merely because he says it. No; we may remonstrate against anything which we feel to be wrong.

Witness delivers copy of the oath:—I certify that the above document is an exact and faithful transcript of the original rescript of the Holy See, sent from Rome in 1791, prescribing the form of the con-

secration oath to be taken by the Roman Catholic archbishops and bishops.

P. CURTIS, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Armagh, etc.

London, 28th March, 1825.

(The witness is directed to withdraw.)

A FAMOUS LETTER OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.—This letter reached Dr. Curtis while at breakfast with his curates. He handed the letter to one of the priests to read, and thought no more of it until he saw the entire epistle printed in *The Dublin Evening Post*. It was published contrary to the intention of the writer, and without the recipient's knowledge. The curate astutely considered that the publication of a letter which contained the first pronouncement of the Duke in favour of the settlement of the Catholic claims could hardly fail to prove advantageous to the cause.

The letter created an immense sensation. It was immortalized in prose and verse. *The Times*, in some amusing lines, thus adverted to it:—

"To catch the banker all have sought,
But still the rogue unhurt is.
While t'other juggler—who'd have thought?
Though slippery long, has just been caught,
By old Archbishop Curtis.
And such the power of Papal crook,
The crozier scarce had quivered
About his ears, when, lo! the Duke
Was of a bull delivered."

"T'other juggler" is, of course, the Duke.

It may, indeed, be said that the Duke's letter, if not his suggestion, settled for ever the Catholic question. Within the next fortnight, as we are assured by Mr. Fagan, M.P., in his *Life of O'Connell*, an Emancipation Bill was prepared and submitted, by direction of the Duke of Wellington, to Dr. Doyle and the other Catholic bishops for approval. *Life of Dr. Doyle*, vol. ii., pp. 109, 110.

of MANNERS OF DR. CURTIS.—Attached for half-a-century to the University of Salamanca, Dr. Curtis had become more Spanish than the Spanish themselves. "He had a restlessness of gesture," wrote Sheil in 1828, "and a flexibility of the physiognomical muscles which surpass the

vivacity of Andulasia; and, with one finger laid upon his nose, with his eyes starting from his head, and with the other hand quivering like that of a Chinese juggler, he presents the most singular spectacle of episcopal vivacity, at the age of ninety-one, that I have ever seen."—*Life of Dr. Doyle*, vol. i., p. 492.

A picture of Dr. Curtis, which was considered very perfect and life-like by those who knew him, was painted by the late Lady Bellew, while the Primate was giving confirmation in the chapel at Skeagmore, connty Louth.

g CATHEDRAL OF NEWRY.—The chapel of Newry, mentioned as the place of consecration of Dr. Kelly, is what is known as the *Old Chapel*, and is situated on the outskirts of the town, at the end of Chapel Street. It was the only place of worship for the Catholics of Newry at the time.

Fitzpatrick, in his *Life of Dr. Doyle*, mentions that this prelate preached the consecration sermon of the new Catholic Church of Newry, the present cathedral, on April 1829, and that thirteen bishops were present at the ceremony (vol. ii., p. 136). Primate Curtis consecrated the church, assisted by Dr. M'Laughlin, bishop of Derry, and Dr. Crolly, bishop of Down and Connor. This church was begun in 1825, while Dr. Hugh Kelly was still bishop, but it remained for his successor, Dr. Thomas Kelly, to bring it to completion. The present bishop of Down, the Most Rev. Dr. M'Givern, has transformed the external appearance of the church by the erection of a tower, one of the most beautiful in the country, in which he has, out of his own resources, placed a fine chime of bells.



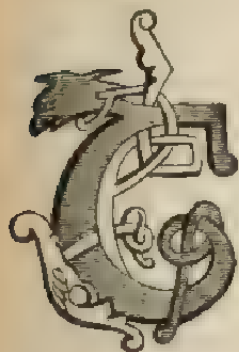


CHAPTER XX.

PRIMATES OF MODERN TIMES.

Dr. Crolly, Bishop of Down and Connor, succeeds to the Primacy—He builds the Seminary and commences the Cathedral—Succeeded by Dr. Cullen, Rector of the Irish College, Rome—Synod of Thurles—The Primate translated to Dublin—Primate Dixon—His Work on Holy Scripture—Synod of Drogheda—Organizes Irish Brigade—Nearly completes the Cathedral—Primate Kieran—His work in Dundalk—Renowned as a Preacher—Primate MacGettigan—His work in Raphoe—Translated to Armagh—Completes the Cathedral—Primate Logue—Translated from Raphoe—Created Cardinal—His Public Work and Influence.

Notes.—The *Tablet* on Dr. Cullen's Appointment—Religious Congregations in the Diocese—Public Life of Cardinal Logue.



THE next primate, William Crolly,¹ was born at Ballykilbeg, near Downpatrick, on the eighth of June, 1780. A life of St. Patrick, which fell into his hands, in his early youth, inspired him to imitate, in the practice of frequent prayer, that great Saint whose successor in the see of Armagh he was destined to become. He learned his elements in a grammar school, in the neighbourhood, and, at the age of fourteen, was sent to a classical school, in Downpatrick, conducted by a Rev. Mr. Nelson, a Unitarian minister, who employed, as an assistant teacher, a Catholic called Doran. This was not an unusual arrangement in those times, for the purpose of drawing Catholic children to the schools. On the breaking out of the rebellion in 1798, Mr. Doran was imprisoned in Downpatrick, on suspicion of

being a United Irishman. Nevertheless, he managed to continue teaching during his imprisonment, and young Crollly was one of the pupils who braved the terrors of the law in attending his classes.

He went to Maynooth, in November, 1801, being then in his twenty-first year. He pursued his ecclesiastical studies there with great success, obtaining the first place in Dogmatic Theology, in 1806. At Pentecost, of the same year, he was ordained priest by Dr. Troy, archbishop of Dublin. In the same year also, he was appointed lecturer, or assistant to Dr. Anglade, in the class of logic, metaphysics and ethics, a post he occupied till June the fifth, 1807. On Dr. Anglade being appointed to the chair of Moral Theology, Dr. Crollly, in 1809, succeeded him as professor of the class he had previously taught as assistant, and occupied this position during the three following years.

In 1812, he left the college of Maynooth, and devoted himself wholly to the missionary life, taking charge of the great parish of Belfast, which comprised not only the entire town of Belfast, but also a densely-populated district more than thirty miles in extent, including within its area nine or ten important towns and villages. For all this parish, there was, at the time, one solitary chapel, so small as not to be able to accommodate more than 150 persons.

A second chapel, larger than the former, was in course of erection on his arrival, which he soon brought to completion. During the thirteen years of his life as parish priest, he was never on any occasion absent for a full month from Belfast, one great undertaking after another filling up his leisure, and allowing him no time for relaxation.

On January the thirty-first, 1825, he was appointed bishop of Down and Connor, by Propaganda, and the appointment was confirmed by Leo XII. on February the sixth. He was consecrated on the first of May, in St. Patrick's chapel, Belfast, by Primate Curtis, assisted by Dr. M'Laughlin, bishop of Derry, and Dr. MacGettigan, bishop of Raphoe. Immediately on his appointment, Dr. Crollly induced His Holiness to change the episcopal parish of Down and Connor from Downpatrick, which had been the episcopal city of the diocese of Connor, since the time of St. Patrick, to Belfast, now

grown into an important city, and the real centre of the diocese. His zeal redoubled on his promotion, and during the ten years of his episcopacy, he built a large church in almost every parish, which, up to his time, had been in a woeful state of destitution in this respect. He also built the seminary of St. Malachy for the education of ecclesiastical students. The Catholics of Belfast at this period had no schools, and Dr. Crolly was forced to permit them to attend schools conducted by Protestants and Unitarians, a course of action which caused a fierce controversy after his death.

Primate Kelly having died early in 1835, Propaganda transferred Dr. Crolly to the primatial see, on April the seventh of the same year, and the appointment was confirmed by Gregory XVI., on April the twelfth. The new primate took up his residence in Armagh, the ancient episcopal city of the diocese, in which, previous to Emancipation, no primate was allowed to reside or even to perform episcopal duties. His first care was to build a seminary for the education of ecclesiastical students of the diocese. This great work proved a heavy burthen to his slender resources, as the cost was double the original estimate. But the great work of his primacy which consumed all his energies was the building of the noble cathedral which now dominates the landscape round Armagh.

The only place of worship possessed by the Catholics of Armagh at the time was what is now known as the "Old Chapel," a wretched structure, first built in 1750, in an enclosure off Chapel Lane, and enlarged in the first years of the present century.² Having acquired a splendid site near the seminary, the Primate was able to lay the foundation-stone of the Cathedral, on St. Patrick's Day, 1840. The history of this noble Cathedral will be found more fully treated of in a subsequent chapter; in the meantime, it will suffice to say, that from the year of its foundation till his death, nine years afterwards, it occupied the Primate's thoughts incessantly.

Dr. Crolly had many trials to bear from the Orangemen, who at this period were very virulent in the county of Armagh. On the twelfth of July, 1845, serious riots took place in the town of Armagh, owing to their procession through the streets, and an inoffensive Catholic was brutally murdered. The Catholics, who

believed they had been left by the Government at the mercy of a band of armed ruffians, attended the funeral of the murdered man in large numbers. Dr. Crollly took the lead in this manifestation of public indignation, and marched at the head of the people. On the following Sunday, he alluded to the murder in his sermon at Mass, and denounced the perpetrators of it, weeping copiously as he proceeded.

When the question of the Queen's Colleges arose, the Primate was one of those bishops who looked favourably on the project. He was anxious to have the Northern College established at Armagh in preference to Belfast, as he would then be able to watch personally over the safeguarding of the faith of the students. Rome had not spoken at the time against these institutions, and it is certain that if the Primate had lived till the Synod of Thurles, in which they were formally condemned as pernicious to the faith, he would have laid aside his own opinions on the subject, and submitted to the decision to the Holy See.

Dr. Crollly died at his house in Fair Street, Drogheda, of the cholera, on Good Friday, the sixth of April, 1849. During the whole of his primacy, he had observed the custom of living alternately six months of the year there and six months in Armagh, a few weeks at a time in each place. He also went through the solemn functions of Holy Week and consecrated the holy oils every year alternately in the two towns. On this sad occasion, he had gone through the long ceremony of Holy Thursday, and retired to rest at his usual hour. At three o'clock on Good Friday morning, he was attacked by the distemper and expired about noon the same day, the first victim in that town of the terrible epidemic. On the following day, his remains were carried to Armagh, where it was always his wish to be buried, and on Easter Sunday his solemn obsequies were performed in the old chapel of that town. A procession was then formed from the chapel to the still unfinished cathedral, where, in accordance with his last request, his remains were interred in the centre of the choir.

The Month's Mind, celebrated on the twenty-third of May, brought together a large concourse of priests and bishops, and an eloquent sermon was preached on the deceased Primate, by Dr. Murray, Professor of Maynooth College.

Primate Crolly was essentially a man of action, strong, bold, energetic and consumed with zeal for the progress of religion. He never gave himself an idle moment, and, wherever he went, left monuments of his activity behind him.

A collection of the *Select Sermons* of the Primate was published shortly after his death. A critic who carefully examined them declared that "these sermons delineate with peculiar eloquence and power all the duties of Christian morality and discuss, in the most masterly manner, all the leading topics in dispute between the sectaries and the Catholic Church."

"Paul Cullen,¹ the first Irish prelate ever made a Cardinal, was born in Prospect, near Ballytore, county Kildare, on the 27th of April, 1803. He was the son of Hugh Cullen and Judith, sister to the celebrated James Maher, Parish Priest of Craigue, Carlow. Paul Cullen was for a short time under the care, in Carlow College, of the famous James Doyle, Professor in Carlow College and afterwards bishop of Kildare and Leighlin. He was sent at an early age to Rome, to pursue his studies, and entered the Urban College of the Propaganda, on the 29th of November, 1820. His character is thus described in the archives of that institution:—"Bell' ingegno, eccessivo nello studio, illibato nei costumi, osservantissimo, divoto, docile, irreprensibile, commendabilissimo in tutto."

Such was the talent displayed by Cullen when a student in the Propaganda, that he was selected to hold a public disputation before Leo XII. and his court, on the occasion of that Pontiff's visit to the Collegio Urbano, on the 11th of September, 1828. The church of the Propaganda was arranged and decorated for the purpose, under the superintendence of the architect, the Cavaliere Giuseppe Valadier, and was illuminated brilliantly. Printed invitations were sent by the Prefect of Pontifical Ceremonies to ten Cardinals of the Congregation, who attended in full habit of their rank, with train-bearers and servants in rich liveries. The Pope was met at the doors by the Cardinal Prefect, and conducted to a throne. Mr. Cullen undertook to make a defence of all theology and to defend two hundred and twenty-four theses. On the morning of that day he disputed in the great hall of the College with all comers, and

sustained his propositions with credit and skill. In the afternoon he displayed the same ability in presence of the Pope, the Cardinals and many of the most conspicuous men in Rome, and many ecclesiastics, including Monsignors Soglia, Polidori, and Castracane, and Nicholas Wiseman, who all four subsequently became Cardinals. It was acknowledged by all present at this intellectual tournament, that Paul Cullen showed himself truly an honour to the College, a credit to his nation, and worthy of the singular favour bestowed on him by Leo XII.

Dr. Cullen left the Propaganda College in 1829, to be Vice-Rector, and subsequently, Rector, of the Irish College in Rome. From May, 1848, after the departure of the Jesuits, to January, 1849, he was Rector of the Propaganda College. At this time, the revolution had broken out in the Pontifical States, and Mazzini became master of Rome. An order was issued by the revolutionary Triumvirate, commanding the students to leave the Propaganda within a few hours. Mr. Freeborn was then British Consul in Rome, and Dr. Cullen was advised to ask his intervention to protect the Propaganda. But Dr. Cullen knew Mr. Freeborn to be a revolutionist, and more likely to assist than oppose the designs of Mazzini. He preferred to apply to Mr. Cass, son of General Cass, who was then American Minister at Rome. Mr. Cass promptly went to Mazzini, and in the name of his government demanded protection for the Propaganda, on the ground that several of the students of the College were American citizens. Some American ships of war were then lying in Italian waters, and the revolutionary leaders had asked permission to take refuge in those ships, whenever they should be obliged by the French to fly from Rome. Consequently they could not afford to quarrel with the American Minister, and they at once granted his request. The Triumvirs then issued a new order, stating that the Propaganda was a literary institution of great merit, that it was the proud privilege of Republicans to foster learning and science, and that therefore the Roman government forbade any interference with the property of the Propaganda. Thus, Dr. Cullen, in 1848, managed to save the College by placing it under American protection."

On the death of Primate Crolly, the parish priests of Armagh

presented three names for the succession:—Dr. Dixon, Dr. Kieran, both afterwards primates, and Dr. O'Hanlon. The three names, however, were passed over in Rome, and, in December, 1849, Dr. Cullen was appointed primate by Propaganda, the appointment being confirmed by Pius IX., at Portici, on the nineteenth of the same month. He was consecrated on the twenty-fourth of February, 1850, in the church of St. Agatha, Rome, by Cardinal Castracane. On returning home from Rome, he took up his residence in Drogheda, where he resided nearly all the time he ruled the see of Armagh.

In August of the same year, he presided over the National Synod of Thurles, the first synod of the kind held in Ireland since the convention of the bishops and clergy, in Kilkenny, in 1642. This synod, which was principally convoked for the purpose of formally condemning the Queen's Colleges, had far-reaching effects on the discipline of the Irish Church, which had been considerably disturbed by the action of the penal laws. Amongst other improvements it brought about, was the enforcing of the administration of the sacraments of baptism and marriage in churches, which functions, previous to this, had been performed in private houses. The Primate set an example of prompt obedience to these regulations in his own diocese, and got baptismal fonts placed in the churches. He introduced evening devotions into the parish church, together with an evening sermon. He also established a public novena, in honour of the Assumption of our Blessed Lady, and another in honour of her Immaculate Conception.

Dr. Cullen fully appreciated the value of the modern Religious Congregations. Soon after his appointment, he introduced the Nuns of the Sacred Heart into Armagh, and, in 1851, brought in the Christian Brothers, and purchased for them the following year their house and grounds at Greenpark.

The subsequent career of Dr. Cullen does not fall within our scope, as he was translated to the see of Dublin, on the first of May, 1852. He was created Cardinal, in the order of priests, under the title of San Pietro in Montorio, in 1867, the first Irishman ever elevated to the dignity of a prince of the Church. His uncompromising denunciations of Fenianism made him very unpopular among extreme

Nationalists, but secured for him the respect of the other classes of the community. In 1870, he attended the Vatican Council and took a prominent part in the proceedings. He died in Dublin, on October the twenty-fourth, 1878.

Dr. Cullen having been translated to Dublin, Dr. Joseph Dixon, then professor of Sacred Scripture and Hebrew at Maynooth College, succeeded to the vacant see. He had already been returned as *dignissimus*, by the priests of Armagh, on the death of Primate Crolly, in 1849. He was now appointed by Propaganda, on September the twenty-eighth, 1852, and the appointment was confirmed by Pius IX., on October the third, and decreed the following day. He was consecrated on November the twenty-first, in the College Chapel of Maynooth by Cardinal Cullen, assisted by Dr. Browne, bishop of Kilmore, and Dr. Errington, then bishop of Plymouth.

Joseph Dixon⁴ was born on July the first, 1806, at Coalisland, near Dungannon, county Tyrone, diocese of Armagh. From childhood he had no other thought than that of devoting himself to the ecclesiastical state, and, at the age of sixteen, entered the College of Maynooth. He there made remarkable progress in learning, and was endeared to his fellow-students by his gentleness and piety. At the end of his first year in the Dunboyne institution, he competed with Dr. Whitehead and Dr. Magennis, for the chair of Moral Theology, but unsuccessfully. He, however, and Dr. Magennis, the other unsuccessful candidate, made such a good impression on the examiners, that both were afterwards appointed to other professorships without any concursus. The three distinguished rivals were ordained priests on the same day, in 1829, and on the twenty-fourth of June of the same year, Dr. Dixon was appointed Junior Dean, an onerous office he discharged with zeal for the next four years. He was appointed Senior Dean on the twentieth of June, 1833, and, on the seventeenth of September, the following year, was made a professor.

The position given to Dr. Dixon was the chair of Sacred Scripture and Hebrew, for which, however, he was obliged to submit to a special examination in Hebrew, the examiner being Doctor Murray, archbishop of Dublin, an accomplished Hebrew scholar. For the next eighteen years, Dr. Dixon filled the professor's chair

with credit to himself and the great institution he represented. His class was very large, having on an average two hundred students, amongst whom was Dr. M'Eilly, the present archbishop of Tuam, who has since distinguished himself by his works on Holy Scripture. The crowning glory of Dr. Dixon's professorship was his *General Introduction to the Sacred Scriptures*, a work badly needed at the time and highly praised by the learned Cardinal Wiseman. The book was first published in 1852, the last year he spent in Maynooth, and went through a second edition in 1875. Hitherto, there had been no suitable book in the English language for Catholic readers on this important subject, whilst on the other hand, Protestant works on the same subject were having a wide circulation. Dr. Dixon's work is at once a suitable book for the intelligent Catholic reader and a valuable guide for the student. An eminent specialist has lately said that, though this book is still in high repute, its real value is considerably under-rated.

As primate, he gave proof of his zeal for improvement by holding a provincial synod in Drogheda, in 1854, at which all the bishops of the northern province assisted with their theologians. The sessions were held from the tenth till the seventeenth of May, the private sessions being held in the primate's house, while the three public sessions were held with due ceremony in St. Peter's Church. The opening sermon on the occasion was preached by Dean Kieran, who was destined to succeed in the primacy. Many useful regulations, with regard to the administration of the sacraments and the erection of confraternities, were made at this synod. In the same year, Primate Dixon took up the great work of completing the cathedral in Armagh, left in an unfinished state by his two predecessors. In the following October, he went to Rome to be present at the definition of the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception, and, while in Italy, visited the shrines of St. Catherine of Sienna, to whom he had a particular devotion. On his way back, he visited Chambéry to see the relics of St. Concord, but, as we have treated this matter more fully in an earlier part of this history, we need not say anything more about it.

On his return home, he showed his zeal for the improvement of

the diocese by the introduction of some of the Religious Congregations, to whose labours in the cause of education and the care of the poor and the afflicted, the Church in modern times stands so much indebted. Primate Dixon brought from Paris, in 1855, the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul and established them in Drogheda, giving them a solemn reception in St. Peter's church, on which occasion he preached an eloquent sermon. He introduced the Christian Brothers into Drogheda two years later, to take charge of the schools. The nuns of the Sacred Heart in Armagh, introduced by Cardinal Cullen, were under such difficulties after a time, that they were seriously thinking of abandoning the town, but Primate Dixon treated them with such kindness and helped them so generously that he induced them to remain. He also invited the Marist Fathers to Dundalk in 1861, to look after the education of the middle and higher classes. The Sisters of Our Lady of Mercy, who had taken up their residence in Dundalk before his time, in 1849, made a second foundation in Ardee, in 1859, where, through the exertions of the parish priest, a beautiful convent was built for them.

In 1856, two years after the synod of Drogheda, the Primate formed the Diocesan Chapter, consisting of thirteen members.

At a public meeting convened in Drogheda, on the tenth of December, 1859, to express sympathy with the Holy Father, on the occasion of the outrages inflicted on him by the Italian revolutionists, Primate Dixon made a remarkable speech in which he denounced Napoleon III., for his complicity in their acts. His speech and subsequent public letter in the *Freeman* created a great sensation, and were a cause of complaint made by Napoleon to Pius IX. His spirited action roused several of the bishops of France to follow him by denunciations of the policy of the Emperor in their pastorals. The Primate was a great advocate of real devotedness to the Holy See in his difficulties, and organized a *Confraternity of St. Peter's Pence* by means of which he was able to send the Pope substantial help. He was the real organizer of the large body of young men who left Ireland to form the Irish Brigade in the papal service. He sent one of his priests, Father Powderly, to France, to bring them through

safely on their journey to Rome. More than a thousand young men passed through this priest's hands, who afterwards distinguished themselves on the battle-fields of Italy.

Secret societies, which were very rife in Ireland during the whole of his primacy, were a constant object of denunciation in his pastorals. Unfortunately, his words were unheeded by those bound by the secret oaths till the abortive rising of 1867 put an end, for a time at least, to the efforts of the propagandists.

In 1865, he issued a remarkable and eloquent pastoral on the temporal rights of the Holy See, which were being steadily and remorselessly encroached upon at the time. In the same year, he held a great bazaar for the National Cathedral, of which the gross receipts came to more than £7000. It is curious to note, that Napoleon III., who had been approached on the subject without the Primate's knowledge, sent him a beautiful and valuable present as a prize.

He died at Armagh, on the twenty-ninth of April, 1866. According to his last wish, he was buried in the cemetery of the Nuns of the Sacred Heart, Mount St. Catherine. He also expressed a wish that some kind friend would place a slab of Armagh marble over his grave with the inscription:—

✠ JOSEPH

AWAITING THE RESURRECTION OF THE BODY.

ST. CATHERINE OF SIENNA, PRAY FOR ME.

Michael Kieran,⁵ parish priest of Dundalk, dean of Armagh diocese and Vicar-Capitular after the death of Primate Dixon, was nominated *dignissimus* for the succession, by the priests of the diocese. He was elected by Propaganda, on the thirtieth of July, 1866. The election was approved of by Pius IX., on September the thirtieth, and decreed on November the sixth.⁶ He was consecrated in the church of St. Patrick, Dundalk, by Cardinal Cullen, on February the third, 1867.

The new Primate, it will be remembered, was one of the three, selected by the priests of Armagh, in 1849, to succeed Primate Crolly. He was born at Darver, in the county of Louth, in 1807,

and matriculated in Maynooth College, in 1825. He was ordained priest a year or two before he had finished his course of studies, owing to the great dearth of priests in the diocese of Armagh at that time. His first appointment was to the village of Louth, but after spending a short time there, he accompanied Doctor Kelly to Newry, as curate, when the latter was appointed to the see of Dromore. On Doctor Kelly succeeding to the primacy, in 1832, he brought Father Kieran to live with him in Drogheda, and gave him a curacy there. It was in Drogheda that he first displayed his talents as a pulpit orator. In 1841, he was made parish priest of Collon and spent the following seven years there. He was exceedingly studious and retiring in his habits, and stored his mind with all that was good in the thoughts and ideas of ancient and modern writers.

But from this secluded place he was to come forth and labour in a more exalted station. The Very Rev. Dean Coyne, parish priest of Dundalk, having died in the beginning of 1848, the parish priest of Collon was appointed by Primate Crolly in his place. Very soon, the Catholics of Dundalk began to feel the influence and power of the ecclesiastic who had been sent to teach them the way of salvation. He was most punctual in his attendance in the confessional and he was there generally surrounded by crowds of penitents. His sermons were models of pulpit eloquence and were always carefully prepared before delivery. There was, moreover, a power and unction in his delivery which is rarely met with. He seldom preached on the gospel of the day, taking by preference the consecutive explanation of the ten commandments, the sacraments and the Lord's Prayer; and he ably enforced his arguments by quotations from the Sacred Scriptures and the writings of the Fathers of the Church. He was undoubtedly one of the first preachers in the kingdom, and was often called away from his ordinary duties, to preach sermons on special occasions, in other parts of the country, and in England. Some of these sermons have never been effaced from the minds of those who had the privilege of hearing them.

He devoted a great deal of his energy to the founding of pious confraternities, as prescribed in the synod of Drogheda. To reclaim

the drunkard, he established a Total Abstinence Society which was the means of bringing peace and comfort to many a home. He inaugurated the Catholic Young Men's Society, which was productive of many blessings to the young men of Dundalk, and whose reading-room and library afforded them the means of acquiring useful information and kept them away from temptations of various kinds.

He conceived the idea of erecting a new church at the lower end of the town, and, with marvellous speed, collected funds, purchased a site and opened the church, under the title of St. Nicholas, in 1861. The church was built chiefly for the sake of the poor who crowd that locality.

The education of the young occupied a large share of his attention. On the site of the Old Chapel, in Chapel Lane, he erected commodious schools for boys, in connection with the National Board of Education, and provided for them two of the best teachers he could find. But it was a system he never liked, both on account of the books in common use and the enforced absence of the emblems of religion.

It was not, however, till he became primate, that he was able to establish a system far more to his liking—that of the Christian Brothers. He spoke to his flock on the subject, and measures were taken to provide a house and schools for them on the grounds where the National Schools were already erected. A large sum of money was collected for this purpose, but not being sufficient, the Primate had to supplement it from his own purse. Only a few weeks before his death, he announced, in the very last sermon he preached, that he had advanced £2,000 to make up the deficit, saying at the same time, that he would make a present of the schools to his flock. To him also, in a great measure, the town of Dundalk is indebted for the presence of the Marist Fathers, for, although they came in the time of Dr. Dixon, he as parish priest of the town gave them every encouragement.

He was no less a friend of the nuns, established in Dundalk and Drogheda, and was able to send into those convents many young persons desirous of serving God in holy religion. He was often

asked to preach at receptions and professions and his sermons on those occasions were most impressive. Shortly after the synod of Thurles, Dr. Kieran's merits were recognised by his being appointed dean of the diocese. After his elevation to the primacy his health began to decline, and, at the end of nine or ten months his constitution became seriously impaired. He removed his residence to Forthill, a couple of miles west of Dundalk, hoping that the bracing air of the locality would restore him to health. But he gradually sank and peacefully passed away from this mortal life on Thursday, September the fifteenth, 1869.

The removal of the remains from Forthill took place on the following Sunday, the procession stretching for nearly two miles. Cardinal Cullen performed the funeral obsequies, and Dr. Moran, now Cardinal-Archbishop of Sydney, assisted. The great Father Burke preached the sermon at the Month's Mind.

Daniel MacGettigan, bishop of Raphoe, succeeded Primate Kieran in the see of Armagh. He was translated from Raphoe to the primacy, by Propaganda election, February the twenty-seventh, 1870. The election received the papal approbation on March the sixth, and was decreed on the following day, the brief being issued on March the eleventh.⁷

The Primate⁸ was born on the north-west coast of Donegal, at a place called Drimditton, in the parish of Mevagh, and diocese of Raphoe, in November, 1815. His father, Manasses MacGettigan, was a respectable farmer, and his mother was descended from an Irish family, the O'Boyles, which gave at least one saintly bishop to the ancient see of Raphoe. Having attended a country school for some time, he studied classics under a Presbyterian clergyman, in Derry, there being at the time no seminary in Donegal. He was afterwards sent to the seminary at Navan, where he studied logic, and, on the twenty-sixth of August, 1833, entered Maynooth College. Here he read a most distinguished course, carrying off the first premiums in his class, and finally winning a place on the Dunboyne establishment, where he completed his studies, under the eminent professor of Dogmatic Theology and Canon Law, the late Dr. O'Hanlon. At Pentecost, 1839, he was

ordained priest in the College Chapel. Father MacGettigan's first mission was an appointment as curate to the Rev. Michael M'Gouldrick, parish priest of Iver, with whom he laboured for about nine months, after which he was speedily promoted to Letterkenny, where the bishop, the Most Rev. Patrick MacGettigan, resided; and where, after a short time, he was appointed administrator of the parish. Urbane, kind, zealous, and simple as a child, he won golden opinions in Letterkenny; and yet his quiet and inoffensive life did not save him from being sent to jail. The facts of his imprisonment are recorded in the *Dublin Monitor*, of August the twenty-eighth, 1845, as follows:—

"Glenswilly, a mountain district adjoining Letterkenny, was then, and long had been, famous for the extensive manufacture of illicit whiskey, carried on within its bounds. It sometimes happened that purchasers of the contraband article dishonestly failed to pay for what they had procured, knowing that a prosecution at law could not be obtained against them. In this predicament the distiller issued what was popularly termed a 'Glenswilly decree,' and seized by night a horse belonging to the man who refused to discharge his liabilities. As soon as the debt was paid, the horse was returned to the owner. It appears that the Rev. Administrator of Letterkenny, having been consulted confidentially in a case of this kind, restitution was made to the defrauded party through the influence of the priest. The affair having been brought under the notice of the magistrates of the district, Father MacGettigan was summoned to give evidence in the matter; and, on his refusal to name the guilty party, a warrant was issued against him on the ground that he had compromised a felony. The worthy priest—although his entire conduct in the matter had been outside the confessional—refused to betray the confidence reposed in him. He was arrested and confined in the bridewell of Letterkenny, whence he was conveyed to the prison in Newgate, in Dublin. However, before the case came for trial, an informality was detected in the warrant by the priest's counsel, the late Chief Baron Pigot, and his client was in consequence released."

The above is a fairly accurate description of the circumstances, but the Primate himself used to say that it was the late Daniel

O'Connell who was his counsel, and whose keen eye detected the error in the warrant of committal. It should also be stated, by way of correction, that it was to the county jail of Lifford, and not to Letterkenny bridewell, he was first sent, and that it was from Lifford he was transferred to Newgate. Soon afterwards, he was promoted to the pastoral charge of Kilbarron, and here he remained for only a short period, when he was raised by the bishop to the dignity of Vicar-General, and at the same time appointed parish priest of Ballyshannon. To his exertions the people of Ballyshannon are indebted for the fine schools he built there, and also for the establishment of a convent of the Sisters of Mercy, and many other useful works. In 1854, he was theologian to the bishop of Raphoe, at the synod of Drogheda, and one of the secretaries of the synod.

He was appointed by Propaganda election coadjutor to the bishop of Raphoe, a namesake, but not a relative, on the eighteenth of February, 1856, with the title of Gerra *in partibus*. The election was approved of by Pius IX., on February the third, and decreed on February the thirteenth. His consecration took place on the eighteenth of May, and, on the first of May, 1861, on the death of his namesake, he succeeded to the see of Raphoe.⁹ While in Raphoe, as indeed all through his life, he laboured indefatigably in the cause of the Catholic religion. On the eleventh of March, 1870, he was translated to Armagh, succeeding the Most Rev. Dr. Kieran in the primacy, on which occasion he happened to be in Rome, attending the sessions of the Vatican Council. Although he had been unanimously postulated for by the other bishops of the province, he was unwilling to accept the exalted position, but, in a private interview with the Pope, the illustrious Pius IX., His Holiness overruled all his objections. To an appointment made in such a manner there could be no further protest, and Dr. MacGettigan reverently accepted it. But scarcely had he left the Pontiff's presence than he burst into a flood of tears, and, to a friend who a few minutes afterwards met him in one of the streets of Rome, he could only mutter a few broken phrases, lamenting the bitter fate that tore him from his beloved people in Donegal. He came home to Armagh soon after, and lived there from that period till his death.

Primate MacGettigan had the happiness, in 1873, of being able to open for divine service, the Cathedral, on the building of which his predecessors had lavished so much energy without having been able to bring it to completion. Having finished the two towers and prepared the interior, he fixed the solemn dedication for Sunday, August the twenty-fourth. On that day, Cardinal Cullen, nineteen bishops and a vast concourse of clergy and laity from various parts of the country, as well as numbers from abroad, assembled in Armagh to do honour to the occasion. Father Burke preached the sermon at Mass and a collection on the spot realised more than £8,000. The proceedings through the day were marked by joy and enthusiasm, but were sadly marred in the evening by an outburst of fanaticism on the part of the Orangemen, who make fierce attacks on numbers of the strangers as they took their departure.

The Primate showed his anxiety for the spiritual interests of the diocese by inviting the Redemptorist Fathers, so renowned in the missionary field, to come and settle in any part they wished. They chose Dundalk as their residence, and came in 1876, making that town a centre of their mission work in the North.

In 1879, he erected a splendid stained-glass window in the Cathedral, as a memorial to two of his predecessors, Primate Crolly and Primate Dixon, who had laboured so indefatigably in the prosecution of the great work.

In May, 1881, the date of his silver jubilee in the episcopate, the occasion was availed of for one of the most magnificent manifestations of love and veneration ever tendered by a people to their prelate. Messages of congratulation came to him from every corner of the northern province, and priests and laymen flocked to Armagh to do honour to the Primate. The feelings of all who took part in the celebration were truthfully and touchingly set forth in the address of the clergy to his Grace in the course of the proceedings. The address was an expression to him of their devoted attachment to his person, and of their homage and veneration for his exalted dignity and sacred office. It spoke of the winning grace of manner which, from the earliest days of his episcopacy, surrounded him with hosts of sincere and valued friends; mild and

considerate in his administration, homely, but dignified in bearing, lavish in his charities, hospitable and generous almost to a fault, his life had not only served as a precious model for his clergy, but had realised in an eminent degree the Apostle's lofty ideal of a Christian Bishop. Such was the estimate formed by men who knew him well. To give emphasis to their words they tendered to him a gift of £500. He accepted it with fervent gratitude, but refused to apply it to his personal uses, and asked and obtained their permission to devote it altogether to purposes of charity and education in the diocese.

This had been his character through all his life. An open heart and an open hand might fittingly be placed as his armorial bearings around his bier, and with them all the emblems that would typify loyalty and fidelity to faith, fatherland and friendship. His charity was only circumscribed by his means; the poor were never known to apply to him for assistance in vain, and deep was their sorrow when they heard of his death. Amongst his many admirable traits of character, was his extreme love of little children, with whom he readily made friends. Indeed, it is said truly that he could, without the slightest effort, remove the barrier of reserve behind which the most bashful and timid child sheltered itself; and, when in health, he was frequently to be seen conversing with a group of little children coming from school, or leading one of them by the hand. That such a man should have many friends was but natural, and his friends were not confined to the members of his own Church.

He had always been on the most amicable relations with his Protestant fellow-citizens, who heard of his death with deep regret. The friendship that existed between him and the Protestant Primate, the Most Rev. Dr. Beresford, was of the most cordial character. During his illness some years ago, when Primate Beresford was himself in delicate health, the latter sent daily to inquire after Dr. MacGettigan, and also sent him the most choice products of his garden. Subsequently, when he partly recovered, and Primate Beresford became seriously ill, then it became his turn to inquire after his friend, which he did daily. On the day that Primate Beresford died, Dr. MacGettigan directed that the cathedral bells should be tolled, and on the day on which the funeral took place, visitors to Armagh

were surprised to hear the two cathedrals sending forth their solemn, sad tones. Dr. MacGettigan was then in such feeble health that he was not fit to be out of doors; nevertheless, he attended the funeral.

During the Earl of Carnarvon's viceroyalty, that nobleman, in the course of his tour through Ulster, visited Armagh, where he received a number of addresses. Amongst other places in the city, he visited the Catholic Cathedral, in company with the Countess of Carnarvon and others, and although the Primate was ill and only able to walk by leaning on a staff, he met the Viceregal party at the entrance to the sacred edifice, and extended to them a most cordial reception, conducting them inside the altar rails, where he expressed in an admirable speech the pleasure which the visit gave him.

As the Primate was in a very feeble state of health, he applied to the Holy See for a coadjutor, and, on the request being granted, the parish priests of the diocese met in the cathedral of Armagh, on January the nineteenth, 1887, and nominated as *dignissimus* the bishop of Raphoe, Doctor Logue, who was appointed by Propaganda election, on the thirteenth of April, the same year.

Primate MacGettigan died on Saturday, December the third, 1887, and was buried in the new Catholic cemetery, Armagh.

The inscription on his tomb is as follows :—

R^{MO}. P. D. DANIELI MACGETTIGAN,
 AMATORI PAUPERUM,
 OMNIBUS CARO,
 CLERUS POPULUSQUE MÆRENTES DICAVERE.
 NATUS A.D. 1815.
 ORDINATUS, A.D. 1839.
 CONSECRATUS, A.D. 1856.
 SUCCESSIT EPISCOPO RAPOTENSI,
 DIE 8 MAII, A.D. 1861.
 TRANSLATUS SEDEM ARMACANUM,
 DIE 2 MARTII, 1870.
 PIE OBII,
 DIE 3 DECEMBRIS, A.D. 1887.
 R.I.P.

TO THE MOST REV. P. D. DANIEL MACGETTIGAN,
A FRIEND OF THE POOR,
BELOVED BY ALL,
THE CLERGY AND PEOPLE SORROWING HAVE DEDICATED.
BORN, A.D. 1815.
ORDAINED, A.D. 1839.
CONSECRATED A.D. 1856.
SUCCEEDED THE BISHOP OF RAPHOE,
MAY THE EIGHTH, 1861.
TRANSLATED TO THE SEE OF ARMAGH,
MARCH THE SECOND, 1870.
DIED A HOLY DEATH,
DECEMBER THE THIRD, 1887.
R.I.P.

On the death of Primate MacGettigan, his coadjutor, the present Primate, succeeded to the see of Armagh. Michael Logue was born at Kilmacrenan, County Donegal, on Thursday, the first of October, 1840. His birthplace is remarkable as being the spot where Saint Columba received his education. The future primate passed his early years in the parish of Carrigart.

"From his childhood, he manifested a strong inclination to become a priest, and his study of the classics in his native county was accordingly intended to prepare him for Maynooth College, which he entered on September the third, 1857.

His course in Maynooth extended over more than eight years; and throughout, the future Cardinal was distinguished as much by his diligent application as by his rare and remarkable ability. Nor were his gifts confined to those of the intellectual order.

His fellow-students still like to recall the quiet modesty which made him rather conceal than display his knowledge, and the kindly charity which was ever ready to help in their studies the less gifted among his companions. At the close of the ordinary college course, he was appointed a student of the Dunboyne establishment, in the year 1865. In the following year, and while still a Dunboyne student, he was ordained priest, and shortly afterwards appointed by

the bishops of Ireland to the important position of Professor of Dogmatic Theology in the Irish College, Paris. For eight years he continued to occupy this important position in Paris, till, in 1874, he was recalled to his native diocese by the Most Rev. Dr. MacDevitt, then bishop of Raphoe, and appointed a curate in a country district of the Parish of Letterkenny, called Glenswilly.

This was an important turning-point in the young priest's career. Till now, his life, as student and professor, had been spent in seclusion from the world; and, though he had gathered vast stores of knowledge, he lacked that experience of life and missionary work which no mere book-learning can supply. But He whose Providence had prepared St. Patrick for his apostleship on a bleak mountain side in Ulster was now preparing his illustrious successor for his future labours by somewhat similar experiences.

In Glenswilly, which is a poor and mountainous district of Donegal, Dr. Logue was brought into close and daily contact with the wants and hardships of Irish peasant life. He had to minister to faithful but poverty-stricken people; and the experiences he gained, whether of the consolations or of the trials and hardships of a missionary priest's life, must have been of incalculable advantage in view of his future career.

Two years later, in 1876, the scene of Dr. Logue's labours was changed, and he was appointed Dean of Maynooth College and Professor of Irish. Again, after almost two years, came another change, and on the twenty-fifth of June, 1878, he was appointed Professor of Theology in the same college. Not long, however, was he permitted to remain in this new position, for, on the death of Dr. MacDevitt, in the spring of 1879, the parish priests of Raphoe nominated Dr. Logue *dignissimus* for the mitre of the diocese, and the Holy Father soon after confirmed their choice. He was accordingly consecrated bishop of Raphoe by the late beloved Primate, Dr. MacGettigan, in the old cathedral of Letterkenny, on July the twentieth, 1879. He remained bishop of Raphoe for eight years, throughout the troublous and trying times between 1879 and 1887, taking an active and leading part in every effort to improve the spiritual or temporal position of his flock. Once, at least, during that time, he

saved his poor people from famine, collecting in one year, for distribution in his diocese, nearly £30,000. He also determined to replace the humble church which had to serve as cathedral in Letterkenny by an edifice more worthy of the land of Columcille and Adamnan. To this end he appealed for help to Donegal men, all over the world. His appeal met with a generous response; and, when Dr. Logue was called from the see of Raphoe to the highest position in the Irish Church, the success of the project was assured, though the commencement of the actual work of building was left to his successor.

In 1887, the failing health of the venerable Primate made a coadjutor necessary, and Dr. Logue was declared *dignissimus* for the exalted dignity by an overwhelming majority of the votes of the parish priests of the Primatial See. Soon after, the Holy Father confirmed their choice, as he had confirmed that of the priests of Raphoe, eight years before; and on the nineteenth of April, 1887, Dr. Logue was transferred to Armagh as coadjutor, with the right of succession to the primacy. On December the third of the same year, Dr. MacGettigan died; and thus the Christmas of the year that had witnessed his transfer from Raphoe, saw Dr. Logue archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of All Ireland.

Since his elevation to the primacy, Dr Logue has been to Armagh what he was to Raphoe—an humble, holy, unobtrusive, energetic, ideal pastor, beloved by his flock. He has never courted public notice; in fact, he has always shunned it as far as possible. But the zeal, piety and ability of the Primate, though in a great measure hidden from the world, were long recognised at Rome, and Leo XIII. decided to raise him to a dignity never before attained by anyone in the long line of his illustrious predecessors. On the nineteenth of January, 1893, he was created Cardinal, to the joy of all Irishmen at home and abroad. It may be safely said, that no act of the present illustrious Pontiff has contributed so much to endear him to Irishmen, as the elevation of the present successor of St. Patrick to the exalted dignity of a Prince of the Church.

Of Cardinal Logue's character much might be said, if space permitted. Its most striking feature is his genuine and great

humility. Rarely, indeed, has so humble a man occupied so high a position. The many honours that have been conferred upon him, the singular eminence he has attained in the Irish Church, the great and widespread popularity he enjoys, seem only to have enlarged and deepened this beautiful trait of his character. Combined with his humility, which is ever necessary to any real greatness, the Cardinal possesses a frank and amiable manner, a courage that knows no fear when the interests of religion or country are threatened, and a prudence in which the wisdom of the serpent is happily blended with the simplicity of the dove. Socially, he is one of the most amiable and interesting men we have ever met, while intellectually, he is universally admitted to be fully equal to his exalted position."¹⁰

Since the above was written, His Eminence has taken a very active and influential part in the public affairs of the country. A fluent speaker of the native tongue, he has given great help and encouragement to the enthusiastic Gaelic societies, who are working indefatigably to restore it to its rightful position in the educational curriculum. The National Teachers have looked on him as a true, though candid friend, since he raised his voice to explain to them the manifest danger of a certain attitude they had taken up with regard to the clerical managers of schools. He has thrown the whole weight of his influence into the movement for the establishment of a Catholic University, up to the present wrongfully withheld from the Irish people. As an instance of the weight of his words with the Government, we may mention his pastoral of the present year of grace, 1900, and his public letter, on the question of the necessity of Catholic chaplains for the Navy. His social qualities have been recognised by her Majesty the Queen, on the occasion of her recent visit to this country, when his Eminence was included as an honoured guest in one of the royal dinner parties.

Latterly, the numerous demands made upon his time, by having to preside at important functions, in England and Scotland as well as in Ireland, bring forcibly to the mind the truth that though the canonical powers of the primacy have in a great measure fallen into abeyance, they have been replaced by a wider and more spiritual

influence. The Irish race, wherever it is found, is linked to the old country by ties of sympathy, and, as far as those sympathies are religious, they are directed principally to the ancient city of Saint Patrick and the ruler of his primatial see. Still to them, as it was to the ancient Irish, Armagh is the "Head of Erin."

To Cardinal Logue, the Catholics of Armagh stand greatly indebted. In him the cause of Temperance has found an earnest advocate, and he has founded Temperance Societies throughout the diocese. An orphanage, established on the boarding-out system, is likewise due to his zeal. He has erected, in connection with the cathedral, a beautiful sacristy, synod-hall, and a muniment-room for the preservation of documents connected with the diocese, at a cost of nearly £8,000. He has bought the site on which the cathedral stands, an important and necessary step towards the consecration of the building. Since he became primate, it has been the dream of his life to bring the noble structure as near perfection as human art could make it, and to replace every temporary expedient in the interior by something of permanent value. He deferred his great project for some years, waiting for a favourable opportunity. At last, on the twentieth of August of last year, he issued his pastoral on the "National Cathedral," and, immediately afterwards, organized the "National Cathedral Bazaar," and sent priests to collect funds at home and abroad. Since that memorable occasion, the clergy and laity of the diocese have nobly responded to the call and have been working with a zeal and devotedness which bids fair to mark an epoch in the life of the cathedral that will never be forgotten.

In close connection with this project, his Eminence decided to re-issue Stuart's *History of Armagh*. Whatever judgment may be passed on the merits or demerits of the actual performance of the task by the Editor, the re-issue of the work is entirely due to the direction and munificence of his Eminence, Cardinal Logue.

Long may he be spared to Armagh and the Irish race !

¹ The authority drawn upon for the memoir of Doctor Crolly is the *Life of Dr Crolly*, written by his nephew, Professor George Crolly, of Maynooth College, and published in 1851. ² Stuart (Original

Edition) p. 545. ³ The early life of Dr Cullen is taken verbatim from Brady's *Episcopal Succession*, vol. i. pp. 345-6-7. ⁴ The authority drawn upon for our memoir of Primate Dixon, is the *Life of Dr*

Dixon, by Miss Cusack. The Very Rev Father Powderly, F.P., whose name appears in the text, kindly revised the proof-sheets.

5 The obituary notice, published in the *Dundalk Democrat* and written by the late Mr Cartan, editor and founder of the paper in 1849, has been largely drawn upon for our memoir of Primate Kieran. 6 Brady, vol i, p 232. 7 Brady, *Ibid*. 8 The obituary notice, published in the *Dundalk Examiner*, has been very largely used in our memoir of Primate MacGettigan. 9 Brady, vol i,

p 313. 10 With the exception of the first paragraph, our memoir of the present Primate, until the time he was created Cardinal, has been taken *verbatim* from the account written by the Very Rev. Dr. MacRory, professor of Sacred Scripture at Maynooth College, and published in the Most Rev. Dr Healy's *Centenary History of Maynooth College*, p 563. Dr MacRory makes a slight mistake in the date of the Primate's elevation to the Cardinalate. It was on the 16th, not the 19th of January. He was created under the title of *Santa Maria della Pace*.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

a DR. CULLEN'S APPOINTMENT TO THE PRIMACY.—The current issue of *The Tablet* (the organ of the English Catholics) says:—Dr. Cullen's appointment is also remarkable in another point of view, and illustrates, in a very striking manner, the tendency of this time towards practical ultra-montanism; towards throwing the whole power of the Church upon the successor of St. Peter. Since the Irish clergy first had authority given them to elect their bishops—subject, of course, to the inalienable authority of the Holy See—this, we believe, is the first instance in which the list, sent up from the diocese, has been altogether set aside. Frequently the Holy See, acting on the advice of the bishops of the province, has selected one of the three who had the smallest number of votes; but never before have the three nominees been all passed by. Saturday, January 12, 1850.

Nothing could be more misleading or inaccurate than these words of the *Tablet*. The permission given to the Irish clergy to elect their bishops evidently refers to the decree of 1829, in which, however, the very contrary is distinctly stated. The decree says that in all documents referring to the selection of names, "*nihil inveniri debere, quod electionem, postulationem, nominationem innuat, sed simplicem commendationem: memorata præterea documenta esse debere jussit, in forma supplicis libelli ita concepti, ut inde pateat nullam in Sanctam Sedem inferri obligationem eligendi unum ex commendatis.*"

It can be seen from this history, how from the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Popes reserved to themselves the right of appointing to the see of Armagh, without reference to the chapter. Examine also the instance, given on p. 278, in which the three names sent forward to His Holiness by the chapter of Armagh, in 1747, were all set aside, and Ross MacMahon appointed to the see.

b RELIGIOUS CONGREGATIONS IN THE DIOCESE. They are as follows:—The Vincentian Fathers, introduced into Armagh by Primate Dixon, in 1861, to take charge of the ecclesiastical seminary.

The Marist Fathers, also brought by Primate Dixon, who came to Dundalk the same year and opened a classical school and novitiate on September 17. Their original idea was a day-school and not a college. For many years past their college has been in a flourishing condition.

The Redemptorist Fathers, brought to Dundalk by Primate MacGettigan in 1876. They first opened a hospice in Park Street, on September 8th. They removed to their present convent on August 28th, 1881.

The Christian Brothers, brought to Armagh by Primate Cullen in 1851.

Primate Dixon brought them to Drogheda in 1857, where, in the following year, they got possession of the schools at Westgate, then under the National Board of Education. The first stone of their convent was laid by Primate Kieran, on March 19th, 1867, one month after his consecration.

Primate Kieran built a convent and two schools for the Brothers in Dundalk, during the building of which he invited them to come to the town. They came on April 8th, 1869.

The French Congregation of Christian Brothers (*de la Salle*) have houses at Keady, Ardee, and Dundalk.

The Presentation Nuns came to Drogheda on June 7th, 1813. For a long time they suffered great privations and were sometimes in want of the necessaries of life. They had no regular chaplain till Primate Cullen's time. In 1820, they were able to purchase a more suitable convent.

The Presentation Nuns have been established in Portadown since 1882. In addition to their day-schools and Sunday-schools, they have opened night-schools for factory girls.

The Sisters of Mercy came to Dundalk in 1847, invited by Doctor Coyne, then parish priest of that town, with the consent of Primate Crolly. Their first superioress was Mother de Sales Vigne. At present, they have 1,100 children on their rolls, besides conducting a large orphanage and industrial school.

The Sisters came to Ardee in 1859, and to Dunganon in 1894, invited by Dean Byrne, who has built a convent for them at a cost of £6,000. They also have convents at Bessbrook and Cookstown, brought to the latter place by Canon Rice, through whose exertions a large convent has been built for them.

The Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul came to Drogheda in 1855, brought from Paris by Primate Dixon. Canon Tierney gave up his house to them. Their first object was to visit the poor and give instruction to factory girls. After some time they began an industrial school for little boys, and have lately opened an orphanage for girls.

There is also a convent of Poor Clares at Keady, founded in 1871; a convent of St. Louis at Middletown, and a convent of Mary Immaculate at Magherafelt.

c. PUBLIC LIFE OF THE CARDINAL.—In addition to the fulfilment of the ordinary duties of an extensive diocese, his Eminence, since his elevation to the ranks of the Cardinalate, has been called into a wider sphere of action, having been drawn into public life by the force of circumstances. The mere presiding or assisting at great ecclesiastical functions in various parts of the United Kingdom is not of itself a great task, but the replies regarded as public utterances of importance, given to the numerous addresses which are presented to his Eminence in those places, would be a severe tax on the powers of a man of less mental energy, as they usually relate to some matter of present-day controversy and contain thoughtful references to important passing events. In no small measure, his Eminence's influence at the present time, in political matters as they relate to religion, is due to these public pronouncements.





CHAPTER XXI.

PROTESTANT PRIMATES OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

Hugh Goodacre appointed by Edward VI. to the See of Armagh—Consecrated with Bale according to the Protestant Ritual—Primate Adam Loftus—Translated to Dublin—His Character—Primate Lancaster—Consecrated by Adam Loftus—Primate John Long—Primate John Garvey—Primate Henry Ussher—Foundation of Trinity College.

Supplementary Notes.—Primate Adam Loftus—Duplicated Consecration of Primate Lancaster—Primate Henry Ussher.



EDWARD VI., looking upon the flight of Primate Dowdall as a renunciation of his archiepiscopal rights and duties, appointed Hugh Goodacre to the see, by privy signet, dated the twenty-eighth of October, 1552. In his order, the king states that the see, one of the chiefest in the realm, was vacant, and that he had a right good opinion, both of the sufficiency of the place and of the virtuous life of Hugh Goodacre, and had, therefore, appointed him archbishop of Armagh. [He had been vicar of Shadfleet, in the Isle of Wight, and chaplain to the bishop of Winchester.]

Hugh Goodacre, the first Protestant prelate who presided over the see, was consecrated in Christ Church, Dublin, on the second of February, 1553, together with John Bale, bishop of Ossory, by George Browne, Thomas, bishop of Kildare, and Eugene, bishop of Down. A remarkable circumstance attended the consecration of these prelates. The people had been habituated to the Roman

ritual and the reformed liturgy had not been regularly established, nor had any pains been taken, nor much of argument used, to convince the inhabitants of this country, that there were any rational grounds or any necessity for so radical a change. It seems to have been taken for granted, that the theological opinions of the Irish nation ought, as a mere matter of course, to be regulated by those of the English people, or rather of the English court. But Lockwood, dean of St. Patrick's, who seems to have had a clearer view of the subject, proposed that the Roman ritual and ceremonies should be retained, in the consecration of the new bishops, through respect to the preconceived sentiments of the people. The new primate and the rest of the clergy, Bale only excepted, agreed to the proposal. He, however, holding everything which appertained to the Church of Rome in utter abhorrence, not only refused his assent, but ordered the consecrated wafer to be removed and common bread substituted in its place. The people, whose feelings were thus outraged by a practice altogether novel to them, and by the open contempt shown for those rites which they had been taught to deem most sacred, could scarcely restrain their indignation and rage. Afterwards, when Bishop Bale began to preach the reformed doctrines, his clergy forsook him, and the populace, infuriated even to madness against himself, slew five of his domestics. His own life was, with difficulty, saved by the exertions of the civil magistrates.³

Archbishop Goodacre died in Dublin, on the first of May, 1553⁴ [within three months of his consecration. In *Notes and Queries*, December, 1861, p. 472, a strange story as to his death is quoted].

Adam Loftus,⁵ a native of Yorkshire and chaplain to Thomas, earl of Sussex, and afterwards to Queen Elizabeth, [succeeded after the death of Goodacre and Queen Mary and] was consecrated archbishop of Armagh, by Hugh Curwin, archbishop of Dublin and other prelates, in the latter end of March, 1562, [second of March, 1563]. On the eighth of August, 1567,⁶ he was translated to the see of Dublin, which was then more productive with respect to pecuniary emolument than the primacy; for the city of Armagh, with the cathedral itself, had been destroyed by Shane O'Neill, and the whole province impoverished and wasted by his conflicts with the British army.

Loftus was a man of sound learning, pleasing manners, comely person, and florid eloquence. These qualities had strongly recommended him to Elizabeth, who had heard him with much pleasure speaking at a public act, in the university of Cambridge, and had promised him promotion. He was made archbishop in the twenty-eighth year of his age, having been the youngest primate of all Ireland on record, if we except Celsus. Through him the bishops of the Church of Ireland choose to derive their succession. Curwin, who consecrated him, had himself been consecrated in England, during the reign of Queen Mary, according to the forms of the Roman Pontifical. Loftus was twice made keeper of the great seal, and afterwards lord-chancellor, and he was four times one of the lords-justices of Ireland, and was also the first provost of Trinity College, in whose foundation he took an active part. He died at his palace of Saint Sepulchre's, Dublin, on the fifth of April, 1605, and was buried in Saint Patrick's church.⁵

The great mental attainments and pleasing qualities of this learned prelate, were, in some degree, sullied by his insatiate avarice and unbounded ambition. Influenced by these passions, he sought to monopolize every church preferment that became vacant, either for himself or his family. He took an active part in the ruin of Sir John Perrot, who, in his last will, solemnly protested that he had been foully belied by a declaration made against him by the archbishop.

The pecuniary emoluments of the see, in the days of Primate Loftus, must have been very trivial. In 1564, he was elected dean of Saint Patrick's Dublin, and Elizabeth, on the sixth of January, 1564, ratified the election. In the letters patent, she speaks in honourable terms of the primate, and says that his "archbishoprick is a place of great charge, in name and title only to be esteemed, without any worldly endowment resulting from it;" she therefore permits him to hold the deanery of his college, named Saint Patrick's, *in commendam* until she should otherwise provide for him.⁶

The clerical duties of the dean and chapter [of Armagh] seem, about this period, to have been much neglected. "On the thirtieth of October, 1561, the queen, by letters patent, had ordered the

chancellor to direct the dean and chapter to proceed under *Congé d'élire* to the election of Adam Loftus, and to certify the same, that his writ of consecration and restitution might issue." But the deputy, Sussex, informed the queen, by letters dated the second of September, 1562, that the dean could not proceed to the election, through the absence of sundry of the chapter of Armagh. In consequence of this, her majesty on the fifth of October, 1562, ordered a patent to pass and to continue until he might be established in the bishopric, by the accustomed ordinary means.⁷

Thomas Lancaster,⁸ an Englishman, was consecrated archbishop of Armagh, on the thirteenth of June, 1568, in Christ Church, Dublin, by Adam Loftus, then archbishop of Dublin, Hugh Brady, bishop of Meath, and Robert Daly, bishop of Kildare. Lancaster had been treasurer of Salisbury, and chaplain to Queen Elizabeth. On account of the extreme poverty of his see, this prelate was favoured with a remittal of the payment of his first fruits,⁹ and was also permitted to hold *in commendam* the rectory of South-Hill, in the diocese of Exeter, the rectory of Sherfield, in the diocese of Winchester, the archdeaconry of Kells, the rectory of Nobber and the prebend of Stragony, [Stagonil], in the cathedral of Saint Patrick's, Dublin, together with his treasurership of Salisbury.⁹ He died in 1584, and was buried in Saint Peter's church, Drogheda, in the vault of Octavian de Palatio.¹⁰

John Long, D.D., his successor, was born in London, educated in King's college, Cambridge, appointed by order of Sir John Perrot and council, under the Queen's authority, to the primacy of Armagh, on the eleventh of July, 1584,¹¹ obtained restitution of the temporalities, on the thirteenth of the same month,¹² was sworn a privy councillor in the year 1585, died at Drogheda, in 1589, and was buried close by his predecessor, Lancaster, in Octavian's vault.

John Garvey, succeeded to the primacy. He was a native of the county of Kilkenny, and a graduate of Oxford university. He was translated from Kilmore to Armagh, on the eleventh of May, 1589. After his promotion, he was permitted to hold the deanery of Christ Church,¹³ and the deanery and archdeaconry of Meath, by dispensation. John Garvey was a very hospitable and benevolent man,

and, on this account had a remittal of the first fruits of his see, amounting to one hundred and thirty-seven pounds thirteen shillings and a penny.¹⁴ In 1591, he contributed, *in concordatum*, seventy-six pounds, towards building the college of Dublin. He is said to have written a treatise, styled *The Conversion of Philip Curwin, a Franciscan Friar to the Protestant Religion*, A.D. 1589. He died in Dublin, on the second of March, 1594, [and was buried in Christ Church].¹⁵

Henry Ussher^c was advanced to the see of Armagh, on the decease of Archbishop Garvey, by letters patent, dated twenty-second of July, 1595.¹⁶ On the twenty-fourth, he received restitution of the temporalities, and was consecrated in the succeeding month. Ussher was a native of Dublin, and a lineal descendant of the ancient family of the Nevilles, one of whom had passed over into Ireland with King John, as usher of the chamber. He had studied at Cambridge, Oxford and Paris. Through the influence of Adam Loftus, archbishop of Dublin, he had been installed archdeacon of Dublin, and was, of course, rector of Tany, Rathfarnham, Donnybrook and Kilgobban, which formed the corps of the archdeaconry.¹⁷ He was permitted to hold his archdeaconry *in commendam*, by privy signet, dated twenty-fourth of March, 1595.¹⁸

Primate Henry Ussher seems to have been studious to promote the interests of his family, and, probably with this view, he leased fourteen townlands belonging to the see, in the territory of Termonmagurke, to Theophilus, bishop of Dromore, and Sir Edward Doddington, knight, for sixty years, to the use of his three younger children.¹⁹ He was very active in the foundation and establishment of Trinity College, Dublin. Archbishop Loftus had sent him with Lucas Challoner, to Queen Elizabeth, to whom he presented a petition in behalf of the intended university, in consequence of which he obtained a mortmain license to hold the lands granted for its site, by the city of Dublin.²⁰ And on the thirteenth of March, 1591, according to the computation of the Church of England, Thomas Smith, then mayor of Dublin, laid the first stone of Trinity College.²¹ On the thirtieth of March, 1592, her Majesty granted a regular charter to the university. Three fellows, viz., Henry Ussher, Lucas Challoner and Launcellot Mayne; and three scholars, viz., Henry Lee, William

Daniel, and Stephen White, were appointed in the name of more.²² Sir William Cecil, Lord Baron Burleigh, lord-high-treasurer of England, was named the first chancellor, and Adam Loftus, archbishop of Dublin, the first provost.²³

Primate Ussher was a learned divine and highly esteemed by the Protestants of Ireland.²⁴ He died at Termonfechan, on the second of April, 1613, and was buried in Saint Peter's Church, Drogheda.²⁵

¹ Rot. Pat. 6 Edw. VI. f. m. 7. Lodge MSS. ut supra. ² *Vocation of John Bale*, MSS. Lib. Marsh. Dub. Leland, vol. ii., p. 201. ³ Ware's *Bishops*, p. 94. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 95. ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 96. ⁶ Rot. Canc. 6 and 7 Eliz. d. m. 4 orig. Fiant. ⁷ Eliz. Lodge's MSS. notes, ut supra. ⁸ Lodge's MSS. notes, ut supra. Rot. Canc. 4 Eliz. d. Memb. 13. ⁹ Rot. Canc. 15 Eliz. f. m. 5. ¹⁰ Ware's *Bishops*, p. 95. ¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 96. An Act of Parliament (13th Eliz.) empowered Primate Lancaster to set some lands for 100 years, at 4d. per acre, Fingal measure. This measure had been in use in a part of the county of Dublin, north of the Liffey. It contains 164 yards to the perch, and is now recognised as the English statute measure. Harris's *Ware's Ant.*, p. 225. ¹² Liber Niger, p. 183. et Rot. Canc. 26 Eliz. d. Memb. 25. ¹³ Lodge's MSS. notes, ut supra. ¹⁴ Rot. Canc. 33 Eliz. d. Mem. 6. Lodge's MSS. notes, ut supra. ¹⁵ Ware's *Bishops*, p. 96. ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 97. ¹⁷ *Ibid.*,

p. 96. ¹⁸ Rot. Canc. 36. 37. 38 Eliz. facie. Memb. 12. ¹⁹ MSS. *State of the Diocese in 1622*, penes Primate Robinson, in 1770, apud notes, annexed to Lodge's MSS. ²⁰ Ware's *Bishops*, p. 97. ²¹ Leland vol. ii., p. 325. ²² Ware's *Annals* *Th.*, c. 34. ²³ Leland, vol. ii., p. 325. ²⁴ Ware says that Lucas Challoner, William Daniel, James Fullarton, and James Hamilton, were the first fellows. Abel Walsh, James Ussher, and James Lee the first scholars. *Ann. Eliz.*, c. 35. Shortly before this period, we find that rather a minute kind of attention began to be paid to the state of education in this country, which was exemplified by an order issued in 1587, that no grammar but Lilly's should be taught in this kingdom. *Ibid.*, c. 30. It would perhaps be useful if this rule were yet in force. The Eton grammar is a poor abridgment of Lilly's copious work. ²⁵ *Athen. Oxon.* v. 1, p. 772. Ware's *Bishops*, p. 97.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

(By JOHN RIBTON GARSTIN, M.A., V.-P. R.I.A., F.R.S.A.)

^a ARCHBISHOP LOFTUS'S AGE WHEN CONSECRATED.—The oft-repeated statement that he was under the canonical age when consecrated, in fact only twenty-eight, was discussed in letters published in the *Irish Times*, 19th February, 1891. Evidence is there said to be forthcoming to prove both that he was aged thirty-one at his consecration, and was seventy-two years old at his death.

He was consecrated according to the form annexed to the second Book of Common Prayer of the time of Edward VI., this being the first occasion on which it was used in Ireland.

He built the castle of Rathfarnham, and left many descendants, including the great Duke of Wellington.

A half-length oil painting of him is the first of the series bequeathed by Primate Lord Rokeby, and now in the palace at Armagh. Another portrait of him is preserved in the common-room of Trinity College, Dublin, to which it was presented by Lord Iveagh.

Harris's *Ware* says he was buried in St. Patrick's, Dublin (of which he had been Dean), "within the rails of the altar on the right hand side of the earl of Cork's monument," as it then stood; but there

is not any monument to him there now.

b DUPLICATED CONSECRATION OF PRIMATE LANCASTER.—Considerable controversy has taken place as to the question whether Lancaster was consecrated a second time, on his appointment to Armagh. There can scarcely be a doubt that he was appointed bishop of Kildare by patents dated 20th of April and 7th of July, and the mandate for consecration is dated 11th of July, in pursuance of which he was consecrated to Kildare, in Dublin, in July, 1550, by Archbishop Browne and others. Harris says that Wood is in error in saying he had been Treasurer in Salisbury, and he treats him as a person different from the Thomas Lancaster who afterwards became archbishop of Armagh. But this seems erroneous. See Brady's quotation from the *Leftus MSS.* in Marsh's Library. The facts are fully stated in a letter from Mr. Warren in the *Guardian* of 18th November, 1896.

Mason, in his *History of St. Patrick's*, p.

170, records the unusual circumstance, that, at the consecration in 1568, Lancaster preached his own consecration sermon.

c PRIMATE HENRY USSHER.—He was uncle of his successor, the great James Ussher. Ware has much fuller biographies of all the bishops of this and the succeeding century, but the fullest information about the two primates, Usshers, and the family in general, will be found in *The Ussher Memoirs*, by the Rev. W. B. Wright (4to, Dublin, 1889). In this book is a portrait of Primate Henry Ussher, from that at the Palace, and a coloured plate showing his arms from the Funeral Entry in Ulster's Office. His parol will is printed (p. 67), being the earliest will of a Primate recorded in the Prerogative Office Records, now in the Public Record Office, Dublin. He therein desired to be "Entered" in the monument of his predecessors at St. Peter's, Drogheda. This probably perished when the church was re-built, as it is not now known.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This and the next two chapters, containing respectively the history of the Protestant Primates of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, have been revised by Mr. Garstin, whose corrections and additions will be found inserted within square brackets. He has also written the Supplementary Notes to each chapter. The twenty-fourth chapter, which brings the succession down to our own times, is entirely his work, with the exception of the few opening paragraphs, which are the author's.





CHAPTER XXII.

PROTESTANT PRIMATES OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Primate Christopher Hampton—Repairs the Cathedral and Episcopal Residence—
Reproves Dr. James Ussher for his Intolerance—James Ussher—His great
Desire for Learning—His early Studies—Controversy with Father Fitzsimon
—Purchases Books for Trinity College—His Literary Labours—Appointed by
James I. to the See of Meath—Thence Translated to Armagh—Opposes all
Concessions to the Catholics—Upholds the Independence of the Irish Protestant
Church—His Writings—His Sufferings in England from the Puritans—His
Conference with Cromwell—His Death and Character—Primate John Bramhall
Improves the Revenues of that See—Labours to unite the Protestant Churches
of England and Ireland—Takes Refuge on the Continent—His Character—
John Margetson appointed Primate by Charles II.—Flies to England during the
War of the Confederation—His Death and Character—Primate Michael Boyle
Translated from Dublin—His Character—Founds the Town of Blessington.
Supplementary Notes.—Ordination of Primate James Ussher—His Burial Place—
Primate Margetson's Chapel at Drogheda—Primate Boyle.



CHRISTOPHER HAMPTON, D.D., was advanced to the see of Armagh, by letters patent, dated Westminster, sixteenth of April, 1613, with the mesne profits from his predecessor's death, a remittal of first-fruits and an appointment to the council-board.¹ On the succeeding day he was consecrated archbishop, in St. Patrick's, Dublin, by Thomas, archbishop of Dublin, George, bishop of Meath, William, bishop of Kildare, and John, bishop of Killaloe [being the last consecrated to

this see : his successors being all translated from other sees]. He was the first who enjoyed the office of king's almoner, after its institution by King James, with the fee of one hundred pounds English.² Dr. Hampton, who was born at Calais, had been bishop-elect of Derry, but had never been consecrated to that dignity. In 1612, he was vice-chancellor of Trinity College, Dublin, and conferred the degree of doctor of divinity on the celebrated scholar, James Ussher. Dr. Hampton was a man of grave deportment and of considerable learning. He delighted in improving the churches committed to his care. In Drogheda, he erected a handsome palace³ for himself and his successors, and, in Armagh, he repaired the cathedral which Shane O'Neill had ruined. He adorned the south and north walls of this edifice with Gothic windows, roofed the south and north aisles, made platforms on both sides of the church, re-built the steeple and re-cast the great bell of the cathedral. He also repaired the episcopal house at Armagh, "to which he added a new building, at an expense of two hundred and sixty pounds, and intended to have built more, if God had spared him life."⁴ This prelate also laid out three hundred acres of ground, contiguous to the city, as mensal land to the see.⁵ He seems to have been averse from even the semblance of religious intolerance and persecution, a crime against the peace of society, to which the theologians of that age, both of the Roman Catholic and of the Protestant persuasion, were strongly addicted. In October, 1622, Dr. James Ussher had preached a sermon before the lord-deputy, Falkland, upon the text—"He beareth not the sword in vain." Though this learned divine had not, in fact, sought to stimulate the lord-lieutenant to the adoption of sanguinary measures; yet his sermon appears to have contained unexceptionable passages, and his discourse, on such a text, gave high offence to the recusants. Primate Hampton, therefore, in a true conciliatory spirit of Christian love, addressed to Ussher an admonitory letter, in which he advised him voluntarily to retract the harsher part of his discourse, and to adopt "a milder interpretation of the offensive points, and especially of drawing the sword."⁶

Dr. Hampton settled his brother in some of the see lands, situated at Kilmore, where his posterity resides at this present hour.

We have reason to believe that the leases of some of the Hampton farms have been renewed, without fines, from time to time, by the archbishops of Armagh, through respect to the memory of Primate Christopher. We have been also told, that the countenance of the present representative of the eldest branch of the Hamptons, bears a strong resemblance to the portrait of his great collateral ancestor, which, with accurate likenesses of [nearly] all the other Protestant primates, is now in the episcopal palace of Armagh. Thus his claim to exemption from pecuniary fine, on the renewal of his lease, is stamped, as it were on his visage. Whether the Hamptonian aspect will be transmitted to posterity, time alone can demonstrate.

Primate Hampton died a bachelor at Drogheda, on the third of January, 1624, *old style*, in the seventy-third year of his age, and was buried in St. Peter's Church.

King James, by letters patent which issued in the twentieth year of his reign, granted to Primate Hampton and his successors, a power of issuing licenses or faculties for marriages, &c., at uncanonical hours, with a right of appointing commissaries for granting such prerogative licenses. The patent was founded on The Act of Faculties, 28 Hen. VIII. and on 2 Eliz.²

On the twenty-first of March, 1624, James Ussher, D.D., bishop of Meath, a man of imperishable fame, was translated to the see of Armagh. This prelate was a lineal descendant of the ancient family of the Nevilles; and one of his ancestors paternal was *usher* of the chamber to King John, when he first visited Ireland. Hence the family name, as in many other instances, merged in that of the office. His father, Arnold Ussher, a man of known integrity and honour, was one of the six clerks in chancery. His mother, Margaret, was the daughter of James Stannihurst, recorder of Dublin, who had been elected speaker of the House of Commons, in three successive parliaments, during the reign of Elizabeth, and had digested and proposed a plan for re-establishing and endowing the university of Dublin.

James Ussher was born on the fourth of January, 1580—1, in the parish of Saint Nicholas, Dublin. He gave early indications of an ingenuous, active and vigorous mind, as well as of an extra-

ordinary solicitude for the attainment of literary knowledge. He had two aunts, blind from their infancy, but possessed of acute intellects and retentive memories, who, by an ingenious process, taught him to read.⁹ In the eighth year of his age, he was sent to a grammar school, kept by two able masters, James Fullerton and James Hamilton, afterwards Viscount Clandeboy. These were men of considerable rank and talents, who had been sent to this country by James VI. of Scotland, to encourage his adherents and secure his interest in Ireland. They had, therefore, assumed the character and office of schoolmasters, to conceal the real objects of their mission.

In 1593—4, Ussher was admitted a student of Trinity College, Dublin, under his preceptor Hamilton, then a fellow of that university. At this period of his life, he manifested a strong inclination to poetry, and is said to have been addicted to the idle amusement of card-playing [?]. A sentence, however, in the works of Cicero determined him to emancipate himself from the trammels of gambling, that bondage of the soul, and to enter with the whole energies of his mind, on a system of intense and useful study. *Nescire*, says Tully, *quid antea quam natus sis acciderit, id est semper esse puerum*. "To be ignorant of what occurred before you were born is still to remain a child." Such was the impression made by this concise passage on the young but vigorous mind of Ussher, that he dedicated his whole time to historic and philosophic research, and, at fourteen years of age, had reduced to synoptical tables, the most memorable events of ancient times. In the two succeeding years, he drew up a Latin chronicle of the Bible, as far as the book of Kings, arranged in a highly luminous order.

In 1596 [? 1597], he took his degree of bachelor of arts, and in 1599, exhibited much talent as respondent in a philosophy act, held in the university before the earl of Essex, lord-lieutenant of Ireland and chancellor of that establishment.

At this period he had attained considerable skill in the Greek and Hebrew tongues, and having been thus furnished with the means of investigating the points at issue between the Protestant churches and that of Rome, he commenced the study of polemic divinity, and appropriated a portion of every day to the perusal of the works of the

Fathers, who had written from the very infancy of Christianity till the sitting of the Council of Trent. In this laborious task he persevered, during eighteen years of his life.

His father was anxious that he should study the law, as a professional pursuit; but Ussher had determined to dedicate his time and talents to the service of the church. Yet through filial reverence, he acquiesced in his parent's commands. The death [in 1598], however, of Nicholas, which shortly after took place, left him at full liberty to pursue his own inclination. The family estate which was of considerable value, descended to him as the eldest son of his deceased father, but he vested it in his uncle and other trustees, for the use of his only brother Ambrose and his seven sisters, reserving a mere competence for his own support in college, and for the purchase of books. In the nineteenth year of his age, A.D. 1599, he spontaneously accepted a general challenge issued by a learned Jesuit, named Fitzsimon, who had offered to maintain the truth of the Romish doctrine on those points which were deemed by Protestants the weakest, and to overthrow those tenets of its adversaries which were held to be the strongest. A subtle debate ensued, which terminated as similar discussions have uniformly done: each of the polemic champions retained his own opinions, and deemed himself the victor.

In 1600, Ussher graduated M.A. and was chosen proctor and catechetic-lecturer of the University, the duties of which office he fulfilled with assiduity and zeal. About the same period, he was appointed one of the three state preachers, at Christ Church, Dublin. In 1601, he was ordained deacon and priest,^a by his uncle, Primate Henry Ussher; and in 1603, he was deputed with his friend, Dr. Challoner, to purchase books in England for the public library of Trinity College. To aid in effecting this important purpose, the officers of the English army, which had quelled the formidable insurrection excited by Hugh, earl of Tyrone, had generously subscribed the sum of one thousand eight hundred pounds, from their arrears of pay, a donation which entitles them to the respect, the gratitude, and the admiration of posterity.

Ussher proceeded with alacrity on his mission, and was so

fortunate as to form an intimate acquaintance with Sir Thomas Bodley, who was then collecting books for his famous library at Oxford. Thus the Bodleian library and that of Dublin, like twin sisters, began, at the same instant, to co-exist. In 1606, he was introduced, by a similarity of pursuit, to the celebrated antiquaries, Camden, Cotton and Allen, with whom he was ever after connected by ties of friendship and esteem. Camden not only consulted him on various points in Irish history and on his intended edition of Nennius, but, with a candour which is honourable to his character, publicly acknowledged himself "indebted to the diligence and learning of James Ussher, whose variety of learning and soundness of judgment far surpass his years."

In 1607, he graduated B.D., and was promoted by Archbishop Loftus to the chancellorship of Saint Patrick's, Dublin. He was also professor of divinity in Trinity College, the duties of which office he discharged for nearly fourteen successive years with much diligence and zeal. Yet he found leisure to digest the ancient Canons of the Church into methodical order. This work was not published, but some of the observations which it contained are extant in a letter to Dr. Samuel Ward, printed in Parr's collection. About this period, he endowed the church at Finglas, [near Dublin], where he preached every Sunday, with a perpetual vicarage. In fact, he seemed more solicitous to add respectability to the church than to aggrandize himself by the accumulation of wealth. His income was therefore chiefly expended in acts of hospitality and benevolence, or in the purchase of books.

In 1609, he wrote a very learned disquisition on the Herenach, Termon and Corban lands, the substance of which has been translated into Latin by Sir Henry Spelman in his glossary. In this year he visited England, where he formed an acquaintance with various learned men, particularly Sir John Bouchier, Henry Briggs, Gresham-professor of astronomy [at Oxford], Sir Henry Saville, John Selden, John Davenant, Samuel Ward, and the famous Thomas Lydiat, his great precursor in chronological research, and the victorious opponent of the arch-critic, Scaliger. Ussher, on his return, brought that admirable but neglected scholar, Lydiat, to Dublin, where he accom-

modated him with chambers, during two years, in Trinity College, and was anxious to procure him a final settlement in Ireland.

In 1609, he was unanimously elected provost of Trinity College, but he declined this highly important trust, lest its duties might interrupt his literary labours. William Temple was, therefore, chosen in his place.⁹ In 1612, he became D.D., an honour conferred on him by Primate Hampton, then vice-chancellor of Trinity College. On this occasion, he made a prelection on the seventy weeks of Daniel, and another on the Apocalyptic Millennium. In 1613, he published, in London, a very elaborate work, entitled *Gravissima Questionis de Christianarum Ecclesiarum in Occidentis præsertim partibus ab Apostolicis temporibus ad nostram usque ætatem, continua successione et statu, Historica Explicatio*. This learned treatise was highly eulogized in Greek verses by the famous Isaac Causabon, and in Latin lines by Abraham Sculter, as well as by the erudite Anthony Martin. It was solemnly presented to James I., to whom it was dedicated, by Archbishop Abbot, as the first fruits of Dublin College.¹⁰

In the same year, he formed a matrimonial connexion with Phœbe, only daughter of Luke Chalenor, D.D., a descendant of an ancient family in Yorkshire, and a great benefactor to the infant college of Dublin. This pious divine, who entertained the warmest friendship for Ussher, had, on his death-bed, solemnly exhorted and enjoined his daughter to accept him for her husband, should he solicit her hand. Her inclination coincided with his parental request, and the union which he had so earnestly recommended, ensued. This lady, who was an heiress, brought him a considerable fortune, and they lived together in connubial happiness for forty years. The only issue of their marriage was a daughter, Lady Tyrrell. [In 1614, and again in 1617, he was chosen vice-chancellor of the university of Dublin.]

In 1615, a parliament and a convocation of the clergy were held in Dublin. Here it was determined to assert the independence of the Church of Ireland, by the formation and adoption of a distinct series of Articles of Religion. The task of digesting and arranging these was committed to Ussher. When completed, they were manifestly of a Calvinistic nature, retaining the doctrines of predestination

and reprobation in unequivocal terms. They were one hundred and four in number, and in these the nine Lambeth articles were inserted, with strict injunctions to keep the Sabbath Day holy. These circumstances afforded to Ussher's enemies an opportunity of insinuating to the king that he had a bias to Puritanism, which James, though originally a Presbyterian, then held in utter abhorrence. But the lord-deputy and privy council of Ireland gave him such honourable testimonials [dated September thirtieth, 1619], and bore such evidence to the purity of his character as perfectly satisfied the monarch, and when he passed over to England, in 1619, he had a personal interview with James, by whom he was graciously received. His majesty, who was himself an acute and disputatious theologian, examined Ussher on various doctrinal points, and was so highly pleased with his extensive learning, that he promoted him in the year 1620 [1620—1] to the see of Meath, then vacant by the death of Bishop Montgomery. Nay, he was accustomed, afterwards, to boast with manifest delight, that "Ussher was a bishop of his own making." A few weeks after his promotion, the new prelate preached in St. Margaret's, Westminster [on Sunday, February eighteenth], before the House of Commons, whose members, highly gratified by his eloquent discourse, ordered it to be printed.

He was consecrated bishop of Meath, at Drogheda, in 1621, by Primate Hampton and two other bishops, and after this period he continued his usual practice of earnest preaching as zealously as before his late promotion. Nay, he even caused the words *Væ mihi si non evangelizavero* to be engraved on his episcopal seal, and afterwards on on that of the primatial see. His efforts, however, to convert the Roman Catholics of his diocese were in a great measure unavailing. They uniformly declared that they would adhere to the religion of their ancestors; and, as they were prohibited by their clergy, from listening to the Primate's discourses, his efforts for their general conversion were completely baffled. Thus disappointed, he endeavoured to effect, with his pen, the great object which he had failed to attain by the persuasive powers of oral eloquence. With this view, he wrote a book entitled *A Discourse of the Religion anciently professed by the Irish*, in which he endeavoured to show that it was widely different

from that of Papal Rome. This book was dedicated to Sir Richard Sibthorp, and was re-published in 1631.

In 1621, Dr. Ussher was made a privy councillor, and in October, 1622, he preached before the lord-deputy, Falkland, a sermon on the text, "He beareth not the sword in vain," of which we have already spoken in the life of Primate Hampton. On the twenty-second of November, he was appointed to deliver an admonitory caution, in the Star-Chamber, to some Irishmen of rank, who, on their nomination to public offices, had refused to take the oath of supremacy. He appears to have executed this task with such persuasive eloquence, that some of those whom he had addressed acknowledged the force of his reasoning and took the oath. The king, having subsequently read a copy of his argument, not only expressed his approbation of it, by a letter addressed to him under the royal signet, but wrote to the lord-deputy and privy-council of Ireland to grant him a license of absence, that he might have an opportunity of perusing various manuscripts in the British libraries, which were necessary for perfecting his great work, *The Antiquities of the British church*. In this year he published a treatise in English, concerning *The Religion of the Ancient Irish and Britons*, which he maintained to have been coincident, in doctrinal points, with that of the established Protestant church. On the twentieth of June, 1624, he preached before the king, on "the universality of the Christian church, and the unity of the faith." In the same year he published a treatise, entitled *An Answer to a Challenge made by a Jesuit in Ireland, wherein the Judgment of Antiquity on the points questioned is truly delivered, and the novelty of the Romish Doctrine is plainly discovered*. Malone, the challenger, published an answer, [at Douay], in 1627, entitled *A Reply to Dr. Ussher's Answer about the Judgment of Antiquity concerning the Romish Religion*. Rejoinders to this were published in Dublin, by three divines, Hoyle, Synge and Puttock.

On the twenty-first of March, 1624-5, six days before the decease of James I., Dr. Ussher was promoted by that monarch to the see of Armagh, and shortly after this, he was elected archbishop by the dean and chapter. He was, however, detained nine months in England, by a quartan ague, and was besides involved in a

controversy with a Jesuit, Rookwood, who had changed his name into Beaumont. It is said by Ussher's biographers, that Lord Mordaunt, a zealous Roman Catholic wished much to convert his lady to that religion. She, when earnestly importuned by her husband on this subject, proposed that two experienced theologians should, in their presence, discuss the points at issue between the Roman and the Protestant church, and promised to adopt that religion which should appear most consonant to truth. The proposed terms were accepted: Ussher was appointed by the lady; Beaumont, his lordship's confessor, by her husband. The parties met at the family seat in Drayton, Northamptonshire, where they had access to a well-furnished library. The conference lasted three days, and during five hours in each day, Primate Ussher impugned the doctrine of transubstantiation and various other points maintained by the church of Rome. On the fourth day, (if Dr. Bernard and other biographers of Ussher may be relied on) the Jesuit declined further controversy, alleging "that through a just judgment of God, he had totally forgotten the argument which he had digested for the occasion, having dared to undertake the defence of the Catholic cause, against an antagonist of such profound learning, without the license of his superiors." Be this as it may, it is certain that Lord Mordaunt himself became and continued, till his decease, a Protestant, and the countess of Peterborough, his wife, remained ever after the unalterable friend of Ussher.

In August, 1626, Primate Ussher returned to Dublin, and began with great activity to reform the ecclesiastical courts." He spent much time in admonishing the clergy to perform their duty with regularity and zeal. But he opposed every species of concession to the Roman Catholics, and against that religious community, he and other Protestant prelates displayed a spirit bordering on intolerance. The lord-deputy, Falkland, had summoned a national assembly, which was to include both Roman Catholics and Protestants, as alike interested in the measures which he intended to submit to their consideration. The assembly was to have been held at Dublin Castle, and a relaxation of the penal laws and a system of religious toleration were to have been proposed for its adoption; in consider-

ation of which truly liberal and politic act, it was expected that the Roman Catholics would contribute, by a permanent tax, to the maintenance of five thousand foot and five hundred horse, as an augmentation to the military force employed in the defence of Ireland. The Primate, however, assembled the bishops at his own house, where, on the twenty-sixth of November, they entered into a protest against granting any toleration to the Roman Catholics, from temporal motives, which they styled "setting of religion to sale." In this protest, they accuse the church of Rome of being a "superstitious, idolatrous, erroneous, heretical, and apostatic church," and they assert, that "a toleration or consent to permit the free exercise of its religion and profession of its faith and doctrine is a grievous sin." The marked asperity introduced into this protest exhibits an unfavourable but genuine specimen of the illiberal spirit of the times. It had, however, the intended effect, and the idea of conceding any thing to the Catholics was relinquished.

Primate Ussher, having by his promotion as well as by his marriage and other causes been rendered independent, in his pecuniary circumstances, appropriated annually a considerable sum of money for the purchase of valuable books and manuscripts. Thomas Davies, chaplain to the Turkey company at Aleppo, procured him a curious copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch, (one of the first which had reached the west of Europe), and the Old Testament, in the Syriac language, more complete than any other which had been previously seen in these countries. From the Samaritan Pentateuch, Ussher made various transcripts for the use of his friend Selden's *Marmora Arundeliana*. His Oriental books were also of considerable service to Dr. Walton, in the compilation of his Polyglot Bible. They are now in the Bodleian library.

In 1628, Dr. Ussher, through the instrumentality of Archbishop Laud, obtained many important favours for the university of Dublin and the Church of Ireland. In 1630, he laboured with much assiduity to correct the abuses which had taken place amongst the inferior clergy, who shamefully neglected their duties, and to enforce obedience to the ecclesiastical canons through his diocese and province. The primate, who felt considerable interest in the contro-

versy about predestination, published in 1631, an elaborate history of Gotteschalus, a Benedictine monk, who, in the ninth century had endured much persecution for his faith in that doctrine. This history which [Ussher erroneously declared] was the first Latin work ever printed in Ireland, is entitled *Gotteschalci, et Predestinantiæ Controversiæ ab eo motæ, Historia*. It was dedicated to Gerard J. Vossius, whom Ussher wished to settle in Ireland, as dean of Armagh.

Primate Ussher, who had in vain endeavoured to convert the Roman Catholics both by public preaching and by written controversial works, now cultivated a general acquaintance with the members of that communion, and is said to have made many proselytes, by the powers of his persuasively eloquent conversation. The incumbents of Irish livings were, at that period, viewed with marked aversion by the great mass of the people. Totally separated from their parishioners, by diversity of language, habits, manners, and preconceived opinions, they possessed neither zeal nor ability to effect any radical change in the religion of the country. Hence Ussher yielded to the earnest solicitations of an English mechanic, who expressed an ardent wish to be ordained. This man, by intense application, had attained a considerable knowledge in practical divinity and in the Irish language. He was therefore perfectly understood by the people, and thus enabled to make many converts to the Protestant faith.

In 1632, Dr. Ussher published a collection of ancient letters, entitled *Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge, quæ partim ab Hibernis, partim ad Hibernos, partim de Hibernis vel rebus Hibernicis, sunt conscriptæ*. This work comprises a period of time commencing with an epistle of Pope Gregory's, A.D. 592, and ending with a letter of Giraldus Cambrensis, A.D. 1190.¹⁷ It contains much curious and important matter, and ought to be attentively perused by every writer on the ecclesiastical and historic affairs of Ireland.

Through the powerful influence of Laud, Primate Ussher procured the revocation of several grants, which had been made to courtiers, out of the patrimony of the church, and in particular, a patent, which a Scot had artfully procured from the king, was vacated through his means. Several Crown appropriations, then leased out *pro tempore*, were vested in the primate in trust for the church.

In 1634, the archbishop of Dublin advanced a claim to the primacy of Ireland. The king, therefore, directed the lord-deputy, Wentworth, to have the point at issue fully investigated. Ussher was, of course, called upon for a statement of the argument, on behalf of his own see. He would have declined the task, as being personally concerned in the contest, but his objection was overruled, and he supported his claim by such invincible reasoning and conclusive proofs, that the matter was finally determined in favour of the see of Armagh, by the lord-deputy and council, whose decision was ratified by the king.¹³

In the same year, the primate, influenced by the lord-deputy, Strafford, and Archbishop Laud, proposed in the convocation then assembled, that the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England should be adopted as containing the faith of the Church of Ireland. Dr. Bramhall, bishop of Derry, was anxious that the whole body of the English Canons should be also received, in the form and words established in the sister isle. Dr. Ussher, however, resisted the proposed measure, as inconsistent with the independence of the Irish Church. After a considerable debate it was finally determined that a certain number of the English Canons should be selected and adopted, and such others added or retained as should be consonant to the genius of the Church of Ireland and the peculiar circumstances of the kingdom. A book of constitutions and canons was accordingly compiled, which having received the approbation of the king, was ratified by the broad seal and published in Dublin, in 1635.¹⁴

In 1638, Dr. Ussher published, in Dublin, a treatise styled *Immanuel, or the Mystery of the Incarnation of the Son of God*, and about the end of the succeeding year, his far-famed work, *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*, was printed in that city. To this most erudite work, he added a chronological index of events, commencing forty-one years after the Christian era, and terminating in the year 1502. It was republished in London, in the year 1677, and has afforded materials of inestimable value to every subsequent writer on the ecclesiastical antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland.

In 1640, the primate crossed over to England with his wife and

family. He had, at that period, strong presentiments of the miseries with which the British isles were shortly to be visited. After an interview with Charles, by whom he was most graciously received, he retired to Christ Church, Oxford. Having, at this university, devoted some time to study, he visited Cambridge and then returned to London, where, after the meeting of the Long Parliament, he laboured to reconcile the contending political parties, whose feuds and animosities seemed ready to overwhelm the state.

Whitelocke,³ in his memorials, asserts that in a parliamentary debate concerning church government, Primate Ussher "offered an expedient for conjunction in point of discipline, that episcopal and presbyterial government might not be at a far distance: reducing episcopacy to the form of a synodical government in the ancient church." This is not at all improbable, for Ussher held that bishops and presbyters differed not in order, but in degree. Nay, he is said by the nonconformist Baxter, a man of known veracity, to have asserted, in a conversation with King Charles, that ordination by presbyters was valid, and that he could produce authentic cases in antiquity, where presbyters alone successively ordained bishops, and instanced in St. Jerome's words (*Epist. ad Evagrium*), "of the presbyters of Alexandria choosing and making their own bishops from the days of St. Mark till Heraclius and Dionysius."⁶

Yet he strenuously maintained the antiquity of episcopacy, on which subject he published a treatise in 1641, entitled *A Discourse on the Origin of Bishops and Metropolitans*, in which he endeavoured to shew that these dignitaries existed in the Christian Church, ever since the days of the Apostles. In a second tract published at Oxford, in the same year, styled *A Geographical and Historical Disquisition touching the Asia properly so called, the Lydian Asia, &c.*, he laboured to prove that the seven cities contained in these districts were metropolitan seats of civil government under the Romans.

In this year, Earl Strafford was tried and executed. Ussher's enemies made some efforts to traduce the primate's character, and to render him odious in public estimation, by insinuating that he had induced the king to consent to the death of this unfortunate minister, by some metaphysical and casuistic distinction between a personal

conscience and a political conscience ; as if compliance with the one would justify a flagrant offence against the other. But the primate was utterly incapable of such gross duplicity. His character has been completely cleared from this unjust aspersion, by the king himself as well as by his own solemn declaration, at a moment when death seemed inevitable, and by an accurate relation of the whole business, which his chaplain, Dr. Bernard, has laid before the public. Nay, King Charles asserted, in the presence of Colonel William Legge and Mr. Kirk, that after the bill for Strafford's attainder had passed, Ussher said to him, with tears in his eyes, "O Sir, what have you done? I fear that this act may prove a great trouble to your conscience, and pray God that your majesty may never suffer by the signing of this bill." Besides, the primate performed many kind and pious offices for Strafford, even after his condemnation.

The rebellion now suddenly and unexpectedly broke forth in Ireland, and all Dr. Ussher's personal property in this country was totally destroyed, except his library and the furniture of his house in Drogheda. These, during the siege of that town, were saved by the activity of Dr. Bernard, and transmitted to him in the ensuing summer, *via* Chester to London. He was now reduced to the necessity of selling his plate and jewels for immediate support. But his value in the literary world was rendered more apparent by misfortune ; for the university of Leyden [is said to have] offered to elect him their honorary professor, and to increase the stipend annexed to the office. Cardinal Richelieu, who greatly admired his book, *De Primordiis Ecc. Brit.*, invited him to reside in France, and promised that he should enjoy an ample pension and perfect freedom of religion." He had already presented him with a very valuable gold medal, adorned with his own portrait. But Ussher, who bore his misfortunes with Christian magnanimity, determined not to desert the British isles and the sovereign to whom he was bound by ties of gratitude and affection, and therefore rejected these friendly offers. In January, 1641, the king granted him the bishopric of Carlisle, to hold *in commendam*. This see had been greatly diminished in value by Scotch and English troops quartered in that district. He did not long enjoy even the insignificant emoluments resulting from this

promotion, for the House of Commons soon seized upon all bishops' lands. Yet, in consideration of his extraordinary merits and of the great losses he had experienced in Ireland, they afterwards granted him, in the year 1646, an annual pension of four hundred pounds. This annuity he received (as is said by Dr. Parr), but once or twice. Aikin, however, asserts that a new parliamentary order issued in July, 1649, for its continuance till the next October.¹⁸

In 1642, he retired to Oxford, where the king himself soon after fixed his residence. In the succeeding year, he was nominated by the parliament to be a member of that body of divines who assembled at Westminster to settle the religion of the state, and there digested "The Confession of Faith" used in some of the Presbyterian churches. When a question was started as to the propriety of admitting Ussher to the debates of the assembly, the celebrated Selden, in a species of keen and refined irony, remarked "they had as good inquire whether they had best admit Inigo Jones, the king's architect, to the company of mousetrap-makers." The primate, however, not only absented himself from this meeting of divines, but controverted their authority. Enraged at this disrespectful neglect of its order, the House of Commons confiscated his library, then deposited in Chelsea College, as the property of a delinquent. Dr. Featly, however, through the instrumentality of Selden, purchased the books for a small sum, as if for his own use, but in reality to preserve them for Ussher. Even in this period of misfortune and of peril, our indefatigable scholar republished his very learned and curious treatise on the Geography of the Lesser Asia, and in 1644, he edited the Epistles of Ignatius, and that portion of the epistle of Saint Barnabas, which the great fire at Oxford had not consumed. In an old Latin version of Ignatius, which he published from two manuscripts, found in England, he noted, in red letters, the interpolations of the former Greek impression. He subjoined some curious annotations, and a comparison of the various readings contained in the Greek and Latin translations.¹⁹

In 1645, a report was circulated that the Parliamentary forces would proceed against Oxford. Dr. Ussher therefore retired to Cardiff, in Wales, which was then protected by a strong garrison.

Here he remained nearly a year, with Sir Timothy Tyrrell, who had married his only child, and was, at that period, governor-general of the ordnance under Lord Gerard, lieutenant-general of the king's forces in South Wales. To this place he brought some chests of books, and here he calmly pursued his studies and wrote a considerable portion of his chronological annals. The monarch himself retired to Cardiff, after the battle of Naseby, and was there highly delighted with the friendly and instructive conversation of the primate, who, on his part, was powerfully affected by the dangers which impended over the king and the church, as well as by the effusion of Christian blood, and the various other horrors attendant on civil war. Charles, however, was soon necessitated to withdraw the garrison, and Tyrrell to retire from the station. Dr. Ussher was then obliged to remove to the castle of St. Donate's, in Glamorganshire, where the Lady Dowager Stradling had offered him an asylum. On his journey, he was stopped by a straggling party of Welsh mountaineers, who insulted the primate and his daughter, rudely pulled them and some ladies who accompanied them, from their horses, and seized upon his books and manuscripts. These were instantaneously dispersed amongst the illiterate individuals of this unmanly rabble. Some officers, however, arrived, who indignant at such base conduct, caused restitution to be made of the horses and of such parts of the baggage as could then be found. But the books and manuscripts could not at that period be recovered. The primate was respectfully escorted by his protectors to Sir John Aubrey's house, where he was hospitably received and entertained for the night. Here the loss of his manuscripts and books seemed greatly to depress his spirits. "I know," said he to his daughter, "that it is God's hand, and I must endeavour to bear it with patience; though I have too much human frailty not to be extremely concerned, for I am touched in a very tender place, and He has thought fit to take from me, at once, all that I have been gathering together above these twenty years, and which I intended to publish for the advancement of learning and the good of the church."

On the succeeding day, the primate proceeded to St. Donate's, where his drooping spirits were cheered by the animating voice of

friendship. His books and papers were also recovered, in the course of three months, by the active search of the country gentlemen, who returned to him, in small parcels, his highly valued literary treasure. A few volumes however were totally lost, amongst which were a curious and esteemed manuscript history of the Waldenses, a written catalogue of the Persian kings, a volume of various readings of the New Testament, Tully's works, printed, and some books of minor moment. At St. Donat's, he made excellent collections of British and Welsh antiquities, from manuscripts in the castle library, gleaned by Sir Edward Stradling, an antiquary, and friend of Camden. Here, he was seized with a strangury, followed by a profuse hemorrhage from the nose, which continued, with little intermission, nearly forty hours. The disease seemed to baffle all medical aid, yet at last the effusion of blood stopped of itself, and he recovered. When Ussher lay thus afflicted, and the awful hour of death seemed fast approaching, he solemnly cleared himself of the charge of having advised the king to pass the bill against Strafford.

In 1646, he intended to remove to the continent, probably for the benefit of his health, and had procured a passport for his proposed voyage. Admiral Molton, however, threatened to seize him and deliver him to the parliament. Meanwhile, the countess-dowager of Peterborough invited him to her house in London. He accepted the invitation and was supplied with money for the expenses of his journey by the gentlemen of Wales, who were perfectly aware of his pecuniary embarrassments. Without consulting one another, they sent him, separately, various sums of money, and thus made some reparation from the insults he had received from the rabble of the country.

After his arrival at the countess of Peterborough's house, in June, 1646, he was summoned to attend before a parliamentary committee. Here he was asked whether Sir Charles Coote or any other person had urged him to use his influence with the king, to procure a toleration for the Romish religion in Ireland. He not only answered in the negative, but asserted that he had always deemed such concessions injurious to the Protestant religion. When pressed to take the negative oath, required from the adherents of the king,

and from all who came from any of his garrisons, he demanded time for mature consideration, and, through the influence of his friend, Selden, escaped all further importunity on that subject.

In 1647, he was elected preacher to the honourable society of Lincoln's Inn, where he had handsome lodgings and convenient apartments for his library. Here he preached during term time, for nearly eight years, and received the honour justly due to his amazing talents and literary attainments. Age and misfortune had now manifestly impaired his constitution. His eyesight and his teeth had failed him. He ceased to be audible, and through conscientious motives resigned the office, whose duties he could no longer perfectly fulfil.

His literary labours were, however, unremitted, and he now published his *Diatriba de Romanæ Ecclesiæ Symbolo Apostolico veteri atque fidei formulis, &c.* To this he annexed an appendix of various remains of ecclesiastical antiquity, with a curious account of the Apostles' Creed. He dedicated this work to Vossius, and in the year 1648, he printed an erudite dissertation on the solar year, anciently used in Macedon, Syria, and Asia Proper. In this elaborate work, he gives canons for perpetually finding the cycles of the sun and moon, and the time for celebrating Easter. An Ephemeris [or Greek and Roman Calendar] for the whole year, is also annexed, which his biographer, Aikin, conceives to have been the first attempt, in these countries, to frame a true astronomical calendar. The historic and philologic knowledge displayed in this work is truly astonishing.

Whilst the king was confined in the Isle of Wight, in the year 1648, Dr. Ussher was permitted to visit his beloved but unfortunate monarch. Parliamentary commissioners were then treating with Charles for the abolition of the British and Irish hierarchies. During the discussion of this business, Primate Ussher, who held that bishops and presbyters differed only in degree, not in order,²⁰ suggested a plan for combining the episcopal with the presbyterian form of government. He proposed that as many suffragans should be appointed as there were rural deaneries in each diocese, who should be empowered to hold monthly synods of the rectors and ministers of their precincts; that diocesan synods, consisting of suffragans and rectors, and

presided over by a bishop or superintendent, should be held once or twice in the year, and that provincial synods of all the bishops and suffragans and other elected clergy should be assembled, once every third year, in which the archbishop of the province should be moderator. Ussher's efforts to preserve a kind of episcopacy, by this singular expedient, were unavailing. For though the Presbyterian clergy were willing to acquiesce in the primate's plan," yet parliament had predetermined on the total abolition of episcopacy; and the execution of the king which soon after followed, blasted the hopes of the royalists.

Dr. Ussher resided at the countess of Pembroke's, Charing Cross, when preparations were making for the king's immediate decapitation. When Charles was led forth for execution, the gentlemen and domestic servants of the establishment are said to have brought the afflicted primate to the leads of the house, that he might take a farewell view of his beloved friend and revered sovereign. He ascended, with reluctance, and cast a mournful look of anguish on the awful scene of horror. His eyes were suffused with tears, involuntary sighs burst forth, and he stood with uplifted hands, as if silently addressing the merciful Creator in behalf of his unhappy king. But when the masked executioners began to tuck up the hair of the royal victim, a deadly paleness passed over his countenance, his heart seemed bursting with unutterable sorrow, and his attendants were obliged to bear him, almost lifeless, from the dismal and tremendous scene.

As long as Dr. Ussher lived, he dedicated the anniversary of that day, to solemn fasting and mourning.

In the year 1650, he published the first part of his great chronological work, entitled *Annalium Pars prior a temporis historici principio usque ad Maccabaicorum initia producta; una cum rerum Asiaticarum et Ægyptiarum Chronico*. In this work, he settled three grand epochs in history: the Deluge, the departure of the Israelites from Egypt, the return of the Jews from captivity in the first year of Cyprus; and thus harmonized sacred with profane chronology. He has also accurately settled the succession of the Babylonish, Persian and Macedonian monarchies, with the concurrent olympiads, and the

times of the most remarkable eclipses of the sun. In 1654, he published the second part of this immortal work, comprising a period of time from the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, till the destruction of Jerusalem. In this volume, he has reduced the affairs of the Macedonian and Roman empires, and the reigns of the Asiatic and of the Egyptian kings, to a more certain chronological order than any previous writer had been able to suggest. The two volumes form a grand and noble repository of ancient history. The primate had intended to complete this work, by the addition of a third part, which was to terminate at the beginning of the fourth century, but he did not live to execute his plan. His system of chronology has been adopted by subsequent writers, except, indeed, in a portion of Greek history, which Sir Isaac Newton has arranged according to a scheme invented by himself.

Cromwell was now paramount lord and autocrat of the British isles. This consummate politician requested a conference with Ussher, to whom he communicated a plan for the general advancement of the Protestant religion. He settled also [so it is said] a small pension on the primate, out of the money arising from deodands, and promised to grant him a lease of part of the lands belonging to his own see of Armagh; a promise which he never fulfilled. Yet Ussher conversed reluctantly with Cromwell, and never deigned to flatter his vanity or solicit his patronage. On the contrary, in a dialogue which took place between these two extraordinary men, in the year 1655, he manifested a spirit of candour highly honourable to his memory. Cromwell was under the hands of his surgeon, who was in the act of dressing a boil on his breast. "If this core" said the Protector, pointing to the boil, "were once out, I should be soon well." "Alas, I doubt" replied the Primate, "the core lies deeper! There is a core at the heart which must be taken out, or else it will not be well." "Ah!" rejoined the great but miserable man, with an involuntary sigh, "so there is indeed."

On the thirtieth of November, 1654, Dr. Ussher's invaluable friend, the illustrious Selden, died. The primate, his associate in historic and scientific research, his sole equal in literary fame, was judiciously selected to preach his funeral sermon. The eulogy, which

he pronounced before a splendid audience, on the departed patriot, was worthy of the orator and the subject. Yet his modesty and humility seem to have been too strongly portrayed, when, in the course of his sermon, he described himself as "scarcely worthy to carry Selden's books after that great author."

In 1655, he printed the last of his works which was published during his lifetime. It was entitled *De Græca Septuaginta Interpretum Versione Syntagma; cum Libri Estheræ Editione Origenica et vetere Græca altera, ex Arundelliana Bibliotheca nunc primum in lucem producta*. In this curious work, he coincides in opinion with the Jewish literati, that the Greek interpreters had translated no more than the Pentateuch of Moses, and that their version had perished in the Alexandrian library, by fire. A translation, made by a Jew in the reign of Ptolemy Philomoter, was, he alleged, substituted in its place. This, which contained both the Pentateuch and the rest of the Old Testament, was received by the Hellenistic Jews, though its author had interpolated the text in various places. From them it was transmitted to the primitive Christian Church, whence proceed the various readings of the Hebrew and Greek copies.

About the beginning of February, the primate retired to the countess of Peterborough's house at Ryegate, where he was occupied, during the remainder of his life, in perfecting his *Chronologia Sacra*. His mind was still vigorous and active, but his eyesight had so far failed him, that he could only write in the glare of the sun. Intent on his literary labours, he was seen, on clear days, following the retiring sunbeams from window to window, and committing his thoughts to writing with indefatigable perseverance. Yet he was not wholly absorbed in these patient and useful labours, nor did he for a moment forget the prime end of his existence, but prepared himself for eternity by intense meditation on his approaching dissolution. In his almanac, he every year noticed the day of his age, opposite to that of his birth. In this year he made the following observation with his own hand: "Now aged seventy-five years—My years are full. Resignation."

On the twentieth of March, the sciatica began violently to afflict

him, and on the succeeding morning, he was seized with pleuritic affections which baffled all medical aid. During thirteen successive hours he endured the most excruciating torture with resignation and magnanimity. He became elevated in hope, fervent in prayer, and earnest in his pious exhortations to his surrounding friends. To the countess he bade a solemn, grateful, affectionate and impressive farewell. Finally, about one o'clock in the afternoon, he addressed himself in a dying ejaculation to the Almighty: "Oh Lord, forgive me, especially my sins of omission!" and resigned his pure soul to Him who gave it.

Primate Ussher was moderately tall in stature, elegant in form, erect and graceful in carriage. A dignified and placid gravity characterized his intelligent countenance, where Benevolence had so plainly stamped her *imprimatur*, that "he who ran might read." Vigorous in constitution, alert in mind, athletic in body, he was formed by Nature to endure the fatigues both of an active and of a contemplative life. Passion, pride, self-will, avarice, ambition and the love of the world were alien to his heart. In conversation he was candid, affable, unaffected and polite. Hospitable in his disposition, he lived in a style devoid of pomp, and simply elegant. His temper was placid, his spirits uniform: neither suddenly elated with prosperity nor depressed with adversity. Hence when Fortune smiled upon him, he was humble yet dignified, unostentatious yet munificent, and hence also he was enabled to endure the most unparalleled calamities, and even death itself, ushered in by excruciating tortures, with the most undaunted fortitude and the most exalted magnanimity.

Bishop Burnett describes Primate Ussher as possessing "all the innocence of the dove." "He had," said he, "a way of gaining people's hearts and of touching their consciences, that looked like somewhat of the Apostolic age revived."²² In fact, his eloquence, in itself eminently powerful, was rendered almost irresistible by the reverential awe which the unimpeachable integrity of his mind and his stupendous literary attainments excited in the bosom of his hearers. Great Britain has produced no scholar superior, and, if we except Selden, none equal, to Ussher. These two illustrious friends not only attained the first rank amongst the literati of Europe, but

drew the attention of the whole republic of letters to the British Isles.²³ Posterity has ratified the judgment, formed by that age, on the merits of these two transcendent scholars.²⁴

Dr. Ussher was thought, by many of his admirers, to have been endowed with a prophetic spirit. This opinion seems to have been derived from a sermon which he preached in the year 1601, before the government, at Christ Church. His text was taken from the fourth chapter and sixth verse of Ezekiel. In his discourse, he was believed to have explicitly foretold the miseries with which the country was visited, in the year 1641. He is said also to have predicted the fire of London. But Ussher himself laid no claim to prophetic powers, though he was inclined, like many other speculative and learned divines and philosophers, to make deductions concerning futurity, from the Apocalyptic writings of Saint John.²⁵

Perfection belongs not to man, nor to any other order of created beings. Two faults, and only two, can be discovered, even by the scrutinizing eye of Malice itself, in the bright character of this incomparable divine. The first is a spirit of intolerance against the Roman Catholics of Ireland. This illiberality was not peculiar to Ussher. It was the predominant vice of the times in which he lived. Roman Catholics and Protestants tyrannized over one another in turn, and vainly imagined that they were rendering essential service to God, when they were insulting or persecuting His creatures. But under Dr. Ussher's primacy, the Presbyterian clergy were treated with kindness. Many of them were ordained by the bishops of the established religion, who omitted, in the form of ordination, all those expressions which these ministers deemed objectionable. These divines, though they remained Presbyterians, enjoyed in their respective parishes both the churches and the tithes. They frequently met and consulted with the bishops, about affairs of common concernment to religion, and some of them were members of the Convocation, in 1634.²⁶

The second failing was a want, not of inclination, but of perseverance and of energy in reforming the abuses of the ecclesiastical courts, where venal chancellors and their proctors usurped the power which ought to have been vested in the church, and levied the

most unjust and villainous exactions off the people. He did not afford due support to the manly, incorrupt and persevering Bishop Bedell, in his noble efforts to rescue the episcopal order and his country from the fangs of these rapacious harpies. He was, indeed, "too gentle," as is well remarked by Burnett, "to manage the rough work of reforming abuses."⁷ And hence it was energetically said of him by his physician, Dr. Bootius [Dr. Arnold Boate, Dublin], "that if the primate of Armagh were as exact a disciplinarian as he is eminent in searching antiquity, defending the truth and preaching the Gospel, he would, without doubt, deserve to be made the chief churchman of Christendom."

Cromwell claimed the honour of burying Primate Ussher at his own expense. His friends, particularly the countess of Peterborough, reluctantly consented to what they dare not refuse; for who could resist the despot, Cromwell? By his orders he was embalmed and kept till the seventeenth of April, when the corpse was removed to Westminster Abbey,⁸ attended by all the clergy and by an immense concourse of the people. Dr. Bernard, his chaplain, preached his funeral sermon, on the text, "And Samuel died, and all Israel were gathered together, and lamented him and buried him." His ashes rest without a monument, in St. Erasmus's Chapel, beside the grave of his preceptor, James Fullerton, but his memory shall descend from age to age, buoyant on the stream of Time, till all things shall have merged in the ocean of Eternity.

Primate Ussher, in the hour of his prosperity, had intended to bequeath his library, which comprised nearly ten thousand books and manuscripts, to Trinity College, Dublin. The misfortunes, however, with which he was visited, compelled him to leave it to his daughter, then the mother of a numerous family. The king of Denmark and Cardinal Mazarin were competitors for the purchase. But the officers of Cromwell's army who had served in Ireland, actuated by a noble spirit of liberality, bought the books for two thousand two hundred pounds, in order to present them to the university, for which they had originally been destined by their owner. They were of course transmitted to Dublin, but a plan was soon afterwards adopted for the establishment of a new university in that city, and

Ussher's library was deposited in the castle for its use. Here, many of the books were purloined or lost, till the Restoration enabled Charles II. to bestow the remainder on Trinity College.²⁸

John Bramhall, D.D., was promoted from the see of Derry to the archbishopric of Armagh, on the eighteenth of January, 1660-1. He was born at Pontefract, in Yorkshire, in the year 1593, and was a lineal descendant of a very ancient and respectable family, the Bramhalls of Bramhall Hall, in Cheshire. Having received a very liberal school education in Pontefract, he removed to Sydney College, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. and M.A. Soon after he had finished his university course, he married a young lady, the widow of a clergyman, with whom he received a considerable fortune and a valuable library.²⁹

After his ordination, he preached for some time in the city of York; but was soon presented by Mr. Wandesford to a good living in Eterington, where he became eminent as a pulpit orator and was highly esteemed as a divine. In 1623, a secular priest and a Jesuit issued one of those public challenges to the Protestant clergy of Yorkshire, which, though they seldom produced any change of opinion in the contending parties, excited in those times of polemic debate, a strong interest in the community. Bramhall, who was then about thirty years of age, accepted the challenge, and is said by his biographers, to have completely defeated his opponents. Dr. Matthews, archbishop of York, rebuked him for his temerity, in undertaking so serious a contest without license, but, as a reward for his victory, made him his chaplain and honoured him with his confidence. He was afterwards made a prebendary of York and of Ripon.³⁰

After the archbishop's death, in 1628, he resided at Ripon, and managed most of the ecclesiastical affairs of York, as sub-dean. During a contagious pestilence, he abode with his parishioners, whom he daily visited, even in the most infectious houses, affording them, in a true strain of Christian benevolence, both spiritual consolation and temporal relief. He became the common arbitrator in all cases of litigation and dispute, and thus preserved his people in perfect concord.

In 1630, he took his degree of D.D. in Cambridge, and in 1633 resigned his church preferments in England, and attended Viscount Wentworth (afterwards earl of Strafford) as his chaplain to Ireland. Shortly after his arrival in this kingdom, he was promoted to the archdeaconry of Meath, and was subsequently appointed a commissioner with Baron Hilltown, judge of the prerogative, in a regal visitation. In this capacity, he was actively instrumental in restoring to the church its revenues of which it had been miserably despoiled by grants in fee-farm, long leases of lands at small rents, and various simoniacal practices. By such means as these, the see of Cloyne had been reduced in value to five marks; and hence its bishop had been ironically styled *Episcopus quinque marcarum*. The revenues of Aghado were deteriorated to one pound one and eight pence; Ardfert to sixty pounds; and five-sixths of the lands attached to Limerick were demised in fee-farm. On the twenty-sixth of May, 1634, Dr. Bramhall was consecrated bishop of Derry, in the Castle chapel, in Dublin, by Primate Ussher, assisted by the bishops of Meath, Down and Cork. Through his exertions, the revenues of that see were greatly improved by the recovery of various tracts of land which had been improperly alienated by his predecessors. By wise and conciliatory measures, he reconciled the landholders with the resident preachers, to whom he secured the possession of their church property and endowments, and he is said to have doubled the revenues of the bishopric.

In a parliament and convocation, assembled on the fourteenth of July, 1634, Dr. Bramhall procured, through his influence with the lord-deputy, the enactment of various laws on behalf of the church. By one of these, bishops were obliged to fulfil every trust vested in them for pious uses. By another, the lord-primate and other Ulster prelates were empowered to make and confirm leases, for sixty years, of such lands as had been granted by the late King James to their respective sees, viz., Armagh, Derry, Clogher, Raphoe, and Kilmore. The third and most important law was enacted for the preservation of the inheritance, rights and profits of the church lands, and for the protection of ecclesiastical persons. By this law, the term rent and

conditions on which the lands could be granted were limited and defined. Another act was passed for the restitution of impropriations and tithes, and to prohibit their alienation.

In consequence of these laws, many compositions were soon made for the surrender of fee-farms and other grants, by which the church had been greatly incumbered and impoverished. For the inferior clergy, whose situation Dr. Bramhall greatly commiserated, he obtained various impropriations, some by persuasion, others by law, but most by purchase, and in effecting these objects, he employed his own income with great liberality. Such was his zeal and activity that in the short period of four years, he regained for the church £40,000 per annum.

Bramhall laboured indefatigably to form a perfect union between the churches of Ireland and of England, and to have the articles of Communion expressed with such latitude, that dissenters from the established religion, in matters not solely relative to faith, might conscientiously subscribe. The English articles were after some debate, adopted, and the canons also were received with a few variations, as already stated in the life of Dr. James Ussher.

In 1637, he passed over to England, where he was joyfully received by men of the first rank in the state, and with marks of profound respect, by the king himself. Yet an information had been filed against him in the Star Chamber, in which it was alleged that "he had neither reproved nor informed against one Palmer, who in his presence at Ripon, had made some improper reflections on his Majesty." He was acquitted of this charge, which was in itself truly ridiculous, inasmuch as the words in question were simply that a "Scottish mist had come over the town," because the king had changed his lodgings from Ripon to Sir Richard Graham's.

Dr. Bramhall, attached by conscientious motives to the country where his see was situated, determined to form a final settlement in Ireland, and therefore sold his English estate, and purchased one at Omagh, in the county of Tyrone, for six thousand pounds. Here he began immediately to form plantations and make other useful improvements, which were suddenly interrupted by the rebellion.

In March, 1640-1, Bishop Bramhall, the lord-chancellor, Sir

Richard Bolton and Sir Gerald Lowther were impeached in parliament of high treason, by Bryan O'Neill and some of his Roman Catholic and Protestant adherents, who asserted that they had formed a conspiracy to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and to substitute in their place an arbitrary and tyrannical government. His patron, the earl of Strafford, was similarly circumstanced in England, and it was deemed dangerous in Bramhall, to resist the formidable conspiracy which had been matured against him. He, however, relying on his innocence, appeared in parliament, contrary to the advice of his friends, and was immediately imprisoned. On the most minute investigation of all his actions, it appeared manifest that he had merely exerted himself to recover the patrimony of the church, and that he had not reaped the smallest personal emolument from all his labours. Primate Ussher mediated in his behalf with the king, who wrote to Ireland strongly and explicitly in his favour; and at last, after considerable delay, he was restored to liberty, without any public or formal acquittal.

On his return to Londonderry, his life was endangered by the machinations of Sir Phelim O'Neill, who was then waging war against the British Government. That wily chieftain had written and forwarded a letter to Dr. Bramhall, in which he requested "that according to their articles of agreement, a particular gate of the city might be delivered to him." He expected that this letter would have fallen into the hands of the Scots, and that they, in the warmth of their resentment, would have executed the prelate for his supposed treachery. But the messenger absconded with the epistle, and the scheme proved abortive. Yet Derry was not a place of refuge for the bishop. It was indeed crowded with malcontent Scots, who seemed inclined to surrender him to the enemy. Some of these men pointed a cannon against his house; a mark either of disrespect or hostility, which induced him privately to embark for England. Here, after his arrival, he gave essential aid to the king, both by his counsel and his pen. One of his treatises, published in 1643, is highly commended by Primate Ussher; and the *History of Hull* is said to have been written by him about this period. After the battle of Marston-Moor and the surrender of York, Dr. Bramhall, with the marquis of

Newcastle, and many persons of high rank, fled to the continent, where he landed at Hamburg, on the eighth of July, 1644. At the treaty of Uxbridge, the parliaments of England and of Scotland deemed him of such importance, that he and Archbishop Laud were expressly exempted from the general pardon. Dr. Bramhall resided at Brussels till the year 1648, when he revisited Ireland. Here he experienced much danger, difficulty and distress. At Limerick, the earl of Roscommon had, in his dying moments, at the instance of the bishop, declared his faith in the Church of Ireland, and this had given high offence to the zealous Roman Catholics of the town, who menaced him with death, if he did not instantly depart. Again, at the revolt of Cork, he evaded his vigilant enemies with extreme difficulty. Cromwell, who knew his talents, declared that he would have given a large sum of money for that *Irish Canterbury*. On his departure from Ireland, the vessel in which he had embarked was closely pursued by two parliamentary frigates, which approached it so rapidly, that all hopes of escape vanished. Suddenly the wind subsided, the becalmed frigates were unable to proceed, and his bark got off in a most marvellous and unexpected manner.

Dr. Bramhall, after this signal preservation, sought refuge in France, where the unexpected payment of a debt of seven hundred pounds, which had been long due to him, relieved him from pecuniary embarrassment. About this period, Monsieur Militiere, counsellor to the king of France, had written a dissertation, in which he exhorted the king of Great Britain to embrace the Catholic faith. The bishop promptly replied to this work, and received the thanks of some of the continental Protestant churches, for the able manner in which he discussed the theological points at issue. Shortly after this period, he went to Spain, where he intended to make a tour. He had, however, travelled but a few days in that country, when the hostess of an inn, where he had stopped for refreshment, addressed him, to his great astonishment, by his proper name. He expressed his surprise at her information, but this benevolent woman shewed him his portrait, and informed him that several copies of it had been distributed by the Inquisition, on his intended route. She added, also, that he would inevitably have been delivered to that dread

tribunal, if her husband had discovered him in his house. Forewarned of the coming danger, Dr. Bramhall escaped the snare by flying rapidly from the country.

In 1652, an act was passed in parliament for the settlement of Ireland, in which Bishop Bramhall, the marquis of Ormonde, and other adherents of the king were excepted from the general pardon.

After the Restoration, Dr. Bramhall returned to England, and was translated from the see of Derry to the archbishopric of Armagh, by privy signet, dated Whitehall, first of August, 1660, with a grant of the mesne profits from that period; and by patent, on the eighteenth of January, 1660-1.³¹ The king now restored to the church all its temporalities, as possessed in 1641. New prelates were appointed to fill the vacant sees, and on the twenty-seventh of January, the primate, aided by Dr. Robert Maxwell, &c., consecrated two archbishops and ten bishops.

Dr. Bramhall governed his diocese with great firmness and wisdom. His conduct to nonconformists was prudent, liberal and conciliating. He stated to those divines who relied solely on their certificates of ordination from Presbyterian synods, that these could not legally entitle them to the benefices which they then held, nor enable them to recover their tithes by any process of law. He would not, he said, determine the validity or invalidity of their orders, but would supply for them those points in which they were defective, according to the canons of the Church of Ireland. The words used by Primate Bramhall and his coadjutors, on occasions of this nature, are curious, and worthy of being recorded, viz., *Non annihilantes priores ordines (si quos habuit), nec validitatem aut invaliditatem eorundem determinantes, multo minus omnes ordines sacros ecclesiarum forensicarum condemnantes, quos proprio judicio relinquimus; sed solummodo suppletes quicquid prius defuit, per canones Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ requisitum.*" This conciliatory conduct elevated his character amongst the dissenters, and softened down the spirit of opposition to the established church. Yet the opinion of his predecessor, Dr. James Ussher, on this subject, was more plainly expressed:—"The ordination by Presbyters," said that truly learned divine, "stands valid, where bishops cannot be had." And again, "I profess, that if

I were in Holland, I should receive the blessed sacrament at the hands of the Dutch ministers, &c." ³³ To this, in some measure, may be attributed the respect in which Ussher was held by dissenters; and possibly for this, among other reasons, he is said by his contemporary, the Rev. John Livingston, in a spirit indicative both of prejudice and of candour, to be "not only a learned but a *godly* man, although a *bishop*." ³⁴

On the eighth of May, 1661, Dr. Bramhall was appointed speaker of the House of Lords, and was, in right of his primacy, president of the Convocation. The parliamentary proceedings, which had been instituted against him and the earl of Strafford, were now pronounced unjust, and erased, or rather torn out from the records. During this season, the church, through his instrumentality, obtained many advantages which are now digested and comprised in the act of settlement and explanation.

Shortly after this period, he was afflicted with a severe palsy, from which he experienced a temporary recovery. In the interval of his disease, he revisited his diocese, and having provided for the repairs of his cathedral, he returned to Dublin in May, 1663. On passing through Dundalk, he made particular inquiry for the burial place of his famous predecessor, Richard Fitz-Ralph, to whose memory he determined to erect a monument. In the latter end of June, he was again seized with a fit of the palsy, in the Court of Claims, where he had a suit with Sir Audley Mervyn, relative to his Omagh estate. He expired in Dublin, on the twenty-fifth of June, 1663, in the seventieth year of his age, and was buried with due honours, in Christ Church.

On his interment, the famous bishop, Jeremy Taylor, preached a very eloquent funeral sermon, which is extant among his works, and contains many interesting particulars of Dr. Bramhall's life. The primate left one son, Sir Thomas Bramhall, who died without issue, and three daughters. The eldest intermarried with Sir James Graham, third and youngest son to the earl of Monteith, in Scotland; the second to Alderman Toxteath, of Drogheda; and the third to Standish Hartstrong, Esq. In his will, dated fifth of January, 1662, he left five hundred pounds towards repairing the cathedral of Armagh

and St. Peter's church, Drogheda. He had already repaired the ruined episcopal house, at Drogheda, and provided timber for rebuilding that at Termonfechan, and materials for enclosing the park, which he devised by will to his successor, with the hangings and furniture of the presence chamber. There is also a whimsical bequest, in this will, of so many black gowns, as should make up the years of his life (seventy) to so many poor men.

Dr. Bramhall was a man of middle stature, of a cholericosanguineous complexion and active habits. He was free, open and candid in his discourse; a contemner of flattery; devoid of affectation; a powerful and argumentative reasoner, and an able polemic. His understanding was strong by nature, and improved by laborious and unremitting study. His works have been collected by John Vesey, bishop of Limerick, and published in very large folio, containing four tomes. The third tome comprises three very acute and able tracts, in which the writings of Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury, on liberty and necessity, are discussed and refuted. The other tomes contain sixteen distinct articles, on polemic and other subjects.³⁵

James Margetson, D.D., chaplain to the earl of Strafford, was translated to the primacy, by letters-patent, issued by Charles the Second, on the twentieth of August, 1663. He was born at Drighlington, in Yorkshire, in 1660, and educated in the university of Cambridge. His first promotion was to the parish of Watlas, where he attracted the notice of Wentworth, whom he accompanied to Ireland, A.D. 1663. In May, 1635, he was made dean of Waterford, and in 1637, was promoted to the deanery of Derry. On the second of December, 1639, he was installed dean of Christ Church [Dublin], and was enabled, by a dispensation from the primate, granted to him on the thirteenth of November, and confirmed by patent on the eighteenth, to hold with that preferment, the prebend of [Holy Trinity, *alias*] Christ Church, Cork, and the rectory of Gallewyne [*alias* Dartree], in the diocese of Clogher.³⁶

In 1641, the rebellion burst forth, and the dean, who was a man of most benevolent heart, spent much of his personal property, in feeding, clothing and supporting multitudes of unhappy fugitives, who had been compelled to seek refuge in Dublin. At last, about

the year 1648, he was himself obliged to fly to England, for security and subsistence; but he was there seized by the Parliamentarians, thrown into Manchester gaol, and then hurried about from prison to prison. After some time, he was set at liberty in exchange for a few officers, whom the royalists had taken prisoners. He then removed to London where he lived in the most retired manner, although he was actively employed in the distribution of alms to the needy and reduced cavaliers, dispensing the charity of others when his misfortunes had deprived him of the means of indulging his benevolent inclinations, at his own private expense. In the exercise of this hazardous and singular species of humanity, he repeatedly travelled through England and Wales, bringing essential aid to both the clergy and laity of the royalist party. Amongst others, he had the happiness of relieving Chappel, bishop of Cork and Ross, then a persecuted refugee.

After the Restoration, he was promoted, on the twenty-fifth of January, 1660, to the see of Dublin, and consecrated, in that city, on the twenty-seventh, with eleven other prelates, by the archbishop of Armagh. On the first of the same month, he had been nominated a privy councillor.

After the death of Primate Bramhall, Margetson was translated to Armagh, by letters-patent of donation, dated twentieth of August, 1663, and his patent of restitution, issued on the twenty-ninth of the same month.³⁷ In 1667, he was appointed vice-chancellor of the University of Dublin, in the room of the celebrated Dr. Jeremy Taylor, bishop of Down and Connor, then deceased. He discharged the duties of the office, as well as those of the primacy, with due decorum, gravity and wisdom.

Margetson was in his disposition, mild, sincere, generous, modest, hospitable, ingenuous and humane. His heart was pure, his eloquence persuasive.

In the winter of the year 1677, he was afflicted with a jaundice, which daily gathered strength, and at last confined him to his house. Yet such was his zeal for religion, that on the sixth of May, 1678, he was one of the public communicants of the holy sacrament, at Christ Church, contrary to the express advice of his physician. On the

approach of death, numbers of persons who revered his character, resorted to his bed-side, to receive his benediction and to hear his dying prayers. On the twenty-eighth of August, 1678, he departed this life, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and was buried in Christ Church [Dublin], within the rails of the altar.

Both the private and public charities of this prelate were extensive. To meritorious but indigent individuals, our humane primate has often granted donations of one hundred pounds and upwards. In 1678, he gave fifty pounds to the college of Dublin, to be laid out in additional buildings. In his native town, he erected a free school, and endowed it with sixty pounds per annum. He liberally contributed to the repairing and adorning of the two cathedrals in Dublin, and he raised contributions through the dioceses appertaining to his metropolis, for rebuilding the ancient church of Armagh, which had been consumed by fire by Sir Phelim O'Neill. The donors, however, of these grants, were tardy in their promised payments, and the sum, thus raised, was insufficient to defray the expenses of the building. His own bounty supplied the deficiency, and he had the gratification of seeing the fabric perfected at last. The episcopal palace was also repaired and adorned by Primate Margetson, at his own peculiar cost. From this prelate the noble families of Caulfeild (Charlemont) and Ponsonby (Bessborough) are descended, in the female line.³⁸

Michael Boyle, D.D., succeeded Primate Margetson in the primatial see. He was the son of Richard Boyle, archbishop of Tuam, and was educated in Trinity College, Dublin. He had been dean of Cloyne, and on the twenty-second of January [1660], had been promoted to the sees of Cork, Cloyne and Ross, by letters-patent from Charles II. Dr. Boyle seems to have been at once rapacious in the attainment of wealth and liberal and public-spirited in its expenditure. Not content with his three bishoprics, he held possession of six parishes, in the west of his diocese, as sinecures, under the fictitious and shameful pretext that he could not procure officiating, resident clergymen. When admonished by his near relation, Roger, earl of Orrery, lord-president of Munster, and informed by him, that he

would sequester his profits, if he did not provide rectors for the vacant livings, his fear overcame his avarice, and he complied reluctantly with the directions and wishes of his friend.

Boyle was translated, by letters-patent dated twenty-seventh of November, 1663, to Dublin, where he repaired and beautified the archiepiscopal palace of St. Sepulchre's. He was promoted to the see of Armagh, by the king's letters, dated twenty-first of January, 1678; and by virtue of letters-patent, issued on the twenty-seventh of February, he was installed, "on the tenth of March, by Roger, bishop of Clogher," his proxy.³⁹ With his archbishoprics, he held the office of lord high chancellor, from 1663 to 1678, but was removed from that dignity, after the accession of James II. to the throne. The primate was thrice one of the lords-justices of Ireland, in conjunction with Sir Arthur Forbes, Lord Granard. He lived to extreme old age, but his mental faculties were then greatly impaired, for his hearing and eyesight had failed, fifteen years prior to his death, and latterly he had lost even his memory. In the ninety-third year of his age, he finished his mortal career, on the eleventh of December, 1702, and was buried, at midnight, without any pomp, in St. Patrick's church, under the altar.

Primate Boyle, in his lifetime, gave two hundred pounds for erecting a new gate to Trinity College, Dublin, and in conjunction with Dr. Jeremy Hall and the bishop of Ossory, granted to the university one hundred pounds, to purchase books for the library; and he is said to have left forty pounds per annum, to the dean and chapter of Armagh and their successors, from his estate in the county of Louth, for the repairs of the church, under the direction of the primate for the time being.⁴⁰ Delighting in useful improvement, he founded the town of Blessington, where he erected a magnificent country house, an elegant chapel, and a parish church, the steeple of which was furnished with a ring of six bells. Hence originated the title of Viscount Blessington, created on the twenty-third of August, 1675, and first granted to his son, Morrough Boyle.

A monument was erected by the viscount to the memory of his father, in St. Mary's church, in Blessington, with an appropriate inscription. [It is printed in Ware's *Bishops*, and Brady's *Cork Records*, where there is much about Primate Boyle and his family.]

1 Rot. Canc. 10. 11. Jac. 1 f m 34 Lodge ut supra 2 Lodge ut supra 3 It cost, in 1622, £2,604 rs 4d 4 *Manuscript State of the Diocese*, ut supra 5 Harris's *Ware*, vol. i., p. 97, 98 and *Visitation Book* in Marsh's Library, p. 69 6 Aiken's *Life of Ussher*, p. 226 Ussher's *Works*, xv., 184.] 7 Boulter's *Letters*, vol. i., pp. 61, 62 8 It is said that these ladies could recite the greater part of the Scriptures distinctly, and without mistake. They possessed a pure taste and a correct ear, and by frequent repetition taught their young pupil the proper pronunciation of the English tongue.

9 James Ussher was one of the first matriculated students, on the opening of Trinity College, in the year 1593, and his name was said to have stood at the very head of the then existing roll. But this document is lost and the oldest admission book extant begins in the year 1637. There is, however, in an ancient registry, a list of all the scholars from the establishment of this seminary, for several years, in which Ussher seems to be the fifth scholar of the house, and the eleventh fellow. Three fellows had been originally appointed by the crown, in the name of more, viz., Henry Ussher, Lucas Challoner and Launcelot Mayne, and three scholars viz., Henry Lee, William Daniel and Stephen White had been nominated in a similar manner. The next names in succession, after that of White, are A. Walshe and James Ussher. It appears, therefore, that Walshe was the first person who had been elected scholar by the fellows, after a public examination, and James Ussher the second. The names in the old registry, to which we have alluded, stand thus (these five in square brackets being placed at one side for insertion).—Henricus Lee, Gulielmus Daniel, Stephanus White [A. Walshe, Ja. Ussher, Jo. Richardson, Ge. Lee, Bar. Bunlyn, Simon Bailly, Edwardus Dawson, etc., etc. Thus it appears that the registrar had omitted the names of these five scholars in their proper places, and afterwards inserted them on discovering his error. If this were not the case, and the names were not to be considered as following the whole of the first column, beginning with Henry Lee, Ussher would be the sixty-second in order, which would be quite inconsistent with facts.—See MSS., *Trin. Coll.*, Dublin.

10 But in the year 1602, there was published a translation of the New Testament from the Greek into the Irish language, made by William Daniel, one of the very first elected fellows of Trinity College (Harris's *Ware's Bishops*, p. 616) and the first or second person who had graduated D.D. in that seminary. His translation of the Book of Common Prayer into Irish was printed in 1608.

11 A curious circumstance is narrated in one of Dr. Ward's letters to Dr. Ussher, dated June, 1626. "There was the last week a cod fish brought from Colchester to our market (Cambridge) to be sold, in the cutting up of which there was found in the maw of the fish a thing which was hard, which proved to be a book of a large volume which had been bound in parchment, the leaves were glued together with a gelly, and being taken out, did smell much at the first, but after washing of it, Mr. Mead

did look into it. It was printed, and he found a table of the contents. The book was entitled: 'A Preparation to the Cross.' (it may be a special admonition to us at Cambridge) Mr. Mead, upon Saturday, read to me the heads of the chapters, which I very well liked of. Now it is found to have been made by Rich. Tracy, of whom Bale maketh mention. He is said to flourish then, 1530, but I think the book was made in King Henry the Eighth's time, when the six articles were on foot. The book will be printed here shortly."

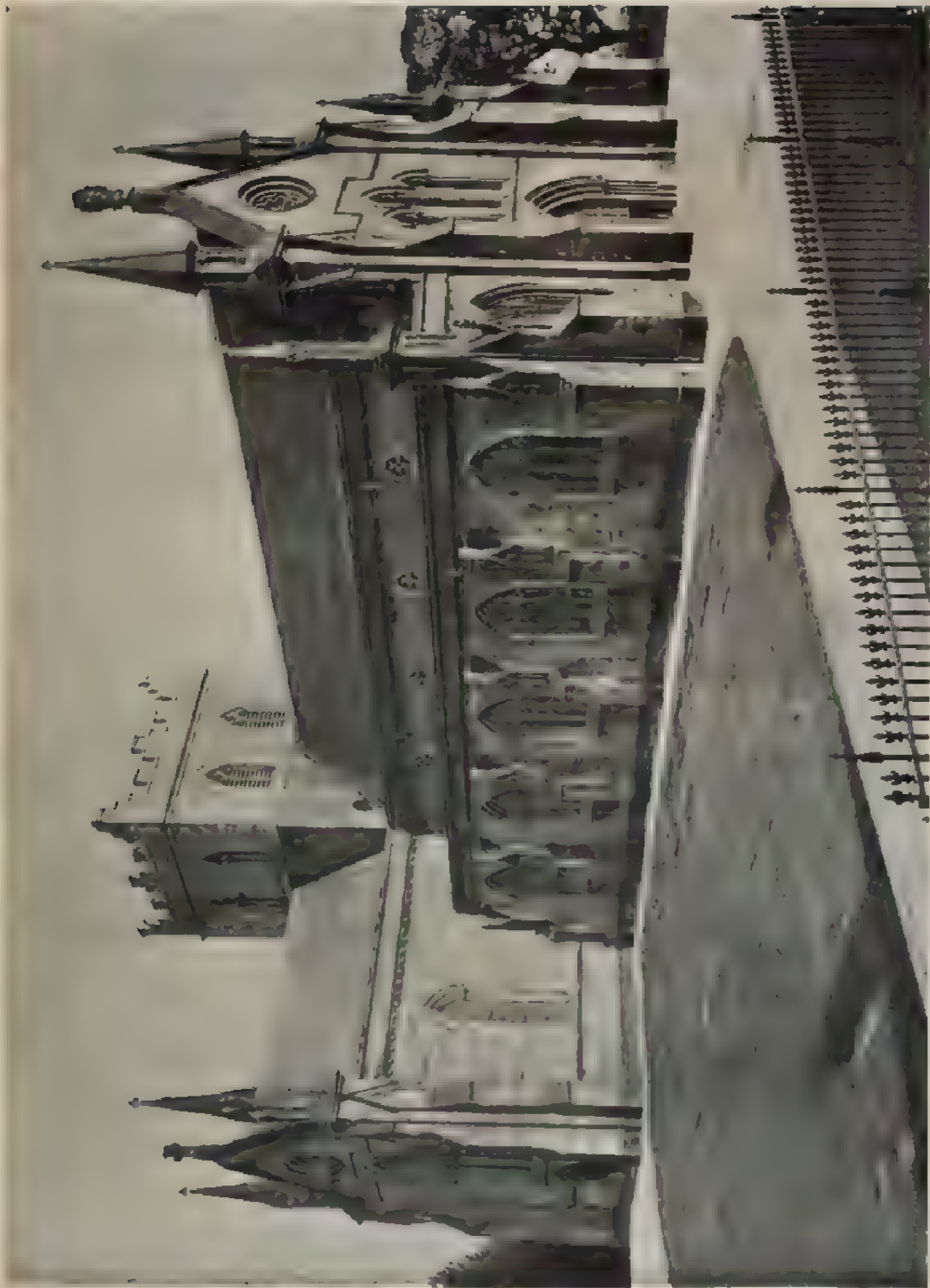
12 *Vet. Sill. Epist.*, p. 114. 13 See Strafford's *Letters*, vol. i., p. 156. 14 See Strafford's *Letters*, vol. i., p. 342, vol. ii., pp. 15, 24, 26, 37.

15 The father of this Whitelocke was one of the Justices of the King's Bench, and a man of extraordinary learning. When he was once opening the assizes at Oxford, some foreigners of rank entered the court. Instantly he recapitulated in elegant Latin the heads of his charge to the grand jury, that they might be enabled to form some idea of the manner of our judicial proceedings. Which of our present judges could imitate this example?

16 Baxter's *Life*, p. 206. 17 D'Alembert *Eloges Academiques* (*Œuvres*, ix., 203). Aiken's *Life of Ussher*, p. 275. 18 When this work was in the press, the doctors and masters of Oxford resolved, in a solemn convocation, on the tenth of March, 1644-5, that Ussher's effigies should be engraven in copperplate and prefixed to the work, with the following inscription.—*Jacobus Usserus Archiepiscopus Armachanus, totius Hiberniæ Primas, Antiquitatis primæva peritissimus, orthodoxæ religionis vindex ananymus, errorum malleus in conuocando frequens facundus, præpotens, vix inculpatus exemplar spectabile*.

20 See his letter to Dr. Bernard, in which he says, "Episcopus et Presbyter gradu tantum differunt, non ordine." 21 See Baxter's *Life* by himself. 22 Burnett's *Life of Bedell*, p. 67. 23 In the same century, Harvey also started into fame. Haller, speaking of this celebrated man, says, "Ex ea ipsa Anglia, in qua hæcenus anatomie terra nulla fuit, exstitit novum artis lumen, cujus nomen ab ipso retro Hippocrate in medicina, secundum lumen est."—*Biblioth. Anatom.*

24 A letter, written in the year 1775, by the late Rev. Dr. Thomas Campbell, gives a curious account of an interesting conversation between that learned antiquary and the celebrated Dr. Samuel Johnson, on the comparative learning of England, Scotland and Ireland. The letter is now in possession of Dr. Campbell's nephew, the Rev. Charles Campbell, vicar of Newry, by whom we are favoured with the following extract:—"The Scotch (said the great critic) have learning enough for common use, but not to support the dignity of literature. They have learning enough for a surgeon, but not for a physician. They are like a hungry lion which in time may get his belly full like the English lion, but at present is a very empty Scotland hath never yet produced one writer indubitably classic, unless Buchanan may be so called. Yet have done more in Ireland, you have produced one scholar, Ussher, and one philosopher, Boyle." We by no means



THE PROTESTANT CATHEDRAL.



agree in opinion with Dr Johnson on the subject of Scottish literature. Many of the writers of Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, &c., have done credit to the republic of letters. Science, history, and the belles lettres are highly indebted to Scotland. We quote the passage merely to shew in what estimation Ussher is still held as a scholar.

25 Amongst the various supposed prophecies delivered in the seventeenth century, the following is the most curious:—Rice Evans, in the second edition of his *Echo from Heaven*, A.D. 1633, writes thus: "A vision that I had presently after the king's death. I thought I was in a great hall, like the shire-hall, in the castle in Winchester, and there was none there but a judge that sat on the bench and myself. I turned to a window north-westward, and looking into the palm of my hand, there appeared to me a face, head and shoulders, like the Lord Fairfax's, and presently it vanished. Then arose the Lord Cromwell's, and he vanished likewise. Then arose a young face and he had a crown upon his head, and he vanished also, and another young face arose with a crown upon his head, and he vanished also, and another young face with a crown upon his head, and he vanished also, and another young face with a crown upon his head, and he vanished in like manner, and as I turned the palm of my hand back again to me and looked, there did appear no more in it. Then I turned to the judge and said to him, there arose in my hand seven, and five of them had crowns, but when I turned my hand the blood returned to its veins, and there appeared no more. So I awoke. The interpretation of this vision is that after the Lord Cromwell, there shall be kings again in England, which thing is signified unto us by those that arose after him, who were all crowned; but the generations to come may look for a change of the blood and of the name in the royal seat, after five kings' reigns are past."—2 Kings, v. 30. On this curious passage, Warburton, in a letter to Dr Jortin, comments thus: "The restoration of the monarchy is here plainly predicted, with the crown's passing from the house of Stuart into another family. But the prophet at first sight, seems doubtful about the number of reigns before that event. He reckons up in his hand only four successions to the monarchy, yet in his speech to the judge, he calls them five. In his interpretation, he says the change shall be after the reign of five kings. Yet referring in conclusion to a text in the Book of Kings, we are brought back to the number four. But it is this very circumstance which makes the prodigious part of the affair. The succession of the House of Stuart during these four generations was disturbed, and that circumstance our prophet has distinctly marked out. The four crowned heads in his hand denote Charles the Second, James the Second, Mary and Anne. They are afterwards called five and so they are, for William the Third shared the sovereignty with Mary and reigned alone after her, but he, being of

another family, after the succession in the house of Stuart is reckoned up, he could not be numbered, so they must be then called four. When the prophet reckons the reigns, King William then comes in and they are called five. The key to this explanation is the text he concludes with, "Thy children to the fourth generation shall sit upon the throne."

26 *Presbyterian Loyalty*, p. 162. 27 *Life of Bedell*, p. 62. 28 For the authorities on which this account of Dr Ussher rests, see his *Life*, by Dr Nicholas Bernard, and that by Dr Parr. See also Dr Thomas Smith's *Vita quorundam eruditissimorum et illustrium virorum*, also Harris's *Life of Ussher*. [See also the *Life* by Elrington, prefixed to his collected works, and the *Ussher Memoirs*, by Rev. W. Ball Wright. Dr. Richard Parr was the primate's chaplain. He was a native of Fermoy, in the county of Cork, and a canon of Armagh, having refused the deanery. It may gratify the lovers of literature to be informed that Dr James Ussher was the eighth person who obtained, by merit a fellowship in Trinity College, Dublin. The series of fellows stand thus: Henry Ussher, Lucas Challoner, Launcelot Moine, James Fullerton, James Hamilton, Matthias Holme, William Daniel, Charles Dun, John Brereton, Abel Walshe, James Ussher, etc. Of these the three first were named by the Crown. Fullerton and Hamilton were Ussher's preceptors. [See catalogue of Ussher's Works in original edition of Stuart, p. 468.]

29 See *Strafford's Letters*, vol. 1, pp. 124, 255. 30 Browne Wilks, citante Chalmers, vol. vi, p. 437. 31 Pat. Canc. 12 Car II secunda parte, facie. *Ibid.* dorso. Lodge's *MSS* ut supra. 32 Kennet, p. 440. *Epis Ord.* p. 417. Edit Newry 1816. 33 Ussher's *Letter to Dr Bernard*. 34 *Life of Mr. John Livingston*, ut supra, p. 16. 35 See for the materials of the above account of Dr Bramhall, his *Life*, prefixed to his works by Dr Vesey; Dudley Loftus's *Latin Oration on Dr Bramhall*; Taylor's *Funeral Sermon* on the same subject; Harris's *Ware's Bishops*, and Chalmers's *Biographical Dict.* [Consult also *The Rarodon Papers*, by the Rev Canon Berwick, 8vo Lond. 1819, pp. 430, which consists of Letters to and from Primate Bramhall. His will (proved in Dublin, 1663) is printed in the Introduction. The baronetcy which his son obtained became extinct. Many additional particulars as to Bramhall and his family were published by the Rev Ball Wright, 12mo York, 1899. He was born 18th November, 1594. His works were reprinted in the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology, 5 vols., 8vo., Oxford, 1842. 3.] 37 Pat. 15 Car II 3a p. d. memb. 129, citante Lodge, ut supra. 38 See his *Funeral Sermon*, by Dr. Henry Jones, p. 126, and Harris's *Ware's Bishops*, p. 126. 39 Rot. Canc. 31 Car II 2da pars. 1, memb. 3. *Idem* 3tia p. d., *Reg. Boyle*, citante Lodge, ut supra. 40 We are not certain of this devise.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

a ORDINATION OF PRIMATE JAMES USSHER. His original letters of Orders, dated May, 1602, recovered by Dr. Todd and printed in Cotton's *Fasti*, show that the ordinary statement of his biographer as to his being ordained under the canonical age is inaccurate, though it is true that he received deacon's and priest's orders at the same time, at the hands of Primate Henry Ussher, in the chapel of Trinity College.

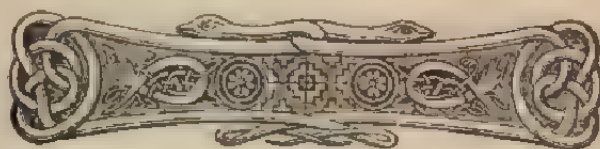
b BURIAL PLACE OF JAMES USSHER.—The primate's "chaplain at the time of his death," as Parr styles himself on the title page of his *Life* (fol. Lond., 1686, p. 78), relates minutely the circumstances of the State Funeral in Westminster Abbey, which Cromwell forced upon his family. He mentions how Ussher was kept unburied from the 21st of March to 17th of April (1656), what expense the family was put to, what crowds attended, the sermon (since printed), the preacher and his text, and proceeds:—"The corps was conveyed to the grave in St. Erasmus' Chappell, and there buried by the said Doctor [Nicholas Bernard, then preacher at Gray's-Inn, formerly his chaplain] according to the Liturgy of the Church of England [then disused], his grave being next to Sir James Fullerton's, once his schoolmaster." At p. 104 he prints, without comment, a Latin epitaph. This was perhaps prepared by Parr himself, but that it was not used is evident from Harris's *Ware*. It is there printed (p. 115), with an English translation, which concludes thus: "He died at Rygate, in Surrey, on the 21st of March [1656, i.e. 1655-6], and was buried at Westminster, in April [original says on the 5th, but this was an error for 17th, so Harris avoids day], 1656, in King Henry the VII.'s chapel." Harris, besides mentioning that the body was embalmed, adds explicitly, "He hath no monument placed over him." His works are his noblest monument, but it is a notable instance of human forgetfulness that the place of burial of so great a man not only is left without any inscription to mark it,

but that its position in the Abbey is now doubtful. In the Burial Register, as published by Colonel Chester, 1876, the entry appears thus: "1656 [April 17], James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, in St. Paul's Chapel." The brackets are as printed, so the day may have been doubtful, as above noted. It will be seen that three places in the Abbey are named contemporaneously. The fact probably is that the chapel of St. Erasmus is the same as that of St. Paul, and both are near that of Henry VII. As Parr says that Ussher's grave was next to Sir James Fullerton's, it may be well to add that the Register states that he was buried (3 January, 1631) "near the steps to K. H. 7th's chapel."

c PRIMATE MARGETSON'S CHAPEL AT DROGHEDA. In his will, dated 1678, of which an "exemplification" is recorded in Dublin, the following occurs: "And whereas I have furnished and provided the chappell in the said house at Drogheda with books and other necessary ornaments of the same, made of crimson damaske, I will and my will is that the same be always used and employed for the service of the said chappell, and that they from time to time continue there for ever for the use and service of God and my successors, Archbishops of Armagh, in the daily celebration of divine service in the said chappell." Primate Margetson's only daughter, Anne, married William, second Viscount Charlemont. He presented silver candlesticks to St. Michan's, Dublin, since bought by Lord Iveagh.

d PRIMATE BOYLE. The half-length portraits of him at Armagh palace show him holding the purse as Lord Chancellor. There is also a full length portrait of him in the Royal Hospital, Dublin. There are engraved portraits by David Loggan, and by R. Purcell (after Zoust). The latter is in the National Gallery, Dublin.

D'Alton (*Archbishops of Dublin*, p. 282) says he was buried on the night after his death, in the tomb of his relative, the earl of Cork, in St. Patrick's, Dublin.



CHAPTER XXIII.

PROTESTANT PRIMATES OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Primate Marsh—Provost of Trinity College, Dublin—Translated from Cashel to Dublin and thence to Armagh—Founds Library of St. Sepulchre's, Dublin—His Charities—His Writings—His Liberality to Dissenters—Succeeded by Thomas Lindsay, who endows the Vicars Choral—Hugh Boulter Translated from Bristol—His Acts of Benevolence Takes prominent part in State Affairs Promotes the Penal Laws against Catholics—John Hoadly Translated from Dublin—Promotes a Persecution of the Catholics—His Writings—Primate George Stone Translated from Derry—His Political Contest with Boyle He successfully opposes new Penal Laws against Catholics Suppresses the "Hearts of Oak"—His Death and Character His Improvements in Armagh—Primate Robinson succeeds—Created Lord Rokeby of Armagh—His Munificence Builds a new Episcopal Palace—Builds the Library, College, Cathedral Tower and Observatory at Armagh Endows the Library and Observatory Great Improvements effected in the Town—His Charitable Bequests—His Death and Character—William Newcome Translated to Armagh—His Early Studies—His Death and Character.

Supplementary Notes.—Primate Marsh: His Family, Library and Diary Primate Boulter: His Publications, Will and Monument Primate Robinson's Portraits.



NARCISSUS MARSH, D.D., was translated from Dublin to the primatial see, by the Queen's letter, dated at St. James's, twentieth-sixth of January, 1702-3, and by patent, on the eighteenth of the ensuing month.' This prelate was born at Hannington, in Wiltshire, and was descended on the father's side from an ancient Saxon family of Kent, and on the mother's,

from the Coleburns of Dorsetshire. He was admitted into Magdalene Hall, Oxford, in July, 1564, and elected probationer fellow of Exeter Hall, on the thirteenth of June, 1658.² On the third of June, 1671, he graduated D.D., and on the twenty-seventh of February, 1678, he was admitted, *ad eundem*, into Trinity College, Dublin. For some time, he acted as chaplain to the bishop of Exeter, and afterwards to the earl of Clarendon. On the twelfth of May, 1673, he was appointed principal of St. Alban's Hall, Oxford; and in December, 1678, he was nominated provost of Trinity College, Dublin, by King Charles II., and sworn into that office on the twenty-fourth of January, 1678-9. Here he devoted his time and talents to study and to the correct performance of his duty. For the use of the students he published, in 1681, his *Institutiones Logicae*, &c., usually called *The Provost's Logick*. On the twenty-seventh of February, 1682-3, he was promoted to the see of Leighlin and Ferns and consecrated on the sixth of May following [at Christ Church, Dublin, by his namesake, Francis Marsh, archbishop of Dublin (whom he succeeded in the see), assisted by Primate Boyle and four other bishops]. Thence, he was translated to Cashel, on the twenty-sixth of February, 1690; again to Dublin, on the twenty-fourth of May, 1694, and lastly to Armagh, on the eighteenth of February, 1702-3 [being thus the only prelate of the Anglican Communion of whom it can be stated that he successively filled three archbishoprics].⁴

Dr. Marsh built in Dublin, near the palace of St. Sepulchre, a noble library which he not only enlarged after his promotion to the primacy, but enriched with a choice collection of valuable books, at an expense of four thousand pounds. To his own library, he super-added that of Bishop Stillingfleet, a man famous in the literary world; and he liberally endowed the institution, with two hundred and fifty pounds per annum, for the support of a librarian and his deputy, who are to attend at certain stated hours. It is said that the books of Taneguy le Fevre, Madame Dacier's father, form a part of Marsh's library, which was further augmented by a collection of literary works, bequeathed to it by Dr. Smith, archbishop of Dublin, about the year 1772. For this highly useful institution, the founder obtained national protection, by procuring an act of par-

liament for its final settlement and regulation. In Armagh, he rebuilt and repaired a dwelling-house, for himself and his successors. He formed an eleemosynary establishment at Drogheda, for the reception and maintenance of twelve ["poor decayed"] widows of clergymen, who had been curates in the diocese of Armagh [and by the will of his real property, dated 1713, he bequeathed lands to provide an endowment]. To each of these widows, a comfortable residence and an annuity of twenty pounds are allowed from funds, appropriated by the primate, at his own cost, to that benevolent purpose. He provided also, that if there should, at any time, be a deficiency of such widows in the diocese of Armagh, the funds might be applicable to those of [the diocese of Meath, and failing these to those of the province of Armagh, and if such could not be found (as has often happened) then for those from any other diocese in Ireland. To these endowed houses, Primate Boulter added four]. If there should yet happen to be a deficiency, then to the apprenticing or educating the children of clergymen: and he appropriated forty pounds per annum, out of the general endowments, to be paid to the dean and chapter of Armagh, for the support of the cathedral. Many decayed churches were repaired by him in his own diocese, and many impropriations purchased at his own private expense and restored to the church. Primate Marsh gave essential pecuniary aid towards the propagation of the Gospel in the Indies, and was indeed a prelate of extraordinary learning, piety and benevolence. He had applied himself to the study of mathematics and natural philosophy, and was deeply versed in the learned languages, particularly in the Oriental tongues. He was eminently skilled in both vocal and instrumental music, comprehending the theory and principles of harmony scientifically, and displaying, as a practitioner, considerable taste and execution. Many valuable works in Golius's collection of Oriental manuscripts were purchased by him and presented to the Bodleian library.³

Besides his *Inst'utiones Logicae*, he published Philip de Trieu's *Manuductio ad Logicam*, to which he added the original Greek text and some notes on Gassendus's tract *De Demonstratione*, printed at Oxford, in 1678. He wrote also an essay on the doctrine of sounds,

with proposals for the improvement of acoustics, which was presented to the Royal Society, on the twelfth of March, 1683, and printed, in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 156. He published also, in quarto, a charge to the clergy of the diocese of Dublin.

Primate Marsh, though zealously attached to the Church of England, displayed a spirit of liberality towards dissenters. Mr. James Fleming, Presbyterian minister of Lurgan, had been deputed, in the year 1708, by the Presbytery of Armagh, to preach in Drogheda, where he experienced some persecution, both from the mayor of the town, and from Dean Cox [rector of St. Peter's]. His successor, Mr. William Biggars, was imprisoned by those intolerant gentlemen, and confined for six weeks. Dr. Marsh's name and alleged certificate were used, as authority, for these harsh proceedings, but the primate resented the conduct of the dean and the mayor exceedingly, and declared that "such severity towards his dissenting brethren was both against his principles and his inclination."⁴ He died on the second of November, 1713, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and was buried in Dublin, in a vault, in St. Patrick's churchyard, adjoining to his library. A monument of white marble which was then erected to his memory, with a classic and appropriate inscription, was afterwards removed into the church, and placed on the south side of the west aisle, under one of the large arches.^{5 6}

Thomas Lindsay, D.D., was translated from Raphoe to the see of Armagh, by privy-seal, dated twenty-second of December, 1713, and by patent, on the fourth of January, 1713-14. On the thirteenth of the same month, he was enthroned, *in propria persona*, in the cathedral; and soon after this period, was made one of the lords-justices of Ireland.⁶ He was a native of Blandford, in Dorsetshire, and, having been educated in Wadham College, Oxford, where he obtained a fellowship in 1678, he was afterwards appointed minister of Woolwich, in Kent; and in 1693, came to Ireland, as chaplain to Henry, Lord Capell, then one of the lords-justices and subsequently lord-lieutenant of the kingdom. About the same year, he graduated D.D. at Oxford, and was soon promoted to the deanery

of St. Patrick's, Dublin; and again, in March, 1695, to the bishopric of Killaloe, from which he was translated to Raphoe, by privy-signet, dated at St. James's, in May, 1713.⁷

In 1699, Dr. Lindsay, by his influence and address, procured the insertion of "a clause, in the act of resumption, then in progress through the British parliament, for applying the profits of all forfeited rectories, impropriate tithes, &c., for a period of twenty years, on the rebuilding and repairing of such parish churches as the chief governor of Ireland should, with the consent of the respective bishops, specify and appoint, and, afterwards, for the perpetual augmentation of poor rectories and vicarages."⁸

By privy-seal, dated Kensington, sixth of September, 1722, and by patent, ninth of August, 1723, Dr. Lindsay procured a license to endow the vicars-choral and singing boys of the cathedral of Armagh with two hundred pounds per annum.⁹ He is stated, by Harris, to have "obtained a new charter in the year 1720, for enlarging the number of the vicars-choral and singing boys for the choir of Armagh, and the king's license for purchasing more lands for their endowment." In consequence of this, he annexed a new estate, which cost upwards of four thousand pounds, to those formerly held by the choir."¹⁰ At his own cost, he also erected a second organ, fit for the choir-service, and purchased for the cathedral a ring of six exquisitely-toned bells, made by Abraham Rudhall, of Gloucester." It is greatly to be regretted that [previous to 1819] none of Primate Lindsay's successors have made any addition to these admirable set of bells. The changes which can be rung on six bells amount only to seven hundred and twenty; with ten bells, whose simple changes would form three millions six hundred and twenty eight thousand, eight hundred melodious varieties, much harmony, even of a complex nature, could be produced. The wheels, frames and all the other parts of the apparatus necessary for hanging the bells, were completed at Dr. Lindsay's expense. This generous prelate kept the cathedral in perfect repair, at his own cost during his primacy, and actually granted and bequeathed above seven thousand pounds, in munificent donations to this church.

Dr. Lindsay seems not to have been so favourably inclined to the dissenters as his predecessors, Marsh, Bramhall and Ussher.

We have conversed, a considerable time ago, with some very old persons, who recollected him perfectly, and affirmed, that by exacting heavy penalties from the Presbyterians of Armagh for their house of worship, which had been erected on ground appertaining to the see, he compelled them to abandon the premises, and to build the meeting-house, which their descendants now occupy, on freehold property.

In the latter part of his life, he laboured for many years under complicated diseases; and at last, worn out with sickness, he died [unmarried] on the thirteenth of July, 1724, and was buried on the twentieth of the same month at Christ Church, with great funeral pomp. The pastoral staff was borne before him by the Rev. Mr. Dobbin, chancellor of Armagh, accompanied by his Grace's eight chaplains, in close mourning, with long cloaks, the Rev. Dr. Carney, chanter of Armagh, who bore the episcopal staff, and the king-at-arms, in mourning, wearing the royal arms and carrying a mitre on a velvet cushion. The bishops of Meath and Clonfert, with the deans of St. Patrick's and Armagh, Dr. Travers, and the vice-provost supported the pall."

In Primate Lindsay's will, executed on the twenty-fifth of October, 1722, he left one thousand pounds to be laid out in the purchase of fifty pounds per annum, for the economy of Armagh cathedral, and three hundred pounds to his next successor, to aid in the purchase of a convenient house, for the residence of the future primates. In this devise there was a condition, that he should not renew a lease to Thomas Dawson, Esq., of a house in Armagh, then in his possession, which his Grace was desirous should revert to the see, as a dwelling-house for the archbishops. Dr. Lindsay alleged that Dawson had received a full compensation for this house. It had been formerly denominated Parson Simons' house, and had been partly rebuilt and partly repaired at the expense of Primate Marsh, for the use of himself and his successors, but Dawson had refused to transfer it, as no deed of surrender had been executed. The primate also, we believe, left some legacies to the family of Burches (now Burges), who were his relations, and had accompanied him to Ireland, and settled at Armagh. A member of this family was repeatedly

elected sovereign of the borough.¹³ During the primacy of Dr. Lindsay, a house built by Edward Bond, Esq., near the cathedral, was purchased for the use of Dr. Peter Drelincourt, then dean of Armagh, and his successors, at an expense of five hundred and six pounds. The dean had petitioned his Grace, in the year 1719, for permission to obtain an assignment of the premises, and his request was favourably received and granted.

On the twentieth of July, 1724, the dean and chapter, who had been re-incorporated, by charter, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Charles I., exercised their ancient right, by electing William, archbishop of Dublin, Administrator of the spiritualities of the see, during the vacancy in the primacy, caused by the death of Dr. Lindsay.

It may not be unnecessary to mention that the author of the *Biographical Pcegrage of Ireland*, edited London, 1817 [evidently misled by the similarity of Ardagh and Armagh], asserts, page 119, that Robert Maxwell, (eldest son of the dean of Armagh) who had been consecrated bishop of Kilmore, A.D. 1643, held, after the Restoration, "the episcopal see of Armagh *in commendam*, with that of Kilmore;" and that "after his accession to the see of Armagh, he sought out the ancient tenants of that see, and their heirs, and restored to them their former possessions, reserving to himself only one small lease, to which no representative could be found." We know not on what authority this assertion is made, and think it utterly improbable, that the primacy of Ireland should have been held, *in commendam*, with the bishopric of Kilmore, as an appendage to that see. Robert Maxwell, spoken of above, was a lineal descendant of Aymer de Maccswell, one of the *magnates Scotiæ*, in 1258, who was the direct ancestor of the Maxwells of College Hall, Falkland, Elm Park, &c. The earl of Farnham and the families of the Closes and Carpendales spring, we believe, from this ancient stock.

Hugh Boulter, D.D., was translated from Bristol to the primatial see of Armagh, by privy seal, dated Kensington, twelfth of August, 1724, and by patent, on the thirty-first of the same month.¹⁴ This divine was born near London, on the fourth of January, 1671-2, of an opulent and highly-esteemed family. After having studied for some time, at Merchant Taylors' school, he entered as a

fellow-commoner of Christ Church, Oxford. Immediately after the Revolution, he was elected a Demi of Magdalen College, together with Dr. Wilsted, Dr. Joseph Wilcox, and the celebrated Mr. Joseph Addison. The merits, talents, and learning of these gentlemen induced Dr. Hough, president of the college, to dignify this election with the honourable appellation of "The Golden Election," a title which it long retained. Boulter was afterwards a fellow of Magdalen College, but in the year 1700, he left the university and went to London, where he was appointed chaplain—first to Sir Charles Hedges, then principal secretary of state, and afterwards to Dr. Thomas Tennison, archbishop of Canterbury. Through the interest of Charles Spencer, earl of Sunderland, he obtained the rectory of St. Olave's, in Southwark, and the archdeaconry of Surrey. Here he displayed much zeal in the performance of his pastoral duties, and much benevolence in relieving the wants of his numerous and indigent parishioners. In the year 1719, he attended King George I. to Hanover, as his chaplain, and as preceptor to his grandson, Prince Frederick. The talents he displayed in his honourable employment and "A set of instructions," which he had drawn up, to facilitate his royal pupil's progress in the English language, were so pleasing to his majesty, that he granted to him the see of Bristol and deanery of Christ Church, Oxford. He was consecrated bishop, on the fifteenth of November, 1719, and discharged the duties of his high office with the most unremitting attention. In the year 1724, he received, whilst occupied in a diocesan visitation, a letter from the secretary of state, announcing his nomination to the see of Armagh. He was, at first, disposed to decline the intended honour, and by letter, requested the secretary to plead his excuse with his majesty. The king, however, commanded him to accept the primacy; and he, though with some reluctance, obeyed the royal mandate, repaired to London and paid due obeisance to his sovereign on his promotion. On the third of November, 1724, he arrived again in Ireland, where he took an active part in the privy council, and gave new energy to all the deliberations of the public boards. Anxious to promote the happiness of the people, he was peculiarly desirous to afford every possible facility to the internal trade of the country. Hence, he not

only encouraged the design of forming a canal from Newry to the river Bann, and thus opening a communication with Lough Neagh, but gave pecuniary aid towards its execution. The utility of this canal is now apparent to every commercial man in the nation.

Zealous for the interest of the church, he turned his attention to the situation of the inhabitants of Drogheda, a populous town in the diocese of Armagh. The ecclesiastical appointments were there quite insufficient for the support of two clergymen, and the duties could not be effectually fulfilled by one. His Grace, therefore, allotted proper maintenance for a second curate, from his own funds. He also built four houses in that town, for the widows of clergymen, and endowed them with a part of the proceeds of an estate, purchased at his own expense. The remainder of the issues of this estate, amounting to £24 per annum, was appropriated to the purpose of apprenticing the children of these widows, to useful employments. Many of the clergy of his diocese were in such indigent circumstances, that they were quite unable to give their children a liberal education. Dr. Boulter viewed their situation with compassion and sent their sons to Trinity College, where he maintained them at his own expense. Steevens's Hospital and the charitable institutions in Dublin experienced the liberality of our benevolent primate. In the augmentation of small livings and in the purchase of glebe lands, to render the clergy more comfortable and respected, he expended at least £30,000, and he was actively instrumental in the establishment of Protestant working-schools, which he lived to see carried into execution, with considerable effect. His charitable donations amounted, in the kingdom of Ireland alone, to above £40,000.

Armagh was indebted to Primate Boulter for a neat market-house, which he had planned, but did not live to see perfected. His executors, however, completed the building, at an expense of about £850. Four houses, for the reception of clergymen's widows, were also built, on Vicar's Hill (formerly called Pound Hill) in that city, from a fund which he had, by his will, appropriated to that purpose. These were endowed with £50 per annum, and have formed a useful and comfortable residence for many respectable matrons, with their families, who, in the decline of life, might, but for the provident care

of Primate Boulter, have been devoid of a fit habitation and competent support. Our benevolent Prelate also gave £1000 towards rebuilding the Blue Coat Hospital in Dublin.¹⁵

In the year 1728, a considerable emigration took place to British America, from the north of Ireland. Primate Boulter attributed this circumstance to a scarcity of provisions, under which the inhabitants of Ulster then laboured. Immediately he set on foot a subscription, for purchasing corn to supply the wants of the people and to keep provisions at a reasonable rate.¹⁶ To this subscription he was a large contributor. In fact, in the years 1727 and 1728, two years of dearth, he distributed vast quantities of grain to the poor of Ireland, and all houseless wanderers were, by his order, received into the Dublin alms-houses and fed at his expense.¹⁷ In the year 1739-40, during the continuance of the great frost, by which the nation was so dreadfully afflicted, his bounty was almost unparalleled. Every indigent and distressed person in the city of Dublin experienced essential relief, and chiefly at his cost. The House of Commons, admiring this disinterested generosity, expressed their sense of his merit, by a public vote of thanks.

Primate Boulter seems to have felt sentiments of respect for the Presbyterian clergymen of Ulster. We find in his published letters a commendatory introduction of Mr. Craghead, one of their number and their accredited solicitor, to the great statesman, Sir Robert Walpole, in which he represents the dissenting ministers as well affected to the House of Hanover, and as labouring to prevent the people from emigrating to America. He recommends them in strong terms to his majesty's attention, as well deserving some extraordinary relief from the royal bounty during those seasons of extreme calamity and distress.¹⁸

The manufactures of Ireland occupied much of Primate Boulter's attention. He was a member of the Linen Board, and through its medium, he was highly instrumental in raising a voluntary subscription of £30,000, by means of which, a thriving cambric manufacture was formed at Dundalk, in the year 1737, on the estate of viscount Limerick, afterwards earl of Clanbrassil. Two gentlemen, named

De Joncourt, were engaged to manage this important undertaking, skilful workmen were brought over from France, and everything was done to ensure its ultimate success.

Archbishop Boulter took a very active part in state affairs. He was uncommonly regular in his attendance at the council table, to which his talents added much weight and dignity. The state of the coin, at that period, attracted his particular attention, and he laboured to diminish the nominal value of the gold currency, under an idea that, by this means, the quantity of silver in circulation would be materially increased. We learn from one of his letters, addressed to the Duke of Newcastle, that a guinea passed, in this country, in the year 1729, for 23s. Irish; and a moidore for 32s., being 9d. more than its value in England. This, his Grace conceived, tended to diminish the quantity of silver in circulation, so as to render it inadequate to the internal trade of the country. The bankers sought to raise the price of the silver—Primate Boulter thought it better to diminish that of the gold. At last, in the year 1737, he succeeded in his plan, through the instrumentality of the Duke of Dorset. Dean Swift, however, who had grossly misrepresented the matter to the nation, excited a popular clamour against his Grace and the government. In St. Patrick's Church, a dumb peal was rung—the clappers of the bell were muffled—and a black flag was displayed at the top of the building, as if the country had experienced some great calamity. It was even found necessary to place a guard of soldiers at the primate's house, to save him from the fury of the very people, who, in a period of misery and famine had been fed by his bounty. Money, however, soon appeared in sufficient plenty for the purposes of trade, and the uproar subsided at once.²⁰

Primate Boulter seems to have experienced some opposition in ecclesiastical affairs, from the famous Dr. William King, archbishop of Dublin, and author of the treatise *De Origine Mali*. King appears to have questioned the primatial right of this prelate to consecrate bishops in Dublin, without a formal license obtained from him.²¹ Besides this, he considered his own licenses, for solemnizing marriages at uncanonical hours, as equally valid with the prerogative licenses founded on a power granted by James I. in the tenth year of his reign,

to Christopher Hampton, Archbishop of Armagh, and his successors. The death of King, however, in the year 1729, put an end to this misunderstanding.²²

The private charities of Primate Boulter were unlimited. Indigence never solicited his aid in vain—and his pecuniary gifts to merit in distress were munificent. In the height of his prosperity, he retained the warmest affection for the friends of his youth. Amongst those who experienced his bounty was Dr. Welsted, his compeer, as already stated, at the golden election in Oxford. This gentleman had not been favoured with the smiles of Fortune, but the princely spirit of his early friend relieved him in the hour of distress and placed him above want, by the grant of an annuity of £200 during life.

Primate Boulter was thirteen times one of the lords-justices, or chief governors of Ireland, an office whose duties he fulfilled with integrity and honour. His talents were uniformly exerted for the public good, when his judgment was not warped, by the irresistible party prejudices of the age in which he lived.

On the second of June, 1742, this excellent prelate embarked for England, and died, at his house in St. James's palace, London, on the twenty-seventh of September, after two days' illness. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, where a stately monument is erected to his memory.

The mind of this illustrious divine was cast in no ordinary mould. He was liberal, humane, munificent. Of serene and placid temper, he was calm in deliberation, prompt in decision, alert and resolute in act. It is a pity that a single shade should, for a moment, pass darkly over so bright, so splendid a character—but his warmest admirers cannot deny that in the management of Irish affairs he entertained too great a partiality for England and for Englishmen. In his letters, he demonstrates the most ardent wish to fill almost every vacancy that occurred, both in the church and in the courts of law, with his countrymen. He seems to have been for ever on the watch to procure preferment for his dependents, and not unfrequently, in the same breath, with which he laments the death of one friend, he solicits the patron of the deceased to transfer his office to another.²³

For nearly twenty years Dr. Boulter was at the head of what was denominated "The English Interest" in Ireland. His conduct during this period, as the leader of a party was certainly inconsistent with sound policy—but the erroneous principles on which he acted are rather to be attributed to the spirit of the times, than to any prejudices peculiar to the primate himself. He seems to have thought that Ireland could only have been ruled through the instrumentality of its factions, and that national concord must necessarily have been fatal to the English interest.

The managers of this interest in Ireland introduced into a bill,²⁴ which was passed for regulating elections, a clause by which the Roman Catholics were completely disfranchised. This harsh measure received the royal assent, before the people, who were thus aggrieved, were well aware of its existence. By another bill, in which Primate Boulter interested himself exceedingly,²⁵ it was enacted, 1st, That all barristers, six-clerks, &c., "shall make the declaration, and take and subscribe the oaths required in the act, to prevent the further growth of popery," 2 Annæ, Reg. 2nd, "That no convert shall be admitted a barrister, till five years after his conversion and continuing in the Church of Ireland." 3rd, "That they (the converts) breed up their children, both the *post nati* and the *ante nati*, under 14 years of age, Protestants, &c."

It is manifest that acts of this nature had a direct tendency to excite a spirit of disunion and discontent through the whole extent of the kingdom.

Primate Boulter, who was a man of erudition, assisted Ambrose Philips, in the paper called the *Freethinker*. He has, however, left us no other literary memorial of himself than what is comprised in two volumes of his *Letters*, collected and arranged by Philips. These are valuable to the historian on account of the various subjects which they contain. To Philips himself, Dr. Boulter behaved with honour and generosity. Speaking on this subject, Dr. Johnson says of our prelate—"He knew how to practise the liberality of greatness and the fidelity of friendship. Advanced to the height of ecclesiastical dignity, he did not forget the companion of his labours. Knowing Philips to be slenderly supported, he took him to Ireland, as partaker

of his fortune, and, making him his secretary, added such preferments as enabled him to represent the county of Armagh in the Irish parliament. Philips was afterwards secretary to the Lord Chancellor and judge of the prerogative court."

Primate Boulter had married a Miss Savage, a lady of rank and fortune, by whom he left no issue. She died on the third of March, 1654. On her death, £500 became vested in Magdalen College, Oxford, which he had devised towards rebuilding that edifice—£1000 also to Christ Church, Oxford, for founding five exhibitions—and £500 to the same institution, to purchase an estate whose proceeds were to be distributed in equal exhibitions to five servitors under two years' standing, &c. It is stated in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for October, 1742, that after the decease of his wife, all Primate Boulter's property, amounting to about £30,000, was applicable, by his will, to charitable purposes. The archbishop of Dublin, the bishop of Kildare, and Thomas Morgan, were nominated his executors.^b

John Hoadly, D.D., was translated from the see of Dublin to that of Armagh, by privy seal, dated at Kensington, sixth of October, 1742, and by patent issued on the twenty-fourth^c of the same month.

On the twelfth of January, 1742-3, Henry, lord bishop of Dromore, was enthroned, as the duly authorized proxy of his Grace, in the cathedral. Dr. Hoadly was born at Tottenham, on the twenty-seventh of September, 1678, and was the youngest son of the Rev. Samuel Hoadly, and brother to the learned and celebrated Benjamin Hoadly, bishop of Winchester.²⁷ The father of these illustrious brothers, not only watched over their infancy with parental affection, but was himself their instructor in classic learning. He perceived, with delight, that they were possessed of persevering industry and capacious intellects; and, from a comparative estimate of their relative abilities, he is said to have hazarded a conjectural prediction as to their future progress in life, which subsequent events have not altogether justified. "My son John," said he to a friend, will probably be a *Bishop*, and Benjamin, an *Archbishop*." It is true, that both these youths attained episcopal honours, but the archbishopric was conferred, not as the fond parent had anticipated, on the elder, but on the younger of his sons.²⁸

John Hoadly was chaplain to Bishop Burnet, and by him installed chancellor and canon residentiary of the church of Salisbury, archdeacon of Sarum, and rector of St. Edmunds, in that city.³⁰ In 1717, Sir Peter King, chief justice of the court of common pleas, presented him to the rectory of Ockham, in Surrey, and he was afterwards made canon of the church of Hereford by his brother, when bishop of that see. By letter of King George I., dated third of June, 1727, he was nominated Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns, but his Majesty died before the necessary documents had passed the appointed office, and therefore a new patent was granted by George II., immediately on his accession to the throne.³¹

In January, 1729-30, he was promoted to the see of Dublin, on the demise of Archbishop King; and after the death of Primate Boulter, he was, on twenty-first October, 1742, translated to Armagh. It is asserted by Dr. Kippis, that "the late Duke of Devonshire's father, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, had made all solicitation for the primacy needless, within an hour after the news of the archbishop's decease had arrived in London." His expression to the King was, "that he could not do without him" (Hoadly).³² It is probable, that as a politician and a leading member of the privy council, Dr. Hoadly adopted the system of his predecessor Boulter, and supported what was then absurdly styled "the English interest" in this country, in marked contradistinction to that of its aboriginal inhabitants; as if the prosperity of the one party were utterly incompatible with the welfare of the other, and the power of the state were solely upheld by the discords of the people.

Primate Hoadly's name appears annexed to a proclamation, issued by the privy council, on the twenty-eighth of February, 1743-4, in which all justices of the peace, and other persons officially empowered, were strictly commanded to enforce the penal laws, which had been enacted in the ninth year of the reign of King William, for the caption and imprisonment of all "Papal Archbishops, Bishops, Jesuits, Friars, and other ecclesiastics." In the same document, large pecuniary rewards were offered for the seizure and conviction of these proscribed persons, and of any others who should dare to conceal them or receive them hospitably into their houses.³³

In consequence of this harsh and cruel edict, the chapels were closed, domiciliary visits were made in quest of the fugitive priests, and universal alarm was diffused through the country. Yet some zealous ecclesiastics ventured to perform the ceremonies of the Romish church, in obscure and unfrequented places, where they hoped to escape the prying eyes of informers. On one of these occasions, John Gerald, a Meath priest, celebrated mass in the interior of a ruinous habitation, in the city of Dublin. The ceremony was finished, the benediction given, and the people had risen to depart, when suddenly the house fell. Gerald and nine of his hearers were killed on the spot, and many more were severely bruised or maimed. Moved to pity by this lamentable event, the Lord Lieutenant and council relaxed in the severity of their proceedings, and the chapels were again opened, on the seventeenth of March, 1745, the anniversary of St. Patrick's day.³⁴

Primate Hoadly was a skilful agriculturist, who delighted in practical farming, and was beloved by his tenantry and by the landholders of the country, amongst whom he had excited (both by his example and by judicious pecuniary rewards) a strong desire to improve their grounds, and a generous spirit of emulation.³⁵

He married Mrs. Ann Warre, who died on the seventh of June, 1740.³⁶ By her he had issue a daughter, Sarah, the wife of Bellingham Boyle, Esq., of Rathfarnham, near Dublin, a near relation of Boyle, speaker of the House of Commons, who was afterwards earl of Shannon. Mr. Boyle died in the summer of the year 1771, leaving a widow, two sons and a daughter. The primate himself died of fever, on the nineteenth of July, 1746, aged 68, and was buried in the same vault, with his lady and her mother, at Tallaght, where he had erected a convenient and elegant episcopal palace from the ruins of an immense castle.³⁷

As a polemic writer, Dr. Hoadly displayed considerable acuteness and talent. He was not indeed so powerful in argument as the Bishop of Winchester, yet the style of his composition, was, perhaps, less intricate and perplexed, than that of his more celebrated brother, of whom Pope sarcastically observes :—

“——Swift for closer style,
But Hoadly for a period of a mile.”

Dr. John Hoadly published, in 1703, a quarto volume in defence of Bishop Burnet's *Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England*. He printed also a second work, in octavo, on the same subject, besides various sermons, viz., *On the Public Fast*, in 1704, occasioned by the great storm which had taken place, on November the twenty-fifth, 1703; *On the Nature and Excellency of Moderation*, preached at the Assizes of Salisbury, in March, 1706-7. The subject of this discourse was, at that time, dangerous and unfashionable. *A Sermon on the Abasement of Pride*, preached on July the eighteenth, 1708. Another, preached at Ely House, on the consecration of Benjamin Hoadly, bishop of Bangor, on the eighteenth of March, 1715-16. Another before the House of Commons, January thirtieth, 1717.

George Stone,⁸ D.D., was translated from the see of Derry to that of Armagh, by privy seal, dated at St. James's, twenty-eighth of February, 1746-7, and by patent issued on the thirteenth of the ensuing month.⁹ He was brother to Andrew Stone, Esq., a man of talents and information, who acted a conspicuous part in the court of Frederick, Prince of Wales.¹⁰

In May, 1740, Dr. Stone had been promoted from the deanery of Derry, to the sees of Leighlin and Ferns, from which he was translated in 1743, to the bishopric of Kildare, which he held with the deanery of Christ Church.¹¹ Again, in the year 1745, on the death of Dr. Carew Rennell, he was consecrated bishop of Derry, by virtue of the king's letters patent. His final promotion was to the primacy of Ireland.

Dr. Stone was a man of consummate address and unbounded ambition.¹² He was for a long time at the head of what was called the "English interest" in this country, and occasionally the great leader of the government party. Yet a powerful opposition was maintained against this aspiring prelate by Mr. Boyle, speaker of the House of Commons and afterwards earl of Shannon. Stone sought pre-eminence through the influence of the Crown, whilst his antagonist, who was a strenuous whig, solicited the aid of the people. The contests in which these political champions were involved elicited the discussion of a question of high moment to the community, viz., whether the Commons had a right "to superintend and control the

expenditure of the public money." This question gave such animation and importance to the lower house of parliament, and infused such interest and spirit into its debates, that in the short space which had elapsed from the year 1750 till the year 1754, the pecuniary value of boroughs was trebled, while county elections began to be most warmly and expensively contested.⁴²

The privy council, the parliament, and the nation were agitated by the conflicts of the two political parties, headed by Stone and Boyle. The differences of these leaders, however, were terminated by negotiation. Boyle subsequently obtained an earldom, with a pension of £3,000 per annum, for thirty-one years—a proof, said the incorruptible Charlemont, "that the mask of patriotism is often assumed to disguise self-interest and ambition, and that the paths of too violent opposition are frequently trod as the nearest and the surest road to office and emolument."⁴³ Indeed many such instances occur amongst patriots of this description, of whom it has been said:—

"Gold binds the tongues which fluent flowed before,
And bribed, they rail at government no more."

During the administration of the marquis of Hartington, afterwards duke of Devonshire, Primate Stone was removed, in the year 1755, from the privy council, by order of the King, and John Ponsonby, son to the earl of Bessborough, was appointed speaker of the House of Commons, on the promotion of Boyle to the peerage.⁴⁴

Dr. Stone in the course of his political career, seems to have acted with great liberality towards the Roman Catholics of Ireland. In the year 1756, James Hamilton, viscount Limerick, introduced a bill into the House of Lords, the object of which was to enforce the registration of parish priests, and vest the power of nominating their successors in the county grand juries, who were to submit the names of the persons so appointed to the Lord Lieutenant and privy council, for their approbation or rejection. These registered priests were to be bound to inform against any other of the secular or regular clergy who might reside in their respective parishes, under pain of transportation. They were to be prohibited under similar penalties from making proselytes or officiating beyond the boundaries of their respective parishes. Bishops, dignitaries and friars, found in the

kingdom after the first of January, 1757, were to be subject to the severe penalties contained in the statutes of William and Anne, against Romish priests, and a reward of £100 was to be given for the conviction of each prelate, &c., who should disobey this harsh law. Dr. Stone made a manly opposition to the progress of this act through the House of Lords. On the third reading, which took place on the twenty-ninth of January, 1756-7, he combatted the arguments of its supporters with such irresistible eloquence, in a speech of two hours' duration, that the bill was finally rejected.⁴⁴

Again in October, 1757, Hamilton, then earl of Clanbrassil, brought a similar bill into the House of Lords, to which the primate gave a determined and spirited opposition.⁴⁵ It was read a third time, on the fifth of December, on which occasion, his Grace opposed its further progress, in a speech of such overwhelming eloquence, that he once more obtained a majority of the lords present in parliament, but a number of the absent peers having been admitted to vote by proxy, the bill was passed and transmitted to the privy council. It is honourable to the metropolitan and to the clergy of the Established Church, that four archbishops and ten bishops dissented from this unnecessary and barbarous law. Four only of the prelates supported the measure.⁴⁶ It is said, however, that the proceedings were deemed incorrect by the privy council, because none of the lords who had voted by proxy were present at any preceding period of the session. Certain it is, that either on this account or by the exercise of the regal prerogative, the bill was quashed.⁴⁷

In 1762, Primate Stone once more signalized himself in parliament on behalf of the Roman Catholics. On that occasion he said (*inter alia*) that he was ready to bear testimony to their loyalty. "Surely," said he, "their peaceable good conduct for half-a-century entitled them to public favour: they and their priests were another people in intentions, sentiment and conduct, from what they were fifty years before. Surely they were not to be held in perpetual slavery; for his part, from his intimacy with gentlemen of that persuasion and knowledge of their principles, he would consent to their enjoyment of every advantage in common with the rest of his majesty's subjects, that could, with safety to the state, be entrusted to them."⁴⁸

Dr. Stone was possessed of so much talent and influence, that he could not be divested of political power. After his re-instatement in the privy council, we find him aiding in the suppression of "The Hearts of Oak," a body of insurgent peasants, who, in the year 1763, committed various excesses in Ulster. These malcontents, who were almost entirely Protestants, were irritated at the oppressive system of grand jury road-jobbing, too prevalent in this kingdom, and were equally averse to the established mode of collecting tithes. Hence they were induced to assemble in various corps, having their hats adorned with oak boughs, as a symbol at once of their union and of their unbending courage. Headed by respectable farmers, they were in the habit of compelling the clergy to swear to a maximum of tithe, dictated by themselves; and they also bound obnoxious grand jurors, by an oath, to refrain from cessing their respective countie's, at more than a stipulated rate. Primate Stone, who was then one of the lords-justices to whom the government of Ireland was committed, on the departure of Lord Halifax from this kingdom, took effectual measures to quell the insurrection. His conduct, which was at once firm and conciliating, aided by the judicious measures adopted by the patriotic Lord Charlemont, had the desired effect in tranquillizing the country. A gallows had been erected by the "Hearts of Oak" in the vicinity of Armagh, which was so constructed as to cross the road, and render it necessary for travellers to pass directly under its outstretched and terrific arms. "This anti-triumphal trophy," says Hardy, "was meant to do honour to the judges, especially Justice Robinson who was expected at the assizes." But a regiment of foot and two troops of light horse, which the primate and his coadjutor, Mr. Ponsonby, had despatched to the troubled district, deprived this eminent lawyer of the glorious elevation to which his admirers, "The Hearts of Oak," had destined him.⁴⁹

Primate Stone died, after a tedious illness, in the winter of the year 1764, at the house of his brother, Andrew Stone, Esq., in London.

The political contests in which this eminent statesman was incessantly involved, and the superiority of his talents, seem to have inflamed the hatred of his numerous personal enemies to the most

rancorous and vindictive malice. He was at once the object of open libel and of secret calumny, and hence his failings were magnified by the tongue of slander into enormous vices. A clergyman of the Established Church has not hesitated to repeat these foul aspersions on the character of the deceased primate. He cites no proofs for the disgusting particulars which he narrates, though it would require the strongest evidence to give credibility to the odious and improbable detail.³⁹

Ambition and the love of power were the ruling passions in the mind of Dr. Stone. Like many other aspiring prelates, he was more of a politician than a divine, and paid more minute attention to the management of the state, than to the due regulation of church affairs. He did not rival his immediate predecessor, Hoadly, in learning, nor Boulter in benevolence and magnificent liberality; but he seems to have understood the real interest of Ireland better than either of these politico-divines, and he was, therefore, willing, by concessions to the Catholics, to unite the people whom the leaders of the English party had hitherto sought to divide. As a public speaker, he was graceful, eloquent and commanding. In private conversation he was courteous, affable and polite. In elegance of form and beauty of countenance, he was almost unrivalled.⁴⁰ He was a kind and attentive landlord, and the affectionate gratitude of his tenantry was an honourable compensation for the odium cast upon him by his public and his private enemies.

We have heard that Dr. Stone published one of his visitation sermons, but we have never seen that production, and it is probable that he never printed any other literary work.

Primate Stone, notwithstanding his minute attention to political affairs, had not neglected the improvement of Armagh. In the year 1751, Thomas Ogle, then sovereign of the city, had formed a plan for opening two new streets, which were to extend from the lower part of Irish Street, to the head of Scotch Street, and thus form a direct, level and facile line of communication, between the great roads leading from Dundalk, Keady, and Killylea; and those from Newry, Richhill, Hamilton's-bawn, Loughgall, and Blackwatertown. Primate Stone saw, approved, and suggested some useful alterations

in Mr. Ogle's plan. Its execution, however, was resisted, and even traversed, we believe, at the assizes, by a Mr. MacDowall, the proprietor of those lands at Derrynaught, which now form a part of the endowment of the Armagh Observatory. His Grace, however, lent the whole weight of his influence to quash this injudicious opposition, and in a few years the road was effectually opened. Ogle threw down a considerable portion of his father's mansion-house,² erected in the preceding century, and in a part of the back-yard, orchard, garden, and lands annexed to his tenements, formed the intended streets. On the twenty-ninth of September, 1759, Thomas Macan, Esq., then sovereign of the city, accompanied by some of the burgesses,³ proceeded to the ground, and with some solemnity gave names to the new streets, one of which they denominated Thomas Street, and the other Ogle Street. The opening of this new line of road has been of more essential service to Armagh than any other improvement which had been effected during the eighteenth century by a private individual. It has indeed given a connexion and regularity to the city, of which it was previously devoid.

Dr. Richard Robinson was translated to the see of Armagh from Kildare, by privy seal, dated at St. James's, the eighth, and by patent the nineteenth of January, 1765.⁴ This prelate was a lineal descendant of the Robinsons of Rokeby, an ancient and highly respectable family in the North Riding of the county of York. He was born in 1709, and was the eighth in descent from William of Kendal. Having received a grammatical education at Westminster school, he became, by election in 1726, an alumnus of Christ Church, Oxford, and graduated M.A. in 1733. Dr. Blackburn, archbishop of York, not only appointed him his chaplain, but promoted him to the rectory of Elton, and subsequently to the prebend of Grindal, in York cathedral.

Dr. Robinson was highly esteemed by the duke of Dorset, whom he accompanied, in 1751, as his chaplain to Ireland, where he was immediately promoted to the see of Killala, through the influence of the earl of Holderness, the earl of Sandwich, and other noblemen, who were affianced to him, either by blood, or by family connexion. In 1759, he was translated to the united sees of Leighlin and Ferns;

in 1761, to Kildare, and in 1765, to Armagh, by means of his great friend and patron, the earl of Northumberland, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. In the same year he was made Lord Almoner, and vice-chancellor of the university of Dublin. By privy seal, dated at St. James's, February sixth, 1777, and by patent dated Dublin, twentieth of the same month, he was created Baron Rokeby, of Armagh, with remainder over to Matthew Robinson, of West Layton, Esq. In 1783, he became prelate of the order of St. Patrick, and in 1787, was appointed one of the lords justices of the Kingdom.

Primate Robinson, in 1785, on the demise of his brother William, succeeded to the title of baronet, and was then the survivor and representative of the Robinsons of Rokeby, in the direct male line.

In this prelate, the Established Church found a vigilant guardian of her legal rights and privileges. To his exertions and influence, she is indebted for the acts of the 11th and 12th George III., by which bishops and other ecclesiastical persons are to receive from their successors a certain remuneration for their expenditure in purchasing glebes and houses, or erecting habitations for the incumbents, &c. Other statutes, for the repair of churches and for facilitating the recovery of ecclesiastical dues, originated with this active prelate.

After his promotion to the primacy, Dr. Robinson spent some time in examining the state of his diocese and in maturing plans for the improvement of Armagh, where he intended to establish his chief residence. He lived during two years at Richhill, in the ancient family seat of the Richardsons, and, in the interim, caused the archbishop's house in English Street, which was then in a most ruinous state, to be completely repaired.

It was, however, manifest that such a house was an unfit habitation for the metropolitan of Ireland. His Grace, therefore, determined to erect, in the vicinity of the city, an episcopal palace more worthy of himself and of the elevated station which he adorned. At first he intended to build this palace at Lissanally, but the Rev. Dr. Averell, then proprietor of that place, would not transfer his title to the lands, and the primate was under the necessity of changing his plan. In the demesne lands, contiguous to the town itself, he erected, about the year 1770, a very elegant mansion in a pure and

pleasing style of architecture. This edifice, which is situated on a gentle eminence, is ninety feet in length, sixty in breadth, and forty in height. It is unencumbered with wings, and, by its simply-elegant uniformity, arrests the attention of the spectator. The species of marble, or calcareous stone, with which it is built, produces a most striking effect by the splendour of its colour. This was raised in an extensive quarry contiguous to the demesne, out of which large quantities of beautiful marble have been taken, of which a chimney-piece in the hall of the palace forms a good specimen. Some of the rooms of the archiepiscopal mansion are adorned with valuable paintings, which were bequeathed by the founder to his successors. Amongst these are portraits of all the primates who have presided in the Church of Ireland since the Reformation; with full lengths of the King and Queen Charlotte, by the celebrated Ramsay.

In the year 1781, Primate Robinson built a beautiful chapel near the west end of the palace. The front exhibits a handsome portico of the Ionic order, and the whole edifice is in the most chaste and correct style of architecture, and decorated in the most tasteful and elegant manner. The eastern window was adorned with an admirable representation of the good Samaritan, in stained glass, by Eginton, of Birmingham, but we have heard that some time ago it sustained material injury from the hands of some barbarian miscreants, who have never been discovered. [A new stained-glass window was placed in the chapel about 1895.] On Knox's Hill, in the demesne lands, south of the palace, his Grace erected, in the year 1783, a superb obelisk, built with the same kind of elegant stone described above, and one hundred and fourteen feet in height. On the pedestal which is decorated with carved mouldings, are the King's arms, and those of the duke of Northumberland, in *basso relievo*, which occupy two of its sides. The other two are covered with Latin inscriptions, in raised letters, indicating that the obelisk was erected by Richard Armagh, Baron Rokeby, in the year 1782, &c. Its object was to commemorate the friendship which subsisted between the primate and his patron, the duke of Northumberland. On the shafts are two shields of arms—one representing those of the see of Armagh, surmounted by the mitre, the other his Grace's family arms, with the

baronial coronet, and the motto—*Non nobis solum sed toti mundo nati*. The date assigned here is 1783.

The plantations, which were interspersed by Primate Robinson through the demesne lands, have prospered exceedingly, and the trees which skirt the summit of the hills have now a picturesque effect. Two terraces, in which a well-laid out shrubbery terminates, command distant and beautiful prospects of cultivated hill and dale, enlivened by the view of churches, spires and rural dwellings. There is, however, no sheet of water to diversify the scene, and the lands themselves are devoid of those romantic beauties which are so conspicuous in the neighbouring seats of the Molyneux and Brownlow families. This defect might in some measure be remedied. A stream which flows through the grounds was formerly found sufficient to work a mill for the cutting and polishing of marble, and would now form an ample feeder for a lake.³⁶

Immediately after Dr. Robinson's promotion to the primacy, he determined to repair the cathedral, to which purpose he appropriated a considerable sum. This was augmented by the following members of the Dean and Chapter, &c., each of whom, we believe, subscribed £50, about the twenty-eighth of August, 1766, viz., Benjamin Barrington, dean; Alexander Bisset, chancellor; Charles Congreve, archdeacon; William Godly, prebendary; Henry Leslie, prebendary; John Averill and the Hon. Joseph Deane Bourke, the two last named of whom, as well as Dr. Bisset, became bishops. His Grace commenced his improvements by slating the western aisle which had been previously shingled, and by fitting it up in a more complete manner for divine service. It is to be lamented that, in effecting this latter object, he removed the ancient and beautiful tracery windows which had adorned the building and substituted inelegant lights in their place [since superseded]. About the same time, he presented to the choir a new organ, possessed of many stops, and of most pleasing and powerful tones.³⁷

In 1766, he set on foot a subscription for the building of a county infirmary, towards which he advanced a hundred guineas. In the same year, he built two of the vicars' houses—the other five were erected by him about the year 1780, and to these he then attached a

spacious music-hall, in which the boys of the choir were initiated by the organist into the elementary principles of harmony and habituated to sing in concert. He built also on Vicars'-hill, a repository for wills and for records belonging to the archdiocese.

About the year 1772, he erected Lisnadill church, a handsome structure, with a tower and pinnacles. The site of Grange church, within two miles of Armagh, on the Loughgall road, was peculiarly well chosen by Primate Robinson. This church stands conspicuous on a commanding eminence, and being adorned with a beautiful spire and steeple, forms a striking and picturesque object from every part of the country. The ground was, we believe, the donation of Sir Capel Molyneux, but the church itself owes its origin to his Grace, and so, also, do those of Newtownhamilton and Keady.

About the year 1771, he built the public library in the city of Armagh, which, at his own cost, he endowed and furnished with a large and valuable collection of books.

In the year 1773, he laid the foundation of the new classical school (or college, as it was then called), and this extensive building was finished in the succeeding year. The neat and roomy barracks, which adorn the eastern entrance into the town, were erected under his auspices in 1773, and in 1780, the county gaol.

In 1782, "Primate Robinson had determined to build a tower on the cathedral of Armagh, in imitation of that of Magdalen College, in Oxford. His architect, Mr. Cooley, examined the walls and gave his opinion as to the practicability of the undertaking. The work went on till the close of the year 1783. The tower, which was to have been elevated 101 feet in height, had been, at this period, raised 60 feet above the roof of the church, when the north-west pier and the arches springing out of it shewed symptoms of giving way by over pressure. Precautions were instantly taken, arches built up in the body of the church, and additional buttresses joined. Thus aided, it was deemed by the best architects fully sufficient to bear the proposed tower: the more ponderous part of the building having been already raised, and three-fourths of the whole weight placed on piers and arches duly and powerfully supported. Some old ladies, however, who were in the habit of regularly attending divine service, imagined

that the entire fabric would tumble and bury the congregation in its ruins. Their fears spread and the church was in danger of being deserted. Primate Robinson then ordered the new tower to be pulled down, even to the roof of the building from whence it sprang, that is, to the very spot from which the old one, carrying its spire, cross and weather-cock had been removed. Thus ended the Magdalen steeple. In the year 1784, Mr. Cooley died, and Francis Johnston, Esq., became architect to his Grace, and by his express directions made a plan as near as possible to that of the original steeple, with the exception of having two windows, on each side of the tower, instead of one. This plan Mr. Johnston put into execution by raising the tower *on the old piers and arches*, about 38 feet above the roof of the church to the top of the battlement, with a spire of about 40 feet more. The whole, from the ground to the weather-cock, is in height about 150 feet. Primate Robinson then formed a plan of erecting his favourite tower at the west end of the church. Beautiful windows were prepared for this tower, which still, it is presumed, lie in the vault under the choir. The death of Lord Rokeby prevented the execution of the design."⁵⁸

The last public building erected by Primate Robinson was the Observatory, which is beautifully situated on a hill, at the north-east side of the city. It is furnished with a complete astronomical apparatus, and contains very convenient accommodation for an astronomer. The establishment was liberally endowed by his Grace, not only with the lands of Derrynaught, which he purchased for £5,500, but with the rectorial tithes of the parish of Carlingsford, a farm in the county of Tyrone, and twenty-two acres of demesne ground contiguous to the building."⁵⁹

During the period occupied in erecting and establishing these public buildings, Armagh was rapidly improving. Its commerce revived, the spirit of the inhabitants increased with their wealth, and the city, which had been reduced to a state of the most melancholy degradation, began to reassume its long lost respectability and beauty. Another circumstance had a considerable effect in changing the appearance of the town. His Grace had refused to renew their leases to some of his tenants, who possessed property in the leading streets,

unless under the express condition that they should make certain improvements which he specially named. They were, of course, necessitated either to acquiesce in his terms, or to suffer their tenures to expire; and some of the most elegant buildings in Armagh were the result of this useful but coercive measure.⁶⁰

Primate Robinson was not forgetful of the debt of gratitude due to the seminary in which he had received his education. He contributed liberally to the expense of repairing Canterbury Quadrangle, and erecting the New Gate, built by Wyatt, for Christ Church, in Oxford. In munificent acts of this nature he probably expended above £35,000, independent of several large sums of money which he appropriated by will to similar purposes.

Besides the various improvements effected by Lord Rokeby at Armagh, he erected a very handsome mansion-house and offices, at Marlay, near Dunleer, in the county of Louth, on an estate which he purchased from the earl of Derby. Here he made extensive plantations and gardens, and intended, if his life had been longer spared, to have spent a considerable part of his time in that country. He also founded a church at Ballymakenny, within three miles of Drogheda; and another at Clonmore, for the parish of that name, on his own estate. Anxious to accommodate his tenants with convenient dwellings, he built on these grounds thirty neat and substantial farm-houses, of different sizes and plans, suited to the extent of the annexed lands. Some of these were intended for manufacturers of linen cloth and yarn, of the kind best adapted for the Drogheda market. The whole of these buildings was completed under the direction and immediate superintendence of his architect, Francis Johnston, Esq., a native of Armagh, who resided on the spot from 1786 till 1793, when the entire of the improvements were completed. After the death of his Grace, on the tenth of October, 1794, the mansion-house, which he had called Rokeby Hall,⁶¹ became the property of his nephew, the Rev. Archdeacon Robinson (formerly Friend), who resided there, we believe, for two or three years; but the rebellion which took place in the year 1798, and the murder of his father-in-law, Mr. Spencer, at Rathangan, is said to have so terrified his family, that he determined to remove from this country, and establish himself in England.

[He was the son of Dr. Friend, dean of Canterbury, who had married in 1839, Grace, younger sister of Primate Lord Rokeby. Like a brother of his, he was prebendary of Tynan, and filled that stall from 1778 to 1786, when his uncle gave him the archdeaconry. In 1793, he assumed the surname of Robinson, by Royal warrant. In 1794, he became prebendary of Rathangan, in Kildare, but resigned it in 1803. In 1797, he resigned the archdeaconry, and was made precentor of Christ Church, Dublin, in which he was succeeded by his son, in 1823. He was created a baronet in 1819, and died in 1832. Rokeby Hall, which is one of the finest mansions in the county Louth, now belongs to his great grandson, Sir Gerald Robinson, Bart.]

The expense which accrued in the erection of these buildings amounted to £30,000, and the purchase of the lands is said to have exceeded that sum.

Lord Rokeby was a man of tall stature, robust, yet of dignified form, penetrating eye, and commanding aspect. To his friends and to those whom he esteemed, he was affable, mild, attentive and polite. The unworthy and the obtrusive he repelled with a frown. Quick in discernment, and acquainted with the inmost recesses of the human heart, he was inaccessible to flatterers, or, when assailed by their adulation, silenced them by mixed sternness and indignation which his expressive countenance assumed. On such occasions, his reserve was mistaken for pride, and the peculiar dignity of his character for needless and repulsive austerity. To this cause we may probably attribute Churchill's unmerited satire, supposed to allude to his Grace:—

“ In lawn sleeves whisper to a sleeping crowd,
As dull as R——n, and half as proud.”⁶³

Even the virtues of men of exalted rank sometimes subject them to reproach. Primate Robinson's taste for improvement and his benevolent wish to give employment to the peasantry of the country continued unabated till the latest period of his life. It had grown, by exercise, into habit, and seems to have been irresistible. Of this habit, John Wesley, who in other respects was a man of mildness,

charity and candour, speaks with some asperity. Of his Grace, he writes thus:—

“ Tu secunda marmora
 Locas sub ipsum funus ; et, sepulchri
 Immemor, struis domos.”⁶⁴—*Horace : Odes, Bk. ii., xvii. 17-19.*

[Translated thus by Mr. Gladstone:—

New contracts for new marbles thou dost make,
 But thou art near thy wake,
 Thou build'st afresh, unheeding of the tomb.]

As if it were impossible that an old man should be employed in perfecting works of temporary utility in this world, whilst he was making due preparation for the more important matters of eternity.

Lord Rokeby has not, we believe, enriched the republic of letters by any important works of his own composition. The sermons which he sometimes preached were both in style and doctrine most excellent, but his voice was low and indistinctly heard. His fame is of a less durable and extensive kind than that of Ussher, who has erected for himself the imperishable monuments of the mind. None, however, of his predecessors resided so constantly in his diocese, nor so punctually fulfilled its duties. None of them gave so powerful a stimulus to the industry of the people or effected such permanently-useful improvements in the country.

His Grace died at Clifton, near Bristol, as already stated, in October, 1794. He was interred with due solemnity in a vault under Armagh cathedral. On the third of November, the Dean and Chapter appointed the Rev. William Lodge, LL.D., administrator of the ecclesiastical jurisdictions in the diocese and province of Armagh, *sede vacante*.

In his will, Primate Robinson devised about £12,000 to be applied to various charitable purposes and in support of public institutions. An abstract of a part of this will is given in the annexed note for the satisfaction of our readers.⁶⁴

Primate Robinson was succeeded in his peerage and baronetage, [under a very special remainder in the patents creating both], by his cousin, Mathew Robinson (Morris), Esq., of Horton, near Hythe, in Kent, who was great grandson of Sir Leonard Robinson, Knight,

Chamberlain of London, and fourth son of William Robinson, of Rokeby. William of Kendal, who was a common ancestor of these illustrious barons, sprang from the Robinsons of Strouan, in Perthshire, Scotland. In the reign of Henry VIII. he settled at Kendal, in Westmoreland, from which place the family removed to Brignall, near Rokeby, and again in the reign of Elizabeth, to Rokeby Park, within eight miles of Richmond, [Yorks.]⁶⁶ If the reader be curious to trace the descent of Dr. Robinson from William of Kendal, he will find that portion of his pedigree in the annexed note.⁶⁷ [The honours and names of the family have undergone vicissitudes. The baronetage of 1830, to which the primate succeeded after he had been made a peer in 1777, passed to his distant kinsman, Matthew Robinson, as stated, and from him to his two nephews, Morris and Matthew: the latter of whom had changed his name in 1776 to Montague. His grandson succeeded in 1847, but the peerage and this baronetcy have since become extinct. On the other hand, the Primate's heir, Archdeacon Friend, having abandoned that name for Robinson, his descendant, Sir Gerald, fourth baronet of that creation, may be regarded as representative of Primate Lord Rokeby, whose name his mansion bears, and there are still preserved a notable picture of the primate,⁶⁸ and the Armagh Library and Observatory medals.]

A bust of Lord Rokeby was erected in the northern aisle of the cathedral at Armagh, by the Rev. Archdeacon Robinson, his nephew and chief legatee. It is a monument altogether unworthy of so exalted a character. Perhaps the inhabitants of the city of Armagh may, at some future period, express their gratitude by some memorial more accordant to the dignity of the man who was their chief benefactor. [See below, "Cathedral."]

William Newcome, D.D., succeeded Dr. Richard Robinson in the primatial see of Armagh, to which he was translated from Waterford, by privy seal, dated at St. James's, on the sixteenth, and by patent on the twenty-seventh, of January, 1795. He was second son of the Rev. Joseph Newcome, who, though said by some biographical writers to have been the descendant of a respectable nonconformist family, enjoyed church preferment in Bedfordshire and Berkshire.⁶⁸

William Newcome was born on the tenth of April, 1729, at Barton-le-Clay, and educated at Abington, where his pre-eminent talents rendered him conspicuous among his fellow students. In 1745, he became a scholar of Pembroke College, Oxford, and in the regular time took his degree of Bachelor of Arts. After this he attained a fellowship in Hertfort College, where he graduated M.A. in the year 1753, and attained great celebrity as an academic tutor.⁶ He had the honour of being preceptor to the late Right Hon. Charles James Fox, who, ever after, held him in the highest veneration and esteem. The friendship of these illustrious personages was reciprocal, and Dr. Newcome felt great mental delight in reflecting that he had instilled the principles of true liberty and of pure religion into the mind of his pupil, and had enriched his understanding with the sterling ore of genuine literature. In Hertfort College, he met with an accident which eventually deprived him of his left hand.⁷ In 1765, he took his degree of D.D., and was appointed chaplain to the earl of Hertfort, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and in the following year he was promoted to the see of Dromore, from which he was translated to that of Ossory in the year 1775; in 1779 to Waterford, and lastly, in 1795, to the archbishopric of Armagh.

Shortly after his promotion to the see of Dromore, Dr. Newcome married an English lady, by whom he had a daughter. A few years after the death of his wife, he married a second time, and was blessed with a numerous and very amiable family of children, with whom he lived in the enjoyment of pure domestic felicity.

Dr. Newcome was a man of mild, pleasing, and unaffected manners—a pious, humane, deeply-learned divine. In 1775, he wrote *An Harmony of the Gospels*, in which the original text is disposed after Le Clerc's general manner with such various readings as have received Wetstein's sanction, &c. This able work subjected him to a literary controversy with the redoubted and most indefatigable polemic, Dr. Priestly. The bishop considered the ministry of Christ as comprising a period of time above three years and a half in duration, whilst his opponent strenuously maintained that it was limited to a single year. In the year 1780, Dr. Newcome published a tract, entitled *The Duration of our Lord's Ministry particularly considered*, in which he

vindicated the opinions inculcated in his former work. Priestly replied and the bishop printed a rejoinder, in another discussion on the same subject. In 1782, he published *Observations on our Lord's conduct, as a divine instructor, and on the Excellence of His moral character*. This was succeeded, in 1785, by *An Attempt towards an improved version, a metrical arrangement, and an explanation of the twelve Minor Prophets*, 4to. His lordship himself assigned the motives which induced him to undertake this work in the following terms, "One design of engaging in the present arduous province was to recommend, and, in a small degree, to facilitate, an improved English version of the Scriptures; than which, nothing can be more beneficial to the cause of religion, or more honourable to the reign and age in which it was patronized and executed. The reasons for its expediency are the mistakes, imperfections, and many invincible obscurities of our present version; the accession of various helps since the execution of that work; the advanced state of learning, and our emancipation from slavery to the masoretic points, and to the Hebrew text as absolutely uncorrupt."

In 1788, Bishop Newcome published *An Attempt towards an improved version, a metrical arrangement, and an Explanation of the Prophet Ezekiel, and A Review of the chief difficulties in the Gospel History respecting Our Lord's resurrection.*" In an able preface to the former of these works he earnestly recommends the study of the Hebrew language. "The venerable books," says his lordship, "written in Hebrew are highly curious and instructive, apart from religious considerations. The historian, the geographer, the chronologer, the antiquary, the naturalist, the poet, the orator, the legislator, the observer of human nature in its original simplicity, of the sources whence nations sprang, of society in its earliest stage, and of ancient Eastern manners in their only genuine representation, will here find their researches amply rewarded no less than the divine who raises his eye to the adorable ways of Providence, in the religious and civil history of mankind. Such a vein of Hebraism runs through the writings of the Old Testament, that even these divine oracles cannot be accurately understood, nor the anomalies of their style explained, without some knowledge of Hebrew literature."

In 1792, he published *An Historical View of the English Biblical Translations; the expediency of revising by authority our present translation, and the means of executing such a revision*, 8vo. This was a very valuable and important work. Soon after his translation to the primatial see, he published *A Charge to the Clergy*, in which he earnestly exhorted them to give private and occasional instructions to the people committed to their pastoral charge.

This excellent and truly-learned prelate died on the eleventh of January, 1800, at his house in St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, in the seventy-first year of his age, and was interred in the [then] new chapel of Trinity College. A posthumous work appeared soon after his decease, styled *An attempt towards revising our English Translation of the Greek Scriptures, or the new Covenant of Jesus Christ*. He had bestowed much time and attention on *An Attempt towards revising our English Translation of the Hebrew Scriptures*. The result of his labours on this curious subject was noted down in an interleaved Bible, in four volumes, which he bequeathed to the library at Lambeth Palace. It is said, there is extant an interesting memoir of the archbishop, written by himself, in which he details at some length the progress of his studies, and points out the sources from which he had derived his theological opinions.⁷¹

During the period of his primacy, Dr. Newcome resided very much at Armagh, and attended to the duties of his high office with becoming solicitude and zeal. His life terminated before he had an opportunity of conferring any very essential benefits on the city: but his gentleness, urbanity and benevolence secured to him the respect and the affections of the people, and his literary works will transmit his name with honour to posterity.⁷²

⁷¹ Rot. Canc. Primo 31a p. d. memb. Lodge's MSS. notes, ut supra. ⁷² *Athen. Oxon.* 2 vol. p. 900. ⁷³ Chalmers's *Art. "Marsh."* ⁷⁴ *Presbyterian Loyalty*, p. 512, et seq. ⁷⁵ Harris's *Ware's Bishops*, pp. 131, 399, 362, 445. ⁷⁶ Rot. Canc. 12 Anna, 41a p. f. memb. *Ibid.*, 41a p. d. m. 41. ⁷⁷ *Ibid.* ⁷⁸ Harris's *Ware's Bishops*, p. 132. ⁷⁹ Rot. Canc. 10 Geo. 1, prima p. d. memb. Lodge ut supra. ⁸⁰ Probably the £200 per an. stated above were the proceeds of the lands purchased by this money.

⁸¹ The family of Rudhall continued from the year 1684, till the year 1774, casting bells. The number manufactured by them amounts to 3504. The bells in Armagh cathedral are as melodious as any others in the empire. The tenor, which we believe is in the key of E, fifth line in the tenor clef, weighs twenty-two cwt., and the treble about seven lb. They were cast in the year 1721. Inscription on the treble: "When we do ring, I sweetly sing — A D 1721." Second bell: "1721." Third bell: "Peace and good neighbourhood." Fourth bell:

"God preserve the church—1721" Fifth bell—
"Abraham Rudhall, of the city of Gloucester, bell-
founder 1721 Sixth bell—"Died R Tho Lind
say, 1st Div Archiep Arm Tot Hib Pr & Metr.
1721 In the year in which they were cast, they
were brought to Armagh. The original frame and
wheels are probably still in use, with the exception
of a repair of some decayed parts, made in 1779,
by Primate Robinson [Since rehung]

12 Fragment of old magazine annexed to Lodge's
MSS notes, ut supra [See also Crossly's *Peerage
of Ireland* p. 184] 13 Their lineal descendants
are Lady Smith Burges (countess of Paulet), John
Henry Burges, Esq., Mrs Mary Perry of Armagh,
Mrs M Johnston of Nappagh and Ynyr Burges,
of Ryegate, Surrey, Esq. [The family is now
seated at Parkanour, near Dungannon] 14 Rot
Canc 11 Geo I 1ma p dorso memb. 15 *Gentle-
man's Magazine* for October, 1742 16 See
Boulter's *State Letters*, vol i, p 225 17 *Gentle-
man's Magazine* for October, 1742 18 Boulter's
Letters, vol i, pp 236, 237. 19 *Ibid*, vol ii, p
166 20 *Ibid*, vol ii, pp 190, 191, 192, and the
notes 21 *Ibid*, vol i, pp 82, 83 22 *Ibid*, vol i,
pp 61, 62, 63, 241 23 See Boulter's *State Letters*,
passim 24 I George II., chap 9. 25 Boulter's
Letters, vol i, pp 184, 185

Page 383-4 - Dr Johnson is in error Ambrose
Philips, author of the *Distrest Mother*, was repre-
sentative in parliament for the borough, not the
county of Armagh He died in the year 1749 and
Lieut. Gen Philip Bragge was elected in his place,
on the 18th of October, by the following burgesses,
viz. Thomas Ogle, Sovereign, Pat Houston,
William English, Edward Harcourt, Henry Jenney,
Henry Meredyth, and John Marshall

26 Rot Canc 16 Geo II 1ma p d, Lodge ut
supra 27 *Biograph Brit* 28 Nicholson's *Liter-
ary Anecdotes*, vol iii 30 *Biograph Brit* 31
Harris's *Ware's Bishops*, p 452, *Biog Brit* 32
Ibid

33 *Gazette* citante De Burgh, p 717 34 *Hib
Dom*, p 176 35 Primate Hoadly was probably
more zealously attached to the doctrines of the
church of England than his brother, the bishop of
Salisbury, who is styled by some of his biographers,
"the greatest dissenter that ever obtained promotion
in the church"—Chalmers vol xvii, p 316 36
Gentleman's Mag, 3; *Biog Brit* I cannot say
that Dr Hoadly made any permanent improvement
in the cathedral during his short primacy In the
year 1745, a gravel walk was ordered to be made
round that edifice, with a grass border on each side
When this was afterwards carried into effect much
dissatisfaction arose amongst the respectable citizens
who had been accustomed to bury their dead close
to the church wall

38 Rot Canc 20 Geo II, prima p d citante
Lodge ut supra 39 Hardy's *Life of Charlemont*,
vol i, p 158 40 *Gentleman's Magazine* 41 Hardy,
158, 202 42 *Ibid*, 82 43 *Ibid*, 94 44 Gordon,
vol ii p 228 45 *Hib Dom*, pp 720, 722 46
Lords' Journals, vol iv, p 98 46 *Hib Dom*,
724 47 *Ibid* 48 Manuscript report of the debate

in the Mount Druid collection—citante M O'Connor,
vol ii, p 284

49 Hardy, vol i p 192, et sequent "The Hearts
of Oak" were on another occasion, prevented from
doing much mischief by the sagacity of Thomas
Macan, Esq., who was frequently sovereign of the
city of Armagh They had assembled in a large
body, and had sallied forth on a desultory excursion,
when Macan, whose urbanity and facetiousness had
rendered him very popular, met them in mid career,
and addressing them with a kind of pleasant, lively
and playful eloquence peculiar to himself promised
them that their grievances should be redressed.
They hailed him with thunders of applause,
adorned his hat with oaken boughs, and placed him
at their head He marched with them for some
time then assumed the command ordered
his followers to halt, and having delivered a second
animated speech to the listening crowd, persuaded
them to disperse in perfect good humour, and
return to their respective homes In the midst of
the insurrection, "The Hearts of Oak" were
guided rather by whim and caprice, than by any
settled plan, to effect any important or mischievous
purpose. They obliged Dr Clark, a respectable
clergyman (says Mr Hardy), who, they alleged,
was the first to exact more than he was entitled to
in tithes, to go on the top of his own coach, and
drew him through various parts of the country
Infinite were the hisses and scurrilous jests, as
the Doctor passed along.

50 See Gordon's *Hist Ireland*, 2 vol p 220
Primate Stone seems to have dedicated his vacant
hours, rather to thoughtful and rational amuse-
ments, than to vicious recreation He was fond of
the game of chess, in which he was said to have
been an adept About the year 1750, he was presi-
dent of a "chess club," in Dublin, of which
several of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom,
were members *Anecdotes of Chess in Ireland*, by
Jos C Walker, M R I A, 1790 We learn from
Dr Hyde, that the old Irish were so greatly
attached to this game, that the possession of large
estates had been decided by it, and that, in his time,
the right in some estates depended on the issue of
a game at chess.—*Ibid*

51 The author of this work recollects, that at an
early period of his life, when the old inhabitants of
Armagh were speaking of any person remarkable
for comeliness, they would say, "he was almost as
handsome as Primate Stone"

52 A part of the house still remains, and is now
occupied as a hardware shop, &c

53 The Burgesses were Thomas Macan,
Thomas Ogle, Pat Houston, Edward Harcourt,
James Stronge, Arthur Grueber and Henry Cust -
(Manuscript in the handwriting of Styles Ogle in
possession of the author of this work) These
streets are now known only by the name of *Thomas-
Street*, though they are quite distinct from each
other, and form a considerable angle at their point
of union. Some time ago the corporation-jury
very improperly fixed boards, on which the word
Thomas-Street was painted, at the extremities of

Ogle Street, which has thus lost its original name. They were probably led into this error by a plan of the city, executed by John Rocque, and by him annexed to a very incorrect map of the county of Armagh, which he dedicated to Primate Stone in the year 1760. In this plan he absurdly assigns the same name to the two distinct streets.

54 Rot Canc 5 Geo 3 r ma p f M. 36. 37. 55 This house was since occupied by John Macan, Esq. and has lately been subdivided into various habitations. 56 It was used for this purpose by Thomas Ogle the discoverer of the marble quarries, who resided on the Demesne lands, when Dr Robinson was promoted to the primacy.

57 Some previous repairs and alterations had been made in the church by Dr Boulter, &c. In 1729, the Dean and Chapter, aided by a small sum from Primate Boulter, repaired the cathedral. In 1739, they ordered the chapter house to be rebuilt and, in 1761, they directed that an arch, then open between the south side and the body of the church, should be filled up, and some other alterations made.

58 *Newry Mag.* No 1 p 58. 59 It is stated by Young and Reeves, that his Grace ornamented the city with a *Market house*, and *Shambles*. These writers are correct as to the *Shambles*, but quite in error as to the *Market-house*. Sir Charles Coote is also in error when he asserts, in his survey, p. 317, that an elegant sessions house was built in Armagh, in his (*Primate Robinson's*) time.

60 Some of the tenants whose houses and grounds were demised to sub-tenants, by leases containing *loties quoties* covenants of renewal were put to considerable expense by this regulation. It bore extremely heavy on one individual in particular, who was necessitated to purchase back from his tenantry, at a tenfold value, several places in Thomas-street, &c., which had been leased to them by his ancestors, under *loties quoties* covenant of renewal, and to sacrifice nearly one half of the property to save the remainder. It may be proper to remark, that when Dr. Robinson was promoted to the primacy, only a few houses in the city of Armagh were slated: one of these belonged to his Grace—the 2nd was occupied by Arthur Grueber, D.D.—the 3rd by Thos. Macan, Esq. These were situated in English-street. The Cathedral was shingled, so also were a dwelling-house occupied by Mrs. Donaldson, in Church-lane—another by Wm. M. Geough, Esq., in Abbey-street—another by Benjamin Bassnett Stuart, in Scotch-street—two or three new houses in Thomas-street—and four houses on the Pound Hill (now Vicars' Hill), built for the accommodation of Clergymen's widows, by Primate Boulter. The remainder of the citizens' habitations were thatched. About the year 1748, such of the inhabitants of Armagh, as wished to purchase superfine broad-cloths or groceries of very good quality, procured them in the neighbouring village of Richhill. To so miserable a state was both the city and its trade reduced, by the series of events which we have already narrated.

62 The Robinson family possessed an estate and

mansion house, called Rokeby Park, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, which was sold by Sir Thomas Robinson, Bart., the Primate's eldest brother, at which his Grace was much chagrined and displeased. It is said that Lord Rokeby's favourite horse survived him many years. The faithful creature was very old at the period of his master's death. His Grace had made a provision for his support (which, however, is not mentioned in his will), and a groom named Darby Byrne, had the charge of this old servant. The horse died at the age (we believe) of 42 years, having been the Jenkins or the Parr of hounhymans. A horse on which the learned Dr. Percy, Bishop of Dromore, had made a tour through Scotland survived the journey 36 years, and died in his master's possession.

63 Churchill's *Letter to Hogarth*. 64 Wesley's *Journals*, vol. vi, p. 104.

64 "I, Richard, Archbishop of Armagh, being mindful of mortality, do make this my last Will and Testament, and I do hereby revoke any Will by me formerly made, and declare this to be my last Will and Testament.

"At the appointed time I am prepared to resign my Soul, the vital and active principle of my Nature, to the self-existent Creator of all things and the Beneficent Governor of the universe, from whom I received it, in all humble hope through the mediation of Jesus Christ my only Saviour, that the sins and errors of my past life may be pardoned, and that I may be removed to a more permanent scene of happiness in a future state. On this occasion likewise, I must declare my well-grounded affection to the religion established in England and Ireland, which I am persuaded is the most primitive and rational system of Christianity at this time publicly professed in any part of the earth, and that it will be found, when duly considered, to be exactly framed for the encouragement and advancement of learning and piety, and for the preservation of the peace and the promotion of the general interest of society.

"I desire my remains may be deposited in the Cathedral Church of Armagh, as that City has been the principal place of my residence, since my advancement to the Primacy, and the inhabitants have been witnesses to the regular exertions of my mind for a succession of years, in promoting a variety of public works for the future benefit and improvement of that ancient city in which the Christian Religion was first preached in Ireland.

I give to the Trustees of the First Fruits	£1000
To the governors of the Hibernian Society for maintaining and educating soldiers' children	500
To the Female Orphan Society	500
To the Marine Society	500
To the Lying-in-Hospital, to support a new ward to be called the Primate's ward	1000
To the Incorporated Society in England, for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts	1000
For establishing a University in Ulster, provided it be done within five years after my decease	5000

All books, medals, coins, sculptures, prints, and books of prints, to the Library at Armagh

To assist in building a Chapel of Ease between the barrack and school at Armagh £1000

To the governors of Armagh County Infirmary, to be laid out in bank stock .. 1000

To the corporation of Armagh, to advance to tradesmen .. 200

To the Charitable Loan of Armagh .. 200

The portraits following to the Dean and Chapter, for the time being, in trust for the use of the Primate for the time being: Charles the 1st—William, and Mary—Queen Anne—Prince George of Denmark—King George the 1st—King George the 2nd—Frederick Prince of Wales—King George the 3rd—Queen Charlotte—the Elector of Hanover—the Princess Sophia, Electress and Duchess Dowager of Hanover—the Duke of Zell Thirteen Portraits of Primates, and my Portrait, painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds

To Matthew Graham, .. 100

To Mrs Sarah Langstaff, Mr William M Mul-len, Mr Giddings, Mrs Giddings, Mr. Thomas Dent, an annuity of Ten Guineas each during their lives, to be paid them half yearly and to each of them a complete suit of mourning To all my other servants living with me, at the time of my death, I give one year's wages

To the Poor of Armagh, and Parishes in Louth of my estate in trust to the Dean of Armagh 200

To the poor of St Michan's, Dublin .. 100

Gold Snuff Box to Matthew Robinson Morris, as a memorial of our very early acquaintance

To the Rev William Maximilian Friend .. 2000

To his son .. 1000

To the Rev Wm M Friend and John Robinson £100 by the year, being annuities vested in my name, in trust for Mrs Campbell and her daughters, to be given at times and in portions as said trustees shall judge proper

To Mrs Campbell's only son, at ditto time .. 500

To her unmarried daughter .. 500

To Mrs Elizabeth Montague, 500 Guineas, to be laid out in purchasing a ring or any other memorial of a friend, who retains the most lively and unalterable sense of her uncommon accomplishments and virtues 568 158

The Portrait of Mrs Montague to Matthew Montague, Esq, by Sir Joshua Reynolds

To Mrs. Scott, £100 per year, long annuities, vested in my name

To Mrs Jane Robinson .. 500

To the Rev Mr William Robinson .. 500

To the Rev. Mr Matthew Robinson, his son .. 500

To Morris Robinson, Esq .. 2000

It may be proper that I declare my intentions that the several legacies and bequests contained in my will, not specifically distinguished, shall be paid in Irish currency

To Sir Martin Stapleton, of Minster in the county of York, Bart, Leonard Smelt, Esq, Morris Robinson, Esq, and Henry Hoyle Odie, Esq, in Yorkshire for the purpose of purchasing an estate in Yorkshire, to go with the title and barony of Rokeby £10000

All the estates and property in Ireland, England and France, except the foregoing be-queaths (and those to the executors) to the Rev Archdeacon Robinson, who is residuary legatee

Rev. William Lodge, executor, .. 500

His son Richard (Lodge) .. 500

Rev Dr Hamilton [Executor] .. 500

Henry Upton, Esq .. 200

The Speaker (of the Irish House of Commons) his choice of any two Pictures out of the collection in Henrietta-street [Dublin, in his town house].

To Sir Martin Stapleton, Bart, to buy a ring or any memorial .. 113 158.

To Leonard Small, Esq, .. 1000

To Charles Robinson, Esq., Lincoln's Inn .. 1000

To Henry Hoyle Odie, Esq, .. 200

"Whereas the Dean and Chapter of Armagh have granted a Burial Vault under the Choir of the Cathedral Church of Armagh, to Richard Archbishop of Armagh and his heirs I do hereby resign, convey and assign all my right and title to the said Burial Vault to the Rev John Robinson, Arch-deacon of Armagh and his heirs "

"We have heard that his Grace was the survivor in some Tontine establishment in France, from which he derived considerable property

66 *Biograph Peerage* vol iv. p 349

67 "William, grandson of William who settled at Kendal, purchased Rokeby of Sir Thomas Rokeby, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth Thomas Robinson of Rokeby, his eldest son, was killed in the civil wars in 1643, and buried at Leeds, in Yorkshire He married Frances, daughter of Leonard Smelt, Esq, of Kirby Fletham, in York-shire From his second daughter, Frances, married to George Grey of Sudwike, in the bishopric of Durham, Esq, sprang Dr Zachary Grey, the learned editor of *Hudibras*, and also the present countess Dowager Grey This Thomas had also four sons, William, Thomas Matthew, and Sir Leonard, ancestor of the present peer Matthew, the third, was rector of Burniston, in Yorkshire, and left his fortune to the grandson of his brother, Sir Leonard William Robinson, of Rokeby, eldest son, married Frances, daughter and co-heiress of Frances Layton, of Layton, and Rowden, in Yorkshire, and was father of Thomas Robinson, of Rokeby, who died 1719, aged 72 and had issue by Grace, eldest daughter of Sir Henry Stapylton, of Myton, in Yorkshire by Elizabeth, second daughter of Conyers Darcy, earl of Holderness, one son, William Robinson, who died a few months after his father, aged 44; leaving by Anne his wife, daughter and heir of Robert Walters of Cundall, in Yorkshire, seven sons first, Sir Thomas second, Robert, died young third, Sir William, succeeded his brother fourth, Henry, died a major in the

army: fifth, Richard, primate of Ireland, and first peer, sixth, a son, died young, seventh, Sir Septimus, knight, gentleman usher of the black rod, died 1762. Sir Thomas, eldest son, represented Morpeth in parliament 1727, and was made a baronet 1730, with collateral remainders to the issue male of his father, and in default, to Matthew Robinson, Esq., grandson of his great great uncle, Sir Leonard. He married, in 1728, Lady Elizabeth, daughter of Charles, earl of Carlisle, widow of Nicholas Lechmere, but died without issue, having sold his seat and estate at Rokeby to the father of J. B. S. Morritt, Esq., now member of parliament for Northallerton, and was succeeded in the baronetage by his brother, Sir William, who died unmarried. *Ibid.*

68 Chalmers's *Biog. Dict.*—Reeves's *Encyc.* 69 *Ibid.* 70 We believe, but are not certain, that this

misfortune was occasioned by the sudden closing of a door, in a sportive mood, by his pupil, Fox. The arm was caught between the edge of the panel and the door case, and received such injury as to render amputation necessary.

71 Chalmers. 72 *Ibid.*

73 Reeves. 74 On the 30th of March, 1800, the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral of Armagh, empowered by commission, the Rev. William Lodge, LL.D., to administer spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the diocese of Armagh, during the vacancy of the see, consequent on the primate's demise. That learned clergyman was, we believe, son of the famous John Lodge, to whose literary labours this country is so highly indebted, and who is styled by De Burgo, *potissimus hujus ævi scriptor*.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

a PRIMATE MARSH: HIS FAMILY AND LIBRARY AND DIARY.—The fullest and most authentic account of this prelate will be found in a set of lectures delivered in Trinity College, Dublin, by the late Rev. Dr. Stokes, Professor of Ecclesiastical History, and since published by his successor in that office, Dr. Lawlor, under the title *Some Worthies of the Irish Church*, 8vo., Lond. 1900. It has photographs of the Archbishop from the portrait in the Provost's House, Trinity College, Dublin, and also of his Library (interior and exterior) and the adjacent Palace of S. Sepulchre's (now a police barrack).

Stuart is mistaken in stating that certain persons (named in his foot note, p. 394) were related to this Archbishop Marsh. They were descended from Francis Marsh, who was his predecessor in the Archbishopric of Dublin, and consecrated him. The latter married one of the daughters and co-heirs of the celebrated bishop, Jeremy Taylor. A baronetcy was conferred on one of his descendants, and the history of the family is recorded in the *Baronetages and Landed Gentry*, and is elaborately recorded in Ulster's Office. Primate Narcissus Marsh is careful to relate in his curious Diary (still preserved in his library in Dublin) how he avoided matrimony for the love of God, and he occasionally re-

cords his prolonged fasting. He was a Wiltshire man by birth. The family used strange Christian names, for he had a brother Onisephorous, whom he mentions in his diary, and another Epaphroditus, named in his will, who became M.P. for Fethard. The elaborate inscription on his stately monument is printed in Harris's *Ware's Bishops* and in *Some Worthies*.

b PRIMATE BOULTER'S PUBLICATIONS, HIS WILL AND HIS MONUMENT. In Cotton's *Fasti* will be found a list of Sermons and charges published by him, so that Stuart was in error in giving him credit only for his *Letters* published by Phillips.

His autograph will, dated 19th November, 1729, was proved in Dublin, 15th November, 1742, and again 30th May, 1743, by his successor, Primate Hoadly and others; right to prove being reserved to Eliza, his wife. He had, by deed of 21st November, 1739, conveyed to trustees to endow four alms houses at Drogheda for clergymen's widows, two estates in the Co. Louth. He left also considerable sums which, being accumulated, provided a large endowment for clergy of his church. He limited the expenditure on his funeral to £300; but that sum could scarcely pay for the monument in the North transept of Westminster Abbey, which states that he was translated to Armagh "and thence

to the kingdom of Heaven." He was son of John Boulter, of St. Catherine Cree, London, by Rebecca, his wife, who administered to her husband's estate in 1709, and died next year. The primate's widow was buried with him in the "North Cross" of the Abbey, 8th March (d. 28th February), 1754, leaving no issue. They had been married at St. Peter-le-poor, London, 12th November, 1719 (three days before he was consecrated Bishop of Bristol). See full notice of both in Chester's *Westminster Abbey Registers*. See also Webb's *Biography*, Chalmers, *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, &c.

According to Smyth's *Biographical Illustrations of Westminster Abbey*, p. 133, Boulter's monument was designed and executed by H. Cheere. It consists of a sarcophagus of white marble "profusely embellished with types and symbols of his office, such as the mitre, crozier, &c., many of which are greatly defaced." As neither Harris's *Ware's Bishops* (which ended in his time) nor Cotton's *Fasti* gives the inscription it is here annexed:—

To the memory of

DR. HUGH BOULTER,

Late Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of All Ireland.

A Prelate so eminent

For the accomplishments of his mind,

The purity of his Heart,

And excellency of his Life;

That it may be thought superfluous

To specify his Titles,

Recount his Virtues

Or even erect a monument to his Fame.

His titles he not only deserved but adorned,

His virtues he manifested in his good works,

Which had never dazzled the public Eye,
If they had not been too bright to be concealed;

And, as to his Fame

Whosoever has any sense of Merit,

Any Reverence for Piety,

Any Passion for his Country,

Or any Charity for Mankind

Will assist in preserving it fair and spotless;

That when Brass and Marble shall mix
with

The Dust they cover

Every succeeding age

May still have the benefit of his illustrious Example.

He was born January 4th, 1761:

He was consecrated Bishop of Bristol,
1718: He

Was translated to the Archbishopric of
Armagh,

1723, and from thence to Heaven, Sep-
tember

the 27th, 1742.

In this inscription, his consecration and translation are both antedated by a year. A "panegyric poem," entitled "Boulter's Monument, sacred to his memory," by Samuel Madden, was published in 1745.

A marble bust of Boulter is in the Library of Christ Church, Oxford, and a full length portrait is preserved in Magdalene College. Also, there is a half length portrait at Armagh Palace. A full-length portrait of him was engraved by J. Brooks, from a picture which "Fran. Bindon, Armiger pinx., 1742."

His procedure at his ordinary and triennial visitations in 1730 was published in a broad-sheet.

c PRIMATE ROBINSON'S PORTRAITS. Besides the fine portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds, in the palace, there is another by the same in the Deanery House of Christ Church, Oxford, and another, three-quarter length, in walking dress, also by Sir Joshua, at Rokeby, near Dunleer, County Louth, the seat of his representative, Sir Gerald Robinson, Bart. Both of these have been engraved.

There is no entry of the interment of Primate Lord Rokeby in the Records at Armagh, but we learn from Faulkner's *Dublin Journal*, November 13 and 29, 1794, and the *Anthologia Hibernica*, that he was not interred for fifty days after his death, viz., on the 29th of November. His remains were brought over, with his favourite horse, in a British trading vessel from Bristol and laid in Henrietta Street, Dublin.



CHAPTER XXIV.

PROTESTANT PRIMATES OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

1800.—HON. WILLIAM STUART.

Translated from St. David's—His family and estimable character.

[Continuation by JOHN R. GARSTIN, M.A., V.-P., R.I.A., R.S.A.]

His Improvements in the Cathedral and City—His tragic death, monument, and descendants. 1822.—Lord John George Beresford—His family and previous preferments—Restoration of the Cathedral, 1834-40—Chancellor of Dublin University, and his benefactions thereto—His Munificence—Rescues *The Book of Armagh*—The See of Clogher annexed to Armagh, 1850, under him—His Portraits. 1862. Marcus Gervais Beresford, Translated from Kilmore—Dis-establishment—Judicious Administration of his Dioceses—Death and Monument—New mode of Appointment by Disestablished Church—Diocesan Synod—Bench of Bishops elect in 1886—Robert Knox, Bishop of Down—The See of Clogher revived as a separate Diocese—The Primate's popularity—Able government of Diocese—Death. 1893.—Robert Samuel Gregg, Bishop of Cork, &c., elected by the Bench of Bishops—Firm administration during brief tenure of the Primacy—Buried at Cork. 1896.—William Alexander, Bishop of Derry, elected by the Bench of Bishops—Literary and Oratorical Eminence—The last Bishop from the era of Establishment—Only English University Graduate.



WILLIAM STUART, D.D., was translated from the see of St. David's, in Wales, to that of Armagh, by letters patent, issued by George III., under the great seal, at Dublin, on the twenty-second of November, in the forty-first year of his reign.' On the eighth of December, 1800

the Rev. James Hamilton, D.D., prebendary of Mullabrack, was enthroned in the cathedral of Armagh, as Dr. Stuart's duly authorized proxy.

His Grace, who was born in February, 1755, is the youngest son of the late Right Honourable John Stuart,² Earl of Bute, a lineal descendant of Robert II. king of Scotland.³ He is said to have had a predilection for the clerical profession, at a very early period of his life; and to have studied with much assiduity, under a private tutor, before he had entered any public academy. At Winchester school he made important additions to his literary attainments; and afterwards became an alumnus of St. John's College, Cambridge, where he obtained a fellowship and various collegiate degrees, in due succession. After ordination, he was appointed vicar of Luton, in Bedfordshire,⁴ and was subsequently nominated a canon of Windsor. He was next promoted to the see of St. David's, and from thence translated to the primacy of all Ireland. In April, 1796, his Grace married Sophia Juliana, one of the daughters of Thomas Penn, of Stoke Pogis, in the county of Bucks, England, co-proprietor of Pennsylvania, by Lady Juliana Firmor, daughter of the Earl of Pomfret. Mrs. Stuart is a lineal descendant of the celebrated philanthropist, William Penn, the founder of Philadelphia and lawgiver of Pennsylvania, who justly ranks amongst the most eminent benefactors of the human race. His Grace has issue four children—Mary Juliana, born May, 1797, who, in March, 1815, was married to the Honourable Thomas Knox, eldest son of the present Viscount Northland; William, born October, 1798, who is at present a fellow commoner of St. John's College, Cambridge; Louisa; Henry, born May, 1804.

It cannot be expected that we shall enter into any minute biographical account of our present Metropolitan.⁵ Indeed, if we were to delineate his character with the most scrupulous accuracy, we should appear to those who know him not, to have descended to the meanness of adulation; whilst it would be impossible to raise him higher in the estimation of those who have witnessed the whole tenor of his life, and have made his worth the measure of their approbation.

Our author's *Memoirs of Armagh* having been published in 1819, his notice of his namesake and contemporary, Primate Stuart, though

as full as it is laudatory, is necessarily incomplete. While referring at length to his noble descent and family, he strangely withholds from him the customary appellation "Honourable." The primate's brother, the fourth earl of Bute, was in 1796, advanced to the Marquessate of Bute, and their father had been Prime Minister till 1763. The dates of the primate's birth and marriage given by Stuart, differ in the months, from those in Burke's *Peerage*, where a full account of his descendants will be found. He had been consecrated bishop of St. David's, at Lambeth, twelfth of January, 1794, by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops of Llandaff and Gloucester, and he was the last of the four prelates translated to Ireland from England and Wales.⁶ He was translated, by letters-patent, dated twenty-second of November, 1800.⁷

He died in Hill Street, Berkeley Square, London (not at Bath), from accidentally taking an improper medicine (said to have been administered by his own favourite daughter), on the sixth of May, 1822, aged sixty-eight. He was buried at Luton Park, in Bedfordshire, a seat of his family, where he had formerly been vicar.

Primate Stuart erected in 1815, the Market-house in the centre of Armagh, on which his name is inscribed. In his time, the Chapter-house of the Cathedral was reslated, and some repairs were effected in the interior.⁸

In this Cathedral, a full-length marble figure of Archbishop Stuart, in the attitude of prayer, carved by Chantrey, in 1826, has underneath it, the following inscription:—

M.S.

REVERENDISSIMI IN CHRISTO PATRIS
GULIELMI STUART, S.T.P.,
PER ANNOS XXII HUIUSCE ECCLESIAE
ARCHIEPISCOPI.
HOC MONUMENTUM
CLERICI ARMACHANI
PIO FUNCTI MUNERE
POSUERUNT.
OBIIIT ANNO SALUTIS MDCCCXXII.
AETAT. SUÆ LXVIII.

The monument was originally in the wall of the South aisle but, seeming out of place after the altar at the West end of the Cathedral was displaced, it was removed to the wall of the North aisle in Primate Knox's time. Primate Stuart's widow survived him for a quarter of a century, dying in April, 1847. Of their four children mentioned by our author, William (whose descendants figure in the *Peccage*) was born, 1798, and died, 1874; Henry, born, 1804, became M.P. for Bedford, and died, 1854; Mary-Juliana, born, 1797, became Countess of Ranfurly; and Louisa died unmarried in 1823.

A large three-quarter length portrait of Primate Stuart, in his robes, was added to the series at the palace. It was restored at the cost of his grandson, Colonel the Honourable William Stuart Knox, in 1892.

LORD JOHN GEORGE BERESFORD.

He was third son of the first Marquess of Waterford, and was born in Tyrone House (Marlborough Street), in Dublin, on twenty-second of November, 1773. Educated at Eton, and afterwards at Christ Church, Oxford, where he graduated M.A. in 1796, and D.D. in 1805, he was ordained deacon at St. Kevin's Church, Dublin, by William, Archbishop of Tuam, second of April, 1795, and priest by the same prelate, at the same place, on seventeenth of December, 1797. His first preferment was to the Rectories of Clonegam and Newtown-Lenan, in the diocese of Lismore. In 1799, he was appointed Dean of Clogher, and in 1801, became Rector of Termonmaguirke, in the diocese of Armagh. In 1805, he was raised to the episcopate, being consecrated on the twenty-fourth of March, at St. Patrick's, Dublin, to the bishopric of Cork and Ross, by the Archbishop of Cashel and the bishops of Derry and Clogher. Two years later, he was translated to Raphoe, and in 1819 to Clogher, which he then held for about half-a-year (but subsequently for twelve years). In 1820, he was advanced to the Archbishopric of Dublin, and two years later to this Archbishopric, being translated by patent, dated seventeenth of June, 1822 and enthroned on the thirteenth of July. He was prelate of the Order of St. Patrick, Lord-Almoner to the Queen, a

member of the Privy Council of Ireland, chairman of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and of many institutions and societies. In 1829, he was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dublin, and, on the death of the King of Hanover, elected Chancellor, sixth of December, 1851.

On the death of the Bishop of Clogher, twenty-sixth of April, 1850, that see (which he had before filled for a few months) was united to Armagh under the provisions of the Church Temporalities Act, and his Grace was probably installed twice in the same cathedral.

Primate Lord J. G. Beresford was a munificent benefactor to the University of Dublin. In 1837 and 1840 he was largely instrumental in founding a Theological prize and Exhibitions in memory of Provosts Elrington and Lloyd. In 1853 he erected (on the site of the old chapel), at a cost of about £3000, the handsome campanile in the centre of the great quadrangle, and gave £1000 towards founding the chair of Ecclesiastical history in the University: supplemented in 1861 by a further sum of £1000. In the following year, he gave £300 to secure for the Library the famous and precious *Book of Armagh*; he subsequently gave his chaplain, Dr. Reeves (afterwards Bishop of Down, &c., and P.R.I.A.), £500 towards its publication. This sum, the latter, before his death, transferred to the Royal Irish Academy, by which body the Book is now being printed.

His munificence was, however, chiefly exhibited in the restoration of Armagh Cathedral. This work, which was accomplished between 1834 and 1840, is said to have cost £34,463 18s. 7½d., of which over £24,000 came from his Grace. The list of subscriptions is printed in the *Memoirs* of the Cathedral by Edward Rogers, which also gives an account of the restoration, and biographical notices of the Primates. Lord John George endowed with tithes (which had formerly belonged to the archbishopric), eight small vicarages, amounting to £1,800 a year. His allowances to curates amounted to £1,800 per annum, and he spent yearly on schools for the poor about £1,000, besides pensions and charitable donations. He gave £5,000 towards the establishment of St. Columba's College, near Dublin. He subscribed largely towards the Royal School of Armagh, and was a generous benefactor to the Observatory, and other Institutions. It has been

stated that during his tenure of the Primacy, "his Grace's expenditure on objects of benevolence and for the advancement of religion and literature exceeded £280,600."

The only publications of his Grace were speeches on the bill for removing Roman Catholic Disabilities, 1829, and on the system of National Education in Ireland, one Sermon in 1836, and one charge to the clergy of Armagh in 1845, as cited in Cotton's *Fasti*, which gives no account of his successors.

This venerable and princely primate died (unmarried), after an illness of about three months' duration, on the eighteenth of July, 1862, in the 89th year of his age, and 57th of his episcopate, at Woburn Abbey, near Donaghadee, county Down, the seat of George Dunbar, Esq., being attended by his chaplain and secretary, Rev. A. Irwin. His remains were, on the thirtieth of July, interred in the crypt of the cathedral with becoming state: the funeral being marshalled by Ulster King of Arms, one of the last of such pageants, the particulars of which are recorded in his official entries of such functions.

Under one of the arches between the nave of the cathedral and the south aisle is an altar-tomb to his memory, by his family, on the top of which is a full-length recumbent figure of white marble, executed by Baron Marochetti, who has preserved the likeness with great skill. The inscriptions on it and on the coffin-plate were printed by Mr. Rogers, in his *Memoirs*, pp. 118, 136. Within the chancel rails, a brass is set in the floor having a mitred figure, with an inscription at foot, giving the date of the primate's death. Along the side runs this inscription:—"By his munificent aid this Cathedral Church of St. Patrick fast hastening to decay was restored, A.D. 1840. Through his pious care 23 additional churches were erected in the diocese of Armagh." A handsome window, fully described by Rogers, was erected to his memory in the south transept of the cathedral, by public subscription.

A large full-length painting (by Catterson Smith), representing him in his robes as Chancellor of Dublin University, is in Trinity College, and there is a three-quarter length portrait of him in his archiepiscopal robes, full-faced, at the Palace, Armagh. An engrav-

ing of the former, and one of another half-length portrait, were published by Cranfield.

The primate's will was proved in Dublin, under £70,000. He provided for the continuance of curates' salaries. His important library was added to that of his nephew, the Marquess of Waterford, at Curraghmore, to whom also he left his house, in Charles Street, St. James's, London.

1862.—MARCUS GERVAIS BERESFORD.

He was second son of George, Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, who was second son of the Right Hon. John Beresford, who was for a long period head of the revenue board in Ireland, whose eldest brother, the Earl of Tyrone was, in 1789, advanced to the Marquessate of Waterford, and whose younger brother became Archbishop of Tuam. John Beresford has an official residence in the Custom House at Dublin, and gave his name to the adjacent place. In that building, on St. Valentine's Day, February the fourteenth, 1801, was born his grandson, the future Primate.

Educated at Richmond, Yorkshire, and Trinity College, Cambridge, B.A. 1823, M.A. 1827 (*ad eundem*, Dublin, 1832), D.D. 1854, in 1825, he became Rector of Kildallon in the diocese of Kilmore, in 1828, Vicar of Drung and Lara, and in 1839, was appointed Archdeacon of Ardagh (instituted November fifteenth), and a few years later became Vicar General of Kilmore, &c.

In 1854, he was advanced to the Bishopric of Kilmore, &c., by letters patent, and was consecrated at Armagh, on September twenty-fourth, by the primate with the bishops of Down and Tuam, and he was enthroned in his three cathedrals in the following month. He was mainly instrumental in rebuilding the cathedral of Kilmore, which bears a Latin inscription showing that this was done as a memorial of his predecessor, Bishop Bedell.

On the death of his cousin, Primate Lord John George Beresford, he was, in 1862, advanced to the primacy, by letters patent, being the last archbishop appointed by the Crown.

DISESTABLISHMENT.

On the twentieth of July, 1869, the long-threatened legislation

to put an end to the establishment of the Church of Ireland, as embodied in the Irish Church Act (32 & 33 Vic., cap. 42), received the Royal Assent, and under it that church ceased from the first of January, 1871, to be established by law, and it was deprived of its endowments. Primate M. G. Beresford was largely concerned in the heavy work of providing for the future organisation and sustentation of the church, and his sagacious counsel, as head of the Convocation held in St. Patrick's, Dublin, the Convention held in the Ancient Concert Rooms, and the subsequent meetings of the Synod of the Church, was of the utmost benefit to that body in its time of trial.

Primate M. G. Beresford died on the twenty-sixth of December, 1885, and was interred in the crypt of the cathedral, next to his predecessor and to Primate Lord Rokeby. A handsome altar-tomb, similar to that of his cousin and predecessor, Lord John George Beresford, and in a corresponding position, under one of the northern arches of the nave of his cathedral, was erected by his family. The body of the tomb is of Sicilian marble, and the recumbent figure was carved in Carrara marble by Mr. John Taylor, of Longstone House, Armagh, from a terra-cotta bust of the deceased primate, in the possession of his son, Mr. George D. Beresford, D.L., formerly M.P. for Armagh. On the south side is this inscription:—

IN MEMORY OF
MARCUS GERVAIS BERESFORD, D.D.,
ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH, AND PRIMATE OF ALL IRELAND.
BORN 14TH FEBRUARY, 1801,
DIED 26TH DECEMBER, 1885.

On the north side of the tomb are the words:—

"I HAVE FINISHED MY COURSE, I HAVE KEPT THE FAITH."

2 Timothy iv. 7.

A three-quarter length painting of the archbishop in his robes under the azure mantle of the Prelate of the Order of St. Patrick—of which office he was the last holder—was painted by Catterson Smith, and a copy of this (by Catterson Smith, jun.) was added to the Palace collection by Mr. G. D. Beresford, the primate's son,

who also presented to the Public Library of Armagh a collection of ancient ecclesiastical bells and other antiquities, which had been acquired by his father.

When the disestablishment of the Church had been decided upon, it became necessary for its Synod to arrange how future vacancies in the primacy and the other bishoprics should be filled, and an elaborate system of election was provided, which has since undergone some modification. It was enacted that on a vacancy in the see of Armagh, the diocesan synod should elect a clergyman to be styled "*ad interim* Bishop of Armagh" (and Clogher), and that the Archbishop should be elected by the bishops and the person so locally and temporarily elected, who, if not himself chosen as primate, should be consecrated to the see vacated by the bishop so selected.

Accordingly, on the death of Primate M. G. Beresford, at the close of 1885, the synods of Armagh and Clogher were convened by the Bishop of Meath, and met at the Tontine Rooms, Armagh, on the eighteenth of March, 1886, to elect an "*ad interim* Bishop of Armagh and Clogher," and the choice of the synods fell upon the Very Rev. William Reeves, D.D., Dean of Armagh (as related in his *Life*, by Lady Ferguson, p. 124). Thereupon Dean Reeves became Bishop elect, and eventually he went to the see of Down, &c., from which the Bench of Bishops, with him, meeting in the Synod Hall, Dublin, on the eleventh of May, 1886, elected, at first by a majority over Dr. Reeves, and ultimately unanimously,

ROBERT KNOX.

He was second son of the Honourable and Venerable Charles Knox, who had been Archdeacon of Armagh from 1814 till his death, thirtieth of January, 1825, and who (with several brothers, of whom two became respectively Bishops of Derry and of Limerick), was son of Thomas Knox, of Dungannon, who for many years was M.P. for that borough, and, in 1791, became Viscount Northland: his eldest son being afterwards advanced to the Earldom of Ranfurly.

The future primate was born on the twenty-fifth of September, 1808, at Dungannon House. Though frequently assigned as a

second Christian name, that of his mother, "Bent," the only name given him at Baptism was Robert, a name not borne by any previous primate, but which was also that of his successor.

Unlike most of his predecessors in the primacy, Dr. Knox received his education in Ireland, and went through Trinity College, Dublin, where he graduated as B.A. in 1829, M.A. 1834, D.D., *per litteras regias*, in 1849, and B.D. and D.D., *per gradus*, in 1858. Strange to say, though thus doubly "doctored," the *Catalogue of Graduates* of Dublin University neglects to record his having attained to the degree of D.D., which however is included in the Electors' List.

On the seventh of May, 1834, he was collated (by his uncle, Bishop of Limerick) to the Chancellorship of Ardfert, and in March, 1841, he was also made Treasurer of Limerick, but he resigned the latter for the Prebend of St. Munchin's, in the same cathedral. In 1849, he was advanced to the Bishopric of Down, &c., by patent, dated in March.

He was consecrated at Armagh on May the first, by the primate, with the bishops of Meath and Kilmore; and was enthroned at Lisburn, on the third, and at Dromore, on the fifth of May.

After holding those sees for 46 years, he was elected to the primacy as above stated in 1886, and was enthroned at Armagh, on June the first (and Clogher?).

Just before Bishop Knox's translation to the primacy, the General Synod, in 1886, passed a statute for the revival of Clogher as a separate see, and Archdeacon Stack was elected thereto on June fourth and consecrated on the twenty-ninth (along with Dr. Reeves, to Down, &c.), so that, after having been held with Armagh for 36 years under the two primates Beresford, it resumed its autonomy.

Primate Knox, at his accession to the Archbishopric, had an extraordinary amount of patronage, and he appointed the Dean and all but one of the members of the Chapter, and the Librarian.

His Grace became senior in consecration to all the bishops of the Church of England in the United Kingdom, and eventually of the whole Anglican Communion. Though his political views, especially on the National Education question, differed from those of the majority of the Irish clergy, he outlived opposition, and by his

vigorous and wise rule, obtained the respect of his flock, and he endeared himself to all by his urbanity, condescension, geniality and hospitality. Primate Knox was an effective writer and speaker, and a model chairman of the many public bodies he presided over.

The stately palace at Armagh, with its adjacent grounds, which under disestablishment were to be alienated from the primates, were secured in 1889 for the see at a cost of £6,193, raised mainly by public subscription under Dr. Knox, and largely owing to his exertions; and the adjoining chapel was renovated and restored to use. In his time, considerable alterations were effected in the cathedral, and the service was efficiently maintained.

His Grace, while in Limerick, published an *Ecclesiastical Index* [for Ireland], 8vo, Dublin, 1839; and an *Ordination Sermon*, 1847.

He died suddenly at the Palace, on the twenty-third of October, 1893, and his remains were conveyed by rail to Belfast, and thence, followed by a funeral the extent of which proved his great popularity in his old diocese, to Holywood, where they rest in the north-eastern corner of the ruined church.

He had married, fifth of October, 1842, Catherine Delia, daughter of Thomas G. Fitzgibbon, Esq., of Ballyseeda, county Limerick, who survived him, as do two daughters, and one son, Charles Edmund (born sixth October, 1846), now Major-General commanding a division in the army in South Africa.

A three-quarter length portrait of Primate Knox, painted in his lifetime by Mrs. Way (Miss Batt, of Belfast), was procured by subscription, and added to the collection at the Palace, and a copy, by Mr. Douglas, was provided for his previous diocese of Down. A lithograph likeness of him, when Bishop of Down, as well as a photograph in the serial *Dignitaries of the Church*, has been published.

A marble bust of Primate Knox (by Mr. Whitehead, sculptor), with a suitable inscription, was provided by public subscription, amounting to £230, and placed in the north aisle of the cathedral.

After the death of Primate Knox, the diocesan synod of Armagh, having been convened by the Bishop of Meath, met at Armagh, fifth of December, 1893, under the presidency of his commissary, the Bishop of Kilmore, and almost unanimously elected as "*interim* Bishop of

Armagh," the Ven. William Edward Meade, D.D., Archdeacon of Armagh, who, on the elevation of Bishop Gregg to the primacy, went to the see of Cork, &c., vacated by him, and was consecrated at St. Patrick's, Dublin, sixth of January, 1894.

ROBERT SAMUEL GREGG, D.D.,

Bishop of Cork, &c., had been, on the fourteenth of December, 1893, elected primate by the Bench of Bishops—all being present—at the office of the Representative Body in Dublin, and he was enthroned at Armagh, on the third of January following.

He was son of John Gregg, who became Bishop of Cork, &c., in 1862, and, who was, on his death in 1878, succeeded by his son as below stated.

Dr. R. S. Gregg was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, where he took his degree of B.A. in 1857, M.A. 1860, B.D. and D.D. 1873. When the see of Ossory was vacated by the death of Bishop O'Beirne, in 1875, his name was one of those returned by the diocesan synod to the bench of bishops, eleventh of February, 1875, and was selected by them on the fourth of the following month. He was consecrated at Kilkenny Cathedral, on the thirty-first of May, 1875, by the Archbishop of Dublin, with the bishops of Meath, Cork, and Tuam. On the death of his father, the Bishop of Cork, &c., in 1878, he was by the diocesan synods chosen as his successor. After occupying that see for 15 years, he was elevated to the primacy.

He was an active and energetic bishop, not sparing himself when the interests of his church or diocese were concerned. His financial skill proved of great service to the disestablished church, and his wisdom, ability and industry were much appreciated. He held this high office for little over two years, dying suddenly at the palace on the tenth of January, 1896. His remains were, after service in the cathedral, conveyed to Cork, on the fifteenth, where on the following day, after a service in Cork Cathedral, they were interred in Frankfield churchyard.

After his death, a sum of over £400 was raised by public subscription for the purpose of providing a portrait of him for the palace, and a window for the cathedral as memorials of him. The portrait,

three-quarter length, has been painted by Mr. R. Ponsonby Staples, and the window, by Messrs. Heaton, Butler & Bayne, of London, will see the light about the same time as these pages.

On the death of Primate Gregg, the diocesan synod of Armagh met on the eighteenth of February, 1896, and elected, at a first voting, as "*ad interim* Bishop of Armagh" Dr. George Alexander Chadwick, Dean and Rector of Armagh, who, on the twenty-fifth of the following month, was consecrated at Armagh to the see of Derry and Raphoe, whence was transferred to the primacy its present occupant,—

WILLIAM ALEXANDER, D.D.

He descends from Robert Alexander, of Boom Hall, county Londonderry, who died in 1790, and whose brother was in 1790, 1797 and 1801 created successively Baron, Viscount, and Earl of Caledon. The third son of this Robert Alexander became a Lieutenant-General in the army and Mayor of Londonderry, married in 1793, and died 1834, leaving an only surviving son, Robert, born 1795, who, in 1832, became Prebendary of Aghadowey, in Derry Cathedral, and in 1852, published comments on the Church Catechism, printed at Coleraine. He married in 1820, Dorothea, daughter and heir of Henry McClintock, Esq., of Ballyarton, county Donegal, and died 1872. Their eldest son, now primate, was born, in Derry, on the thirteenth of April, 1824. Thus, like Primate Knox, he was son of a clergyman of a diocese in which he himself became bishop. Educated at Tonbridge School in Kent, and at Exeter and Brazenoze College, Oxford, he there became eventually D.D., and Hon. D.C.L. and Bampton Lecturer; also obtained among other distinctions the university Theological prize, &c., and one for a sacred poem. He began his ministry in Derry Cathedral, as curate of Templemore, 1847. After that he held in succession, three rectories in the diocese, namely, Termonamongan, 1850; Fahan, 1855; and Camus-juxta-Mourne (Strabane), 1860. In 1863, the Crown gave him the Deanery of Emly, which was only an empty honour; but in 1867, he was advanced by patent to the Bishopric of Derry and Raphoe, to which he was consecrated in Armagh Cathedral on the sixth of October, 1867, by the primate and the Bishops of Meath and Limerick.

He married, fifteenth of October, 1852, Cecil-Frances, daughter of Major John Humphreys, of Milltown House, county Tyrone, and by her had two sons and two daughters (see *Peerage*: "Caledon").

His Grace is now the last survivor of the Established Church of Ireland episcopal bench, appointed by the Crown before disestablishment, but his translation from Derry was by the action of the church itself, for he was elected on the twenty-fifth of February, 1896, by the Bench of Bishops (all but Cashel being present), at the office of the Representative Body in Dublin. He was enthroned on the twenty-fourth of March, in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Armagh.

His Grace's fame as a writer, an orator, and a poet, is so well known that it need not here be enlarged on.

1 Rot. Canc. 41 Geo III 2 *Biographical Peerage*, vol iv. p 440—vol i p 124

3 The Earl of Bute married Mary, the only daughter of the celebrated Lady Mary Wortley Montague, "the eldest daughter of Evelyn, Earl of Kingston (afterwards Marquis of Dorchester and Duke of Kingston), and of Lady Mary Fielding, daughter of William, Earl of Denbigh." Lady Mary (the Primate's grandmother) attained a high rank amongst the English writers, who distinguished themselves in polite literature, during the 18th century. In her twentieth year, she translated the *Enchiridion* of Epictetus. Her poems display considerable talent, but as an epistolary writer, she stands almost unrivalled by any contemporary author. Her beauty, wit, vivacity, and learning commanded general admiration, and extended her fame through the British empire. By the introduction of the Turkish practice of inoculation for the smallpox into Europe, she became the common benefactress of Christendom. She not only recommended the adoption of the practice to the English, through the medium of Mr. Maitland, the medical attendant on an embassy to the Porte, but she gave the best possible proof of her confidence in its utility, by inoculating her own son, at Pera, in 1718. We have somewhere seen a well-written essay on inoculation, with the signature "William Stuart," which we believe to have been the production of her ladyship's grandson, the present Primate of all Ireland.

4 About this period Boswell, in his *Life of Dr. Johnson*, speaks of him in the following terms:—"On Thursday, April tenth (1783), I introduced to him, at his house in Bolt-court, the Honourable and Reverend William Stuart, son of the Earl of Bute, a gentleman truly worthy of being known to

Johnson, being, with all the advantages of high birth, learning, travel and elegant manners, an exemplary parish priest, in every respect." *Boswell's Life of Johnson*.

5 There are, however, a few things which we cannot, in common justice, omit mentioning—1st. He is a resident Primate, who superintends the church committed to his care, with conscientious vigilance. His presence in Armagh and the money which he extends in that neighbourhood, are highly beneficial to the country—2nd. He seems anxious to provide for the acting clergy of his own diocese.—3rd. He has given parishes to several old curates who possessed no other interest in the church, than a certain consciousness in his Grace's bosom, that they merited preferment—4th. He has encouraged the building of comfortable Glebe-houses for his clergy, and the natural consequence is, that there is scarcely a non-resident clergyman in his diocese. Indeed his own salutary example has greatly contributed to this effect—5th. He has adorned Armagh with some beautiful public buildings, which shall be mentioned in the sequel of this work—6th. During the late famine, his pecuniary grants to the committee established in Armagh for relieving the indigent poor, were munificent.—We shall conclude these brief remarks on the conduct of this excellent prelate, by observing that so long as he shall be spared to the church and the people,

"Non perire mores, jus, decus pietas, fides."

6 See the list in *Cotton's Fasti*, vol IV. app. p. 2. 7 See a notice of him in *Notes and Queries*, 1860 p. 126. 8 A new gallery for choristers, and an altar, erected at the west end of the nave were not paid for at the time, but their cost was subsequently defrayed by Primate Lord John G. Beresford.



CHAPTER XXV.

MODERN ARMAGH: ITS PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND INSTITUTIONS.

The Protestant Cathedral—Its present Dimensions—Restoration in present Century—Public Library—Founded by Primate Lord Rokeby—Observatory—Succession of Astronomers—Royal Classical School—Church of St. Malachy—Stuart's Account of it as "The Roman Catholic Chapel"—St. Patrick's Seminary—Founded by Primate Crolly—In charge of the Vincentian Fathers—Convent of the Sacred Heart—Early Struggles—The New Building—Schools of the Christian Brothers.

Supplementary Notes.—Sources of information about the Protestant Cathedral—Dr. Reeves and the Public Library—Books and Manuscripts in the Library—The Astronomical Instruments at the Observatory.



ARMAGH CATHEDRAL was originally 140 feet in length; but it has since been greatly enlarged, and its form considerably changed. It is now, from east to west, 183½ feet in the clear, and 119 from north to south. The whole external length of the walls of the eastern and western aisles [*i.e.* the extreme length of the building externally], including that of the central space comprised within the supporting arches of the tower and spire, is 192 feet

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The accounts of the Protestant Cathedral, the Public Library and the Observatory are from the pen of Mr. Garstin, who has also contributed the *Supplementary Notes* on these subjects.

— that of the northern and southern [*i.e.* of the transepts: Stuart's use of the word "aisle" is peculiar], 128 feet.

The church is cruciform. Its great western aisle [the nave] is appropriated to the celebration of morning service—the eastern, to that of the evening. The north aisle [transept] forms the grand entrance to the cathedral, and in the southern, the archbishop's court, parochial vestries, &c., are held [A.D. 1819].

It must be borne in mind, that since the original edition of Stuart's book was published in 1819, this building has been restored, between 1834 and 1840 (at a cost of over £34,000), under and mainly at the expense of Primate Lord John George Beresford, and that considerable changes were effected subsequently, after the lapse of nearly half-a-century. Readers who wish for a fuller account of the cathedral should consult the *Memoir of Armagh Cathedral* by (the late) Edward Rogers, deputy-librarian of the public library of Armagh, 12mo., Belfast, undated, but published between 1881-6, by W. and G. Baird.^a

On the south side of the southern aisle, there is a bust of Primate Robinson with the following inscription:—

JUSTA SITUS EST
RICARDUS ROBINSON—BARO DE ROKEBY,
HUIUSQUE ECCLESIE, PER TRIGINTA ANNOS,
ARCHIEPISCOPUS.
QUO IN MUNERE OBEUNDO,
INGENII LIBERI ET PERSPICACIS
EGREGIUM PRÆSTITIT EXEMPLAR.
AVUNCULO SUO ET PATRONO
JOANNES ROBINSON,
EJUSDEM ECCLESIE HAUD ITA PRIDEM ARCHIDIACONUS,
L. M. P.
OBIIT, OCTOBRIS DIE DECIMO,
A.D. MDCCXCIV.
ANNUM AGENS OCTOGES. SEXTUM.

BACON, SCULPTOR.

LON., 1892.

Translation:—

NEAR HERE LIE [THE REMAINS OF]
RICHARD ROBINSON—BARON OF ROKEBY,
OF THIS CHURCH, FOR THIRTY YEARS
ARCHBISHOP.

IN THE DISCHARGE OF WHICH OFFICE,
OF A LIBERAL AND ENLIGHTENED MIND
HE SHOWED A BRIGHT EXAMPLE.

TO HIS UNCLE AND PATRON
JOHN ROBINSON,
OF THE SAME CHURCH NOT VERY LONG AGO ARCHDEACON,
ERECTED THIS STONE MONUMENT.
HE DIED, OCT. 10, 1794,
IN HIS 86TH YEAR.

Stuart's meagre account may be supplemented by the following extract from a letter written from the Armagh Palace, thirteenth of November, 1843, by "one of Her Majesty's chaplains, son of a peer," which was printed in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette* of the seventeenth of March, 1899:—

"The cathedral is very perfect in its kind, small, about 200 feet long, and with no pretensions, but very admirably done: the chancel of decorated, the nave of perpendicular, with singular little windows in the clerestories, triangular. Almost the whole is new work, and the cost of raising the old upright, and making good defects, as great as if it had been built from the ground. The walls of the nave were many inches out of the perpendicular. They were raised by heating iron rods—the contracting of the iron in course of cooling having force enough to raise them two inches at a time; which was repeated three times a day till they were straight. The whole of the east end of the cross, the tower, and a considerable portion of the nave are taken into the choir, which is very handsomely and chastely fitted up with solid oak. The organ is at the end of the south transept, arranged on each side of the window. The singing men and boys are under the tower. Anything more perfect than the way in which the service is conducted I never heard, and cannot conceive. The staff of singers is very large, with three exceptions all trained

from choristers; admirable voices and most respectable men. The precentor himself chants part of the service, and there is an earnestness and devotional character about the whole which I never remember to have witnessed. At present they have only Morning Service on the week days. The Primate [Lord John George Beresford], always attends. He is a princely person: his munificence apparently unbounded, showing itself in all ways, and quite adored by his clergy, of whom I have seen several."

THE PUBLIC LIBRARY.

Primate Robinson, who in 1777 was created Baron Rokeby of Armagh, in the peerage of Ireland, and who was the great restorer of the city, contemplated the foundation of a University there, as elsewhere noticed. See in the *Castlereagh Correspondence* the letter of his executor, Rev. James Hamilton, the Astronomer, dated 1798, as to the contribution of £5,000, offered in his will. It was probably with a view to such a noble scheme that he previously founded this library and, 18 years later, the Observatory.

The library is a very handsome edifice, situated near the infirmary in Abbey Street, a little to the north-west of the cathedral. It was laid out with a piece of ground for a court, "containing in front to the street 153 feet." The original building was only three windows wide, as shown on a medal struck in commemoration from a die by John Kirk, of Piccadilly, which has on one side the bust of Primate Lord Rokeby, and on the other the front of the library with its Greek inscription, without the date. It was completed in the year 1771, at a cost of £3,000, and in 1848 extended and faced with cut stone.

To stamp his foundation with permanence and dignity, the primate soon afterwards procured the passing by the Irish parliament of an act (amongst other things) "for settling and preserving a public library in the city of Armagh for ever." This was framed on the model of that for the free library founded in Dublin, in 1709, by his predecessor, Primate Narcissus Marsh (*Irish Statutes*, iv. 169). The Armagh Act is of 14 & 15 George III., cap. 40, and is in vol. x. of the *Irish Statutes*, p. 603 (folio, Dublin, 1782). It was printed in

1773 (or 4) and reprinted in Armagh in 1890. A summary of it is in the *Liber Munerum*, vol. ii. The preamble recites that "the most Reverend father in God, Richard, Lord Archbishop of Armagh, &c., out of his general inclination to the public good of this kingdom, . . . hath at his own costs and charges erected and built a house upon a spot of ground, part of the estate of the see of Armagh, and hath fitted and prepared the principal part of the said house for a public library for ever for the use of all persons who shall resort thereto at the hours to be appointed for the library keeper's attendance, and shall conform themselves to the rules, orders and directions of the governors thereof for the time being."

The act vests the library property in a corporate body styled "guardians and governors of the library erected by Richard Lord Archbishop of Armagh." They consist of the Primate, Dean, the four other dignitaries and four prebendaries of the cathedral, together with "two persons of the diocese of Armagh," who may be by them elected. The "persons" so co-opted were for about a century invariably clergymen (the first bearing the appropriate name of Buik). The writer of this notice, John R. Garstin, of Braganstown, county Louth, was the first layman so elected, and with him is now associated Sir James Stronge, Bart., of Tynan. The constitution of the library board was not affected by the Irish Church Disestablishment.

The Library Act provides for the appointment by the primate of a library keeper, who is to have the lodgings and apartments assigned to him, and the income of ten acres of town park in Lisanally. He must be "a presbyter of the Church of England or Ireland," and a Master of Arts of one of the Universities or Colleges of those countries, and must take the Library Oath, and give £500 security. An annual visitation by the governors or guardians—three, including the primate or his deputy, being a quorum—is to be held "on the day preceding or next after the general visitation of the diocese. As these are in abeyance the visitations of the library are now held before the annual meetings of the Diocesan Synod.

The first library-keeper is said by Stuart to have been the Rev. William Lodge, LL.D., Chancellor of Armagh Cathedral, 1790, appointed by Primate Robinson himself. Dr. Reeves says, on

August twenty-ninth, 1785, and if that date is correct the library was without a keeper for some twelve years. He was only child of the famous archivist, John Lodge, whose manuscripts were bought by the government, as related by Reeves. He became a vicar-choral in 1768, resigned the living of Derrynoose 1780; became chancellor of the cathedral in 1790, and died twenty-third of February, 1813. To him succeeded, as recorded by Reeves:—2, Richard Allott, 1813-34; 3, Josias Francis Flavelle, 1834-51; 4, James Hogan, twenty-eighth May, 1834, to twelfth March, 1862; 5, Dr. Reeves himself,^b 1862 (See his *Life*, by Lady Ferguson). He became bishop of Down, &c., eleventh May, 1886, and resigned the keepership as from first November, following. He died in Dublin, while President R.I.A., and was interred in the churchyard of Armagh cathedral. To him succeeded—6, Benjamin Wade, M.A., chancellor of Armagh and rector of Donaghmore. He resigned the latter and was appointed by Primate Knox, in March, 1887. He died fourth of January, 1890, aged 74, and was buried in the cathedral churchyard, near his predecessor; 7, William Moore Morgan, LL.D., Ex-Sch., T.C.D., late head master of the Royal School. He was appointed, fifteenth of January, 1890, and Primate Knox gave him also the prebend of Mullaghbrack, in the cathedral, so he is one of the board, as were all his predecessors, except Mr. Hogan.^c

Under the keepers there have been deputy-librarians, of whom one—Mr. David Hamilton—is commended by Stuart. He had been appointed a vicar-choral in 1784, and held that office 46 years later according to Erck. He was deputy-librarian from January 1796, to June, 1829, when Benjamin Cranmer succeeded. Mr. Edward Rogers, who published *Memoirs of Armagh*, was appointed September, 1838, and on his death, the Rev. Charles Faris, a vicar-choral, who is the present deputy, was appointed.

THE OBSERVATORY.

The Armagh Observatory was founded in 1791, by Primate Robinson, Lord Rokeby, the great benefactor of Armagh. He had previously founded and endowed a Public Library, and during the last years of his life he had in contemplation the establishment of a

National University in that city, as before noticed, and it was probably with that view that he decided on the establishment of the Observatory, being also influenced by his having at hand an astronomer competent to take charge of the institution, namely the Rev. J. A. Hamilton (who was afterwards one of his executors). On the fifth of April, 1791, the primate vested the Institution in a body of ex-officio governors and guardians, the same as those above-named for the Library, with "two persons"—not in this case necessarily "of the diocese of Armagh"—to be co-opted by them. Of these the writer is one, and Lord Chancellor Ball, was another, in whose place the Earl of Rosse was elected in 1899.

The Very Rev. James Archibald Hamilton, D.D. (afterwards dean of Cloyne), was appointed the first principal astronomer at this institution, by Primate Robinson. His commission bears date July thirty-first, 1790. He died in the observatory, on the twenty-first of November, 1815, and, immediately after his demise, was succeeded by the Rev. William Davenport, D.D., senior fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and professor of natural philosophy in that university, whose abilities were very generally acknowledged to be a very high order. He died July the twenty-sixth, 1823.

The third Astronomer was the celebrated Rev. Dr. Romney Robinson. He was born in Dublin, on twenty-third of April, 1792, studied at Trinity College and obtained a Fellowship in 1814, which he resigned for the college living of Enniskillen. He exchanged that living in 1825 for Carrickmacross (also in the gift of T.C.D.), and held the latter till his death, but he always resided at the Observatory. He was for some time Deputy Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Dublin. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society and received from it a Royal Medal. He also became President of the Royal Irish Academy. He published many works of great research, chiefly in the Transactions of learned societies, the work known as the *Armagh Catalogue* being of 5,345 stars observed there 1828-54, and *Astronomical Observations made at Armagh Observatory*, London, 1823 32, &c. Having held the office of Astronomer for over fifty-eight years and having nearly attained to 98 years of age, he died on the twenty-eighth of February, 1882.

His successor was the present Astronomer, J. L. E. Dreyer, Ph.D., who had been from 1874-8 Astronomer to the earl of Rosse, and afterwards Assistant Astronomer at the Observatory of Trinity College, at Dunsink. He has published several scientific papers, and a *Life of Tycho Brahe*, 8vo., Edinburgh, 1890."

Twenty-two acres of the see lands, in the north-eastern suburbs of Armagh, were assigned for the buildings and for the use of the Astronomer, and the townland of Derrynaught was also bought for £5,500, by Primate Lord Rokeby, and given as an endowment for that official. In order to give authority and permanence to this establishment, the Irish Parliament passed, in 1791, the Act 31st George III., cap. 46, entitled, "An Act for settling and preserving a Publick Observatory and Museum in the city of Armagh for ever." This act is not to be found in the *Liber Munerum*, but it is a public act, and was reprinted in Armagh, in 1890. Its provisions much resemble those in the Library Act. The power of appointing the "Astronomer and keeper of the Observatory and Museum" is reserved to the primate and his successors, the board having the power of suspending or dismissing him. On appointment, the Astronomer must produce a certificate from the Astronomer Royal of England of his due qualification, give security in £500, and take the oath. The annual visitation is fixed like that of the library.

THE ROYAL "CLASSICAL" SCHOOL.

This institution is to be classed amongst the free schools of royal foundation. By a grant executed on the fifteenth of December, 1627, King Charles I. vested in Archbishop James Ussher, and his successors, the lands of Mocullenowtra, Lisballyvally, Ballymore (alias Mullymore), Ballybottyn, Cornegrallagh, and Kincon, in the precincts of Orier, in the county of Armagh. This tract, which was supposed to have contained 750 acres, was to have been held by the primate, in trust for the support of a master, who was to have conducted and presided over a free school at Mountnorris; but Armagh was eventually deemed a more eligible situation for such an institution, as we have already stated.

By the 12th of George I. cap. 9, sec. 6, the primate was em-

powered to set the lands, for any term not exceeding twenty-one years, at the improved rent reserved to him and his successors, in trust for the master. And by the 11th and 12th George III., cap. 71, secs. 12 and 13, this power was revived and made perpetual; but the rent was to be at least three-fourths of the true value, at the lessee's peril. By the first of George II., the archbishop was authorized to appoint, by his certificate, part of the lands belonging to any free school, for the residence and demesne lands of the master, who was to be paid by his successor for any improvements he might make on the premises in a similar manner and in the same proportion, as improving rectors are to be remunerated by the succeeding incumbents of their respective parishes, &c.

Under these acts, the lands, amounting, by accurate survey, to 1530 acres, English measure, including roads, lakes, rivers, and about one hundred acres of bog, have been set, at different times, by the archbishops of Armagh. In 1804, they produced the gross annual rent of £1,144 10s. 5½d.; in 1818, £1,402 11s. 1d.

The present school-house is situated a little southward of the Observatory. It is separated from the great Castledillon road by a quadrangular court, in front of which a portico of considerable length extends along the highway, and communicates with two distinct convenient and roomy dwelling-houses, appropriated to the use of the master, his family and the students. Thus the court is completely enclosed by these dwelling-houses, the portico and the school-house itself, in the rear of which there is a spacious play-ground, surrounded by a well-built wall of considerable height, and here the boys are permitted to exercise for health and recreation in the intervals of study.

The buildings belonging to the institution, which were completed in the year 1774, cost £8,078, of which £3,000 were advanced by Primate Robinson, and £5,078, by the reverend and venerable Arthur Grueber, D.D.

CHURCH OF SAINT MALACHY.

The following is the author's account of it, written in 1819.



CHARLES MONT CASTLE



DOOR OF CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL



THE PUBLIC LIBRARY.



SIDE VIEW OF CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL

We give it as it stands without change, as the whole narrative is a forcible reminder of the backward and servile state of the Catholic body in Armagh at that period, brought about by the operation of the penal laws. To this account we have to add, that before this chapel was built, the chapel of Tullysaren, three miles and a half from Armagh, served as the parish church. This chapel was burned twice by the Orangemen in the last century. Annaeramp is the other country chapel belonging to the parish. Before this was built, the Catholics of the district heard Mass in a "Mass-garden," the site of which is still pointed out in a three-cornered field, opposite the present chapel. "Mass-gardens," in which the people worshipped in the open air, while the priest offered the Holy Sacrifice under a wooden structure, were very common in Armagh, even during the early part of the present century. Up to 1813, there was one in constant use in the parish of Tynan, which had no chapel.

The Very Rev. Patrick Byrne, of whom the author speaks, was the last parish priest of Armagh. On his death, in 1834, Armagh passed over to the primate as an episcopal mensal parish. Before Emancipation, the primates did not dare to officiate in the town of Armagh, but used to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation in a house, situated just three miles outside, where they likewise held the conferences of the clergy. They also confirmed in the old Castle or Fort of Charlemont. Tradition has it that they were not allowed to officiate within the three mile limit.

The church of St. Malachy is still in daily use, and is likely to continue so, as it is in a very central situation. It is commonly known by the name of the "Old Chapel" :—

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHAPEL.

(Original Edition, p. 545).

This edifice is situated south-eastward of the [Protestant] cathedral, near the spot where Temple Brigit formerly stood. It was built in an enclosure off Chapel Lane, which forms the direct line of communication between Castle Street and Ogle Street. The ground on which it was erected was, in part, the property of the Annesley family, to whose ancestor it had been transferred by King James I. on the

ninth of January, 1618. The Roman Catholics, however, derived their title under a lease made on the second of December, 1750, by Thomas Conroy, of the city of Dublin, to Messrs. Henry Whittington, Arthur O'Neill, Pierce Maguire, John Quinn, Robert Jones, Edward Whittington, and Edward Savage, for a term of thirty-one years, at two guineas per annum. Shortly after the perfecting of this indenture, the chapel was built. After the expiration of the lease, the tenement continued to be held under Thomas Campbell, in whom Conroy's title then vested. In 1806, the lease of the Rev. Mr. Martin, chief tenant for the premises to the Earl of Anglesey, expired, and the Annesley property was purchased, in 1799, by Leonard Dobbin, Esq., who generously granted a lease of the chapel, for 999 years, at 5d. per annum, to the Rev. Raymond O'Hanlon, D.D., Messrs. Charles Whittington, Richard Whittington, Denis M'Kee, Charles Kavanagh and James Gribbin, in trust for the Roman Catholics of the parish of Armagh, who, in gratitude for this liberal act, presented their benefactor with a silver cup, value £50, and an appropriate vote of thanks. Another portion of the premises on which the chapel was built belonged to Thomas Ogle, Esq., who granted it, during his own tenure, to the Roman Catholics of the parish, gratuitously. About the year 1799, Ogle Street became partly the property of Messrs. William and James Cochran, and these liberal gentlemen made a renewable lease of their interest in the chapel tenement, to the trustees of the congregation, at a barley-corn rent. For this act of kindness, the Roman Catholics of the parish returned public thanks to the donors, in a grateful and energetic address, and presented each of them with a silver cup.

The chapel has been greatly enlarged and improved within these last few years. The roof is triple, as if constructed for three distinct houses, and has a singular appearance; but the entire building has a pleasing effect to the view. The Very Rev. Patrick Byrne, D.D., Roman Catholic dean of Armagh, presides over the congregation which assembles here. This gentleman, a native of the county of Tyrone, was educated at Paris, and having graduated there, was appointed superior of the Irish seminary at Nantes. After many years, he returned to Ireland and officiated as a parish priest, first in

the neighbourhood of Aughnacloy, and afterwards near Dungannon. He was subsequently chosen president of the College of Maynooth, where he resided about five years, and fulfilled the duties of his office in a manner creditable to himself and advantageous to his pupils. He then removed to Armagh, where he succeeded the Very Rev. Raymond O'Hanlon, D.D., a most liberal, pious, humane, hospitable and learned divine.

Dr. Byrne preaches to a very large and very respectable congregation. His chapel, though capable of containing a multitude of people, is excessively crowded on Sundays; and it frequently happens that numbers of his hearers are unable to gain admission, and are obliged to worship in the open air. The Roman Catholic inhabitants of the parish of Armagh, unlike those of Kilevy, &c., can all speak the English language fluently. They are remarkably fond of their spiritual pastors, on whose superintending care they place the utmost reliance; and are in general a peaceable, well-conducted, and devout body of people.

ST. PATRICK'S SEMINARY.

When Dr. Crollly became primate in 1835, he found, as was usual in the northern province at the time, that no seminary or college was in existence in the whole diocese, for the education either of clerical students for the ministry, or of lay Catholics for the learned professions. There was, indeed, a classical day-school, in Castle Street, Armagh, kept by a Mr. Breen, a Catholic, where many who were afterwards priests of the diocese commenced their studies; but it may be said, that, speaking generally, those who desired a good classical education for their children were forced to send them to Protestant schools. The primate at once determined to find a remedy for this deplorable state of things and thus counteract the evils which of necessity arose from it. In 1836, he ordered collections through the diocese for the building of a Catholic seminary. In the meantime, he procured a site and began the building without delay. When finished it was found that, as frequently happens in such cases, the actual cost was double the original estimate, so that to complete the building, the primate had to advance £600 from his private means.

The school was opened in September, 1838. Twelve only were present on the opening day, of whom three were intended for the priesthood. The numbers, however, rapidly increased, and, towards the end of the academic year, fifty-five were on the roll. The first president was the Very Rev. Father Gassan, who was assisted by four professors, two of whom were priests, Rev. Fathers O'Kane and Dooly, and two laymen, Messrs. M'Alister and Maguire. Day-pupils as well as boarders were received. Though lay-pupils have always been received, the seminary was mainly intended for the purpose of preparing clerical students for the College of Maynooth. Doctor Crolly was a frequent visitor to the seminary, and sometimes examined the scholars in Tacitus and Longinus, with which authors he seemed to be very familiar.

All the clergy of the diocese and a great number of the laity have received their education at the seminary. By a regulation, now in existence for several years, the former are bound to spend at least two years there, before going to Maynooth or a foreign college.

By his will, proved on the fifth of May, 1849, Doctor Crolly devised to trustees the buildings, offices, and five acres of land (with reservation of site for a convent), held in fee-farm at a rent of £31 10s. per annum, for the maintenance of the seminary.

In 1861, Primate Dixon gave the seminary in charge to the Vincentian Fathers, who have ably conducted it ever since. The first superior under the new régime was the Very Rev. Father Kearney, C.M.

SACRED HEART CONVENT.

Doctor Cullen, shortly after he was appointed primate, made application to Madame Barat, Superioress of the Nuns of the Sacred Heart, to send a foundation to Armagh. She readily consented, having known him intimately in Rome, and sent a few nuns in 1851, who opened poor schools in Abbey Street towards the end of the same year. The schools were soon filled with scholars, the very poorest of the poor. The nuns, it need scarcely be said, found the greatest ignorance prevailing, in spite of the simple piety of the people. Accommodation for the three hundred children they gathered

around them was of the poorest description ; yet, out of their limited means, besides giving them instruction, the Sisters furnished them with clothes and food. On days of First Communion, they clothed the young communicants from head to foot ; whilst, on the feast of St. Vincent of Paul, a distribution of garments at the school completely won the hearts of the people to the nuns who had come amongst them. Many were heard to say they could die in peace, as the servants of God were in Armagh, who would look after their children when they were gone. In addition to the ordinary school work, the Sisters opened a Sunday School, to which came four hundred women, principally linen workers whose instruction had been neglected in childhood.

The nuns took up their temporary residence at the Pavilion, and afterwards moved to Charlemont Place. Madame Barat herself furnished the humble little chapel of this house with vestments, a monstrance, candlesticks and flowers.

Though the nuns of the Sacred Heart, according to their rule, teach the poor wherever they are, this is not their only or even principal duty. They give a first-class education to children of the better classes, and possess some of the finest Catholic educational establishments in the world. From the very first, they have conducted a boarding-school in Armagh, which has been of the greatest service to the north of Ireland, where no similar establishment was to be found for several years after its foundation.

In 1859, the nuns removed from their temporary residence in the town to the present convent at Mount St. Catherine, a name given to the hill by Primate Dixon. A bazaar, in aid of the building-fund, was held in the convent just before the nuns took possession, and realised between four and five hundred pounds.

Primate Dixon ever proved himself their true friend. It appears that three or four years after coming to Armagh, they were about to abandon their mission, owing to disappointments of various kinds. The Primate was alarmed, and, by his prayers and influence, induced them to remain. It was he who got them to take the present site of the convent, then a bare hill ; it was he who dedicated it to his dear

St. Catherine, and blessed the cemetery in which he himself was afterwards buried. He invariably said Mass every morning in the convent chapel.

The nuns are under numberless obligations to the good primate; among which may be mentioned that he deposited in their keeping a large relic of St. Concord, and purchased the large valuable painting of St. Catherine which now adorns the convent walls. The Primate often expressed the wish to be buried in the convent cemetery, in order to have a special share in the prayers of the community, and this wish was carried out after his death, which occurred in 1866.

Although the Order is French, the Irish element in the community largely predominated from the very beginning, a few French and German sisters being always attached for teaching those languages. The most notable figure among those who have passed away, and one who is still remembered with veneration by the people of Armagh, is Mother Gordon, a native of Scotland, who combined piety with a remarkable aptitude for business. During her three-and-twenty years of office as head of the community, the welfare of the convent seemed to rest entirely in her hands. By her exertions the magnificent new wing was built in 1885. The once bare and bleak hill is now like a park; beautiful gardens and pretty avenues surround the convent—to her all this improvement is entirely due. A beautiful memorial chapel has been fitted up within the convent walls, dedicated to "Mary most Admirable," to whom Mother Gordon had a special devotion. Dr. MacGettigan and the priests erected the altar in the Convent Chapel.

The community generally number thirty-five. They have thirty pupils in the pension day-school, and there are 300 names on the rolls of the National (non-vested) school. The Sisters also have a Summer night-school for mill girls, which averages between fifty and sixty in attendance. In this school, the girls are gratuitously taught reading, writing, arithmetic and needlework. This school is a relic of an industrial school, founded by Mother Gordon, when the mill population of Armagh was much greater than now, but which fell through owing to the American Civil War, bringing about a failure of the cotton industry, and the consequent exodus of the mill-

workers from the town. A new enterprise has lately engaged the attention of the community, which deserves the greatest success, as it will prove an incalculable blessing to other countries besides our own. It is the establishment of an "Apostolic School" for girls over fifteen years of age, who have a vocation for the foreign missions. These girls will receive a preliminary training in the religious life, while carrying on their ordinary studies, and will be kept quite apart from the ordinary boarders. They will also receive training in household work and the art of teaching, and in general, will acquire all the special knowledge necessary for the missions to which they intend to devote themselves.

The Nuns of the Sacred Heart can look back with pardonable pride on their record of self-sacrificing work, done for poor and rich alike, in the city of Armagh. They have been there for close on half-a-century, and when they first came there were hardly any Catholic schools in the whole district. They can thus take an honoured place among those who helped Catholic Ireland forward, as she was emerging from the penal times.

SCHOOLS OF THE CHRISTIAN BROTHERS.

The Christian Brothers came to Armagh in 1851, at the invitation of Primate Cullen. Their first residence was a house in Irish Street, lent to them by Mr. Gribbins, an influential Catholic, and stores belonging to the same gentleman were utilised as temporary schools. In the following year, the Primate made a public collection for the Brothers, which was so well responded to by the people, that he was able to buy their present house at Greenpark for them. This in former years had been the residence of Father Byrne, the last parish priest of Armagh. It had continued to be the parochial house for some years afterwards, but, on the outbreak of the cholera in 1849, all the priests but one died in it and the survivor would not remain on the premises.

In the interval which elapsed between the departure of the priests and the coming of the Brothers, the house had become very ruinous, but before long the latter put it into a habitable state, and built the present cheery schools, in which they give a good elementary

education to one hundred and eighty boys. In connection with the extensive repairing of the house and the building of the schools, the name of one brother, Mr. Cronin, deserves special mention. He collected a great deal of money for this purpose, not only in various parts of Ireland, but also in England, especially in Liverpool, where he was well known, having been stationed there for some years after joining the Institute.

We have not space to describe the municipal and county institutions and buildings which Armagh has in common with most other county towns, nor would the description if given, be of more than local interest. Let it suffice to say that Armagh is well provided for in this respect. Particular mention should be made of the magnificent new lunatic asylum where five hundred inmates receive every care and attention due to their unfortunate condition. The building was erected in palatial style, regardless of cost, and has proved an untold blessing to the county of Armagh and other counties bordering on it.^a

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

^a SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT THE PROTESTANT CATHEDRAL. — In Ware's *Bishops* will be found an engraving showing the cathedral as it appeared in the early part of the eighteenth century. A framed copy of this is in the chapter room.

Mr. John Davidson published, in 1833, some account of the cathedral, in a small pamphlet, entitled *Notices Historical and Topographical*. A large lithographed view of the interior was afterwards published, and a copy may be seen in the library.

In 1886, a pamphlet of 14 pp. was published by Messrs. R. H. Carpenter and B. Ingelow, architects, being their report on the fabric and the then existing arrangements for divine service, with a description of the alterations proposed to be made.

To this is prefixed (from Mr. Cottingham's original drawings and other sources) a plate showing the appearance of the cathedral and the fortified wall round the churchyard before the work of restoration was begun in 1834. It also gives two ground plans, one of them showing the arrangement of seats, &c., before the screen was removed, and the other the re-arrangement then proposed and to a great extent carried out. In *The Builder*, of 27th September, 1890, will be found a two-page photo-lithograph of the interior from the choir, as drawn by Mr. Carpenter, with a description by him and a plan, as also a reproduction of the view of Cottingham above-mentioned.

A plan, showing the present arrangements and the position of the monuments,

was specially prepared for Murray's *Hand-book for Ireland*, which contains an account of the cathedral.

The *Journal* of the Royal Society of Antiquaries for 1884 and 1899 record the visits of that Society to Armagh.

The succession of the deans and other dignitaries and prebendaries, as well as of the vicars-choral and organists, will be found in Cotton's *Fasti*. Notices of the organists will be found prefixed to Finlayson's *Anthem*s.

b DR. REEVES AND THE PUBLIC LIBRARY.

—A memoir of the library, by Dr. Reeves, then its "keeper," and dean of Armagh, afterwards bishop of Down, &c., P.R.I.A., was read at the seventh annual meeting of the Library Association of the United Kingdom, held at Dublin, 30th September, 1884, and was two years later published in the *Journal* of that Society and reprinted for private circulation at the Chiswick Press, roy. 8vo., 15 pp. As this account is more complete than that of Stuart it is mainly followed here. It opens with notices of the ancient schools and library of Armagh, the famous *Book of Armagh*, and kindred manuscripts and their scribes, and of Archbishop Fitz-Ralph. It concludes with remarks on the classification and cataloguing of books, incidentally noticing some of the curious contents of this library.

When Dr. Reeves became library-keeper, in 1862, he found no catalogue but an interleaved copy of old Robert Fisher's Bodleian one, in which any books common to both libraries were marked for Armagh in the margin, and every item without a counterpart was entered on the interleaf. He then determined to compile a new catalogue for Armagh library. "So," says he, "I fell to work with my slips, and among the pamphlets and miscellaneous collections broke new ground, for not an item of the kind had been recorded; they were a mine to which, if there was an entrance, there was no guide to show the way. I worked vigorously for four years, writing most of the slips myself, and then adjusting them all, and finally copying them out fairly, in close and regular sequence; and

within five years I furnished to the satisfaction of the governors of the library, two large folio volumes, with 25,460 articles, and bearing date 1867." This is an admirable performance: testifying to Dr. Reeves' great skill and accuracy as a scribe, as well as to his well-known bibliographical accomplishments.

In 1892 the Library Board published a catalogue of the manuscripts and a list of selected books, which was printed at Belfast, in royal 8vo., and contains 68 pages. The manuscripts include transcripts of the archiepiscopal registers of several of the primates, and a calendar of same from 1360 to 1558, made by Dr. Reeves.

c BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARY.—In Theology, the collection of books is very extensive, particularly in the department relating to biblical criticism, to which material additions have lately been made. The voluminous works of the Fathers occupy a considerable space in the reading-room.

There are here a great number of good editions of the most important classic authors, and the collection of lexicographic writings is copious. That of the ancient grammarians seems rather deficient. The library contains many valuable and curious travels, such as Sir John Chardin's works, *Pococke*, with plates. Here inquisitive readers may find *Purchas*, his *Pilgrimages* (a scarce work), with the frontispiece, which most of the copies do not contain, and on which book-collectors set a very high value.

In History, particularly that relating to Great Britain and Ireland, the collection is, perhaps, more copious than in any other department of literature. In books relating to science it is rather deficient; but by no means so in those which treat of the arts. Amongst the scarce volumes deposited here, the amateurs of printing will find one exceedingly curious and difficult of attainment, viz., a work of Gerson, chancellor of the university of Paris, printed at Strasburg, in the year 1488, by Joannes de Westphalia. The most ancient Bible, which we have been able to discover in the Armagh library, is a

Latin Bible with a Concordance, printed on the 24th of July, 1521, at Lyons, with singularly fanciful engravings at the head of the chapters.

Here also are Rymer's *Fœdera*, almost all Dugdale's works, *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Græcarum et Romanorum*, Grævii; Strype's works, *The Variorum Classics*, *Poetae Græci Principes*, Henrici Stephani, &c., &c.

There are some manuscripts in the great public room, to which every reader may have access. But there other writings and books in the library, which, under Primate Robinson's will, cannot be submitted to public inspection. Stuart (original edition) p. 536.

In 1868, the number of volumes in the library was over 17,000. The valuable *See Records* are easy of consultation, as they have been beautifully transcribed by Dr. Reeves, a labour of love to which he devoted several years.

d STATE OF THE ASTRONOMICAL INSTRUMENTS.—The state of the instruments was recently summarized by Dr. Dreyer thus: In addition to the clocks and the chronograph, the only instruments capable of producing anything like good results are the mural circle and the 15-inch equatorial reflector. Of these the mural circle, even with the improvements carried out in 1862, is quite out of date as to construction, though the second Armagh Catalogue of 3,000 stars, published at the cost of the Royal Society, is of value. To try to improve it does not appear advisable, as a reconstruction of it would cost nearly as much as a new transit circle, but its fine 7-inch telescope might be utilized. The 15-inch reflector only wants to be polished in order to become a useful instrument. An equatorially-mounted refractor, of at least six inches aperture, is very much needed.

In the debate on the Irish Church Act in the House of Lords, the case of the

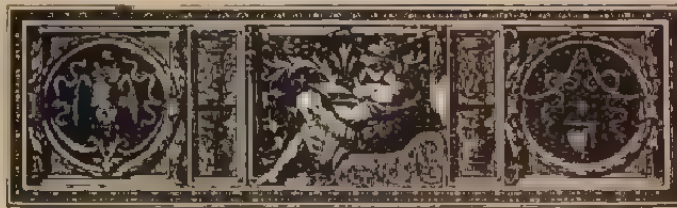
Observatory was pleaded by Earl Stanhope, 9th July, 1869, and in December, 1883, Government tardily gave a grant of £2,000, out of which, as ultimately arranged, a new telescope was being purchased, from Sir Howard Grubb, of Dublin, at a cost of £1,000, with a small observatory of iron and wood, surmounted by a dome of iron and *papier maché*; the cost of the latter being defrayed by a fund subscribed as a memorial of Dr. Romney Robinson, the astronomer.

Unfortunately, the income of the observatory was affected by the disestablishment of the church. It consisted of £106 from rents of church lands held on renewable leases, the perpetuity of which had to be bought out of part of the money received for the sale of the Rectorial Tithes of Carlingford, which had produced an income of £110; thus reducing the income by about £60, and it is likely that the operation of the land courts will cause still further reduction.

e CATHOLIC CHAPLAINCIES IN ARMAGH.—By an Act of 7 George IV., sec. 68 (May 31, 1826) chaplains were to be appointed by Grand Juries to jails at salaries ranging from £30 to £50 per annum. Catholic chaplains have served the jail in Armagh from about that period.

Armagh Workhouse which was built in 1841, was opened on the third of January, the following year. Catholic chaplains have been appointed since the opening of this establishment.

The Lunatic Asylum which was opened on July 14, 1825, was at first not a county but a district asylum, serving Monaghan, Fermanagh, and Cavan, as well as Armagh. No Catholic chaplain was appointed to this institution for nearly half a century. For the last thirty years, however, Catholic chaplains have been regularly appointed. Owing to representations made by the present primate, a new Catholic chapel has been built by the governors, in 1896, at a cost of £1200.



CHAPTER XXVI.

THE CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL.

Contrast between the two Cathedrals—Sonnet by Aubrey de Vere—Foundation Stone laid in 1840—Primate Crolly's Collections—Primate Dixon's Collections and Bazaar—Primate MacGettigan opens the Cathedral in 1873—Dimensions of the Building—Primate Cardinal Logue builds the Sacristy and secures the Site of the Cathedral in fee-simple.



N approaching Armagh from the east, two conspicuous objects strike the eye and arrest the attention. Two summits, one to the left and the other to the right of the small city which lies in the valley between, are crowned with noble cathedrals. Apart from the controversial aspect of things, the contrast afforded by the two temples—the old and the new—is remarkable and unique. Ranging the eye across streets and houses, one sees, rising on the left, the eminence on which St. Patrick built his great church; and, embowered in foliage, there stands on it a venerable pile, built on the exact site of its prototype. Turning to the right, the eye follows the roof-line of the houses stretching towards the north which ends at the base of another summit, whereon a magnificent modern cathedral has been erected, the whole structure of which shows a striking unity of design.

To Catholics, it is a pleasure to feel that the loss of the older pile has been fully compensated for by the erection of the new. Though the memories of nearly fifteen centuries cling to the former,

the latter lacks not its link with the remote past. The site on which it stands is easily to be identified with the "other eminence" at the north side of Armagh, whither St. Patrick carried the fawn and which afterwards was remarkable for miraculous manifestations. The sonnet written by Aubrey de Vere, on the occasion of the consecration of the building, powerfully expresses the sentiment to to which we allude:—

This day, the crime of ages stands reversed :
 This day, with kinglier front and port more high,
 St. Patrick's towers invoke their native sky,
 His second Temple lordlier than his first ;
 Orient once more, a vanished Hope hath burst
 From night's black realm ; in Stygian pageantry
 The stormy wrecks of Penal years go by
 Like ghosts remanded to their bourn accurst.
 Ho, Watcher on the summits ! cry aloud,
 How speeds the dawn ? What promise gilds the East ?
 A Voice responds—thy voice, great Patriarch-Priest !
 " I see a Race baptized as in the cloud :
 I see a Nation round an Altar bowed ;
 I see God's People share His Marriage Feast."

When the founder of the cathedral, Doctor Crolly, was translated to the primatial see, he at once determined to erect a building that would be worthy of the city of St. Patrick. The great difficulty that presented itself was the want of a suitable site. All the land in the town and nearly all round about was "see-land," that is, land belonging to the Protestant Primate. But most providentially, the hill to which we have alluded, then called Sandy Hill, though almost surrounded by "see-land," was in possession of Lord Dartrey and was secured from him after some negotiation. Mr. Duff, an architect greatly in request at the time, furnished plans, and on St. Patrick's Day, 1840, the first stone was laid, with impressive ceremonies, amid a vast assemblage of clergy and laity. St. Patrick's plant "the dear, immortal shamrock," decorating every breast on that day, bore a more than ordinary significance to the eyes of those who came to witness the laying of the foundation-stone of the new cathedral.

To gather funds, a committee was formed in Armagh, and parish collections were organized through the entire diocese, and although the appeals were frequent and pressing, neither clergy nor laity complained, all being enthusiastic over the good work. The Primate sent a few priests to collect in other dioceses, but he himself undertook the task of visiting the cities, such as Cork and Limerick, and making the appeal in person. To the Irish clergy, he made successful application, going from conference to conference, and obtaining large supplies.

As regards the structure, a quarry of fine limestone was found, close to the Navan fort near Armagh, and another of freestone near Dungannon, the latter supplying material for the pillars and arches of the interior. The work of construction went steadily on from 1840 until the famine years, which proved the first serious obstacle. The funds, hitherto abundant, ceased to flow in, the charity of the nation being engaged on a still more pressing and holier work, that of relieving the starving millions of the poor. Yet the work did not cease altogether, as we find Doctor Crolly, in 1848, negotiating for the timber which was to form the roof of the cathedral. His death, however, in the following year, put an end to it for five years, as his successor, Doctor Cullen, took no interest in it.

Primate Dixon, who succeeded to the see in 1852, began at once to turn his attention to the great unfinished work. His first pastoral was an appeal for funds for the completion of the cathedral. He was not, however, in a position to resume the work till 1854. On Easter Monday of that year, he inaugurated his efforts by Pontifical High Mass, celebrated in the still unfinished building, tarpaulins having been stretched across from wall to wall to shelter the worshippers. On this day of the second birth of the cathedral, the weather was most unpropitious. A dreadful storm raged during the Mass and sermon, and showers of pitiless hail came down on the bare heads of the congregation, in places where the covering above had been rent by the force of the wind. Just after the Elevation, a gust of wind swept through the whole cathedral and extinguished the candles on the altar. But the violence of the storm did not damp the ardour of the people: a large collection made on the spot was the augury of still better things for the future.

Doctor Dixon now resumed in earnest the work of building. The architect, Mr. Duff, having died a short time previously, the plans were entrusted to Mr. MacCarthy, then a young man, who was soon to make his name famous by planning some of the most beautiful churches and cathedrals in the country. Instead of carrying out Duff's plans, which were in the perpendicular style of Gothic, he reverted to an earlier style, the decorated Gothic of the fourteenth century, in which most of the churches in the country have since been built.

A penny-a-week collection was organized by Doctor Dixon, with most satisfactory results, and, though called a penny collection it meant much more. Two Armagh priests, Fathers Donnelly and MacParlan, collected large sums in various dioceses in Ireland. Father MacCulla, an Armagh priest then doing duty in Montreal, was requested by his Grace, in 1855, to collect in America. He started his work among the Irish Catholics of Montreal, and in one month made £240. In the same year, he also collected in Quebec, Kingston, and Toronto. The following year he went to the United States for the same purpose, and amongst other sums he collected £100 in Brooklyn, and £200 in Boston. Father John MacMahon, another Armagh priest, who was then doing duty in New York, also, at the request of his Grace, undertook the task of collecting in the United States, and with such success as to be able to forward to Ireland £5,000, besides £300 for the altar of the Blessed Virgin.

Side by side, collecting and building went steadily on during these years. Many alterations were made even in that portion which had been completed in Primate Crolly's time, for instance, the dimensions of the window over the front door were curtailed by filling up the spaces underneath with niches containing statues of the Twelve Apostles. The inscription over the front door is as follows:—

SOLI † DEO OMNIPOTENTI † TRINO IN PERSONIS † SUB INVOCATIONE †
STI. † PATRITHI † HIBERNORUM † APOSTOLI †
A.D. † MDCCCLVI. †

Translated it reads thus:—

To the One † God † Omnipotent † Three in Persons † under the
Invocation † of St. † Patrick † of Ireland † the Apostle, A.D. † 1866. †

"That is my protest against Unitarianism," said the Primate when the inscription was chiseled, "and will be there when I am not here."

Primate Dixon's last public appeal for funds was not like the first, confined to the people of his own diocese; it was directed to all Irish Catholics at home and abroad.

This appeal had the desired effect, and was responded to with great liberality. The Primate's last effort was to organize a bazaar. Not only was every town in the diocese represented on the working committee, but even Dublin, Belfast and Liverpool. Prizes of great value were presented by distinguished persons. His Holiness the Pope presented a beautiful ivory carving of Raphael's "Madonna di Foligno"; the Emperor of Austria, two vases and a table specially manufactured for the occasion; and the Emperor of the French, two beautiful vases of Sevres china. The bazaar lasted a week and realized £7,000.

Unfortunately, Primate Dixon departed this life before he was able to complete the great work on which he had set his heart. Primate Kieran, who succeeded from 1866 to 1870, took no interest in it, and left things as they were. His successor, Primate MacGettigan, at once set about completing the towers and preparing the interior of the cathedral for divine worship. After three years of earnest labour, he was able to open it in 1873. At the ceremony of the Dedication, which took place on August the twenty-fourth of that year, it was computed that nearly 100,000 persons were present. The sermon was preached by Father Burke, in place of Archbishop Manning, who had promised to come but was prevented by the state of his health. A great deal of enthusiasm at the success of the great and noble work was manifested on this occasion, and a collection, made on the spot, realized £8,200.

The total length of the cathedral, in the clear, 210 feet; the combined width of nave and aisle, 72 feet, the width across the transepts, 112 feet. The height from floor to ridge, 110 feet, and the height of the two western spires, 210 feet. The magnificent flight of steps, leading up the grand entrance, was constructed by Primate MacGettigan. In 1879, a beautiful east window was erected as a memorial to the two founders of the cathedral, Primate Crolly and Primate Dixon. At the foot is inscribed:—

Of your Charity, pray for the repose of the soul of the most Rev. Henry, D.D., Lord Primate of all Ireland, the 105th successor of St. Patrick in the see of Armagh. He laid the foundation stone of this Cathedral on March 27, 1820, died on Good Friday, 1821, when the building was in progress, and is buried in the centre of the choir. Eternal rest to the soul of the most Rev. Joseph Dunne, Lord Primate of All Ireland, the 107th successor of St. Patrick, who largely contributed to the Erection of this Cathedral, and died the Feast of St. Catherine of Sienna, 1866. This memorial window erected 1879, on the spot they loved and laboured to adorn for God's glory, is a grateful homage and offering to the merits and to memory of two Primates who lived and laboured solely for salvation of others. May they rest in peace.—Amen."

By the present Primate, His Eminence Cardinal Logue, *much* important work has been done. He has built a splendid sacristy, library, gymnasium and muniment-room, connected with the cathedral by a beautiful circular cloister. The building, begun in 1894, finished three years later, at a cost of £7,528. In March, 1898, secured the site on which the cathedral is built, consisting of 22 acres, sixteen perches, in fee-simple, from the earl of Dartrey, £919 6s. 4d. It is safe to predict that the outcome of the present world-wide appeal made by his Eminence, will be to win still more for St. Patrick's Cathedral the admiration of the Irish race.¹

¹ In our account of the Catholic Cathedral, we have largely used the *History of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Armagh*, by the Rev. John Gallogly, C.C. We are also indebted for much valuable information on the subject of this chapter and the previous one, to the late Mr. John Hughes, of

Armagh, who was on the Cathedral Commission far back as 1842. For the more recent regarding the Cathedral and cognate subjects are very much indebted to the Rev. John the present administrator of the parish of A



"Of your Charity, pray for the repose of the soul of the most Rev. Wm. Crolly, D.D., Lord Primate of all Ireland, the 105th successor of St. Patrick in the see of Armagh. He laid the foundation stone of this Cathedral on March 17, 1840, died on Good Friday, 1849, whilst the building was in progress, and is buried in the centre of the choir. Eternal rest to the soul of the most Rev. Joseph Dixon, Lord Primate of All Ireland, the 107th successor of St. Patrick, who largely contributed to the Erection of this Cathedral, and died on the Feast of St. Catherine of Sienna, 1866. This memorial window, erected 1879, on the spot they loved and laboured to adorn for God's glory, is a grateful homage and offering to the merits and to the memory of two Primates who lived and laboured solely for the salvation of others. May they rest in peace.—Amen."

By the present Primate, His Eminence Cardinal Logue, much important work has been done. He has built a splendid sacristy, library, synod-hall and muniment-room, connected with the cathedral by a beautiful circular cloister. The building, begun in 1894, was finished three years later, at a cost of £7,828. In March, 1898, he secured the site on which the cathedral is built, consisting of seven acres, sixteen perches, in fee-simple, from the earl of Dartrey, for £919 6s. od. It is safe to predict that the outcome of the present world-wide appeal made by his Eminence, will be to win still more for St. Patrick's Cathedral the admiration of the Irish race.¹

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THE CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL

APPENDIX.

A

BOOK OF THE ANGEL.

*Transcribed by Rev. B. Mac Carthy, D.D., M.R.I.A.,
from the original Manuscript, preserved in the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin,
("Book of Armagh," fol. 20c.)*

[TEXT.]

Patricio sancto, episcopo, summus
Domini angelus debitam reverentiam
cathedræ suæ apostolicæ honoremque
proprium sui heredis ab omnibus Scotis -
traditum sapienter a Deo sibi -dictavit.

Liber Angueli incipit.

Quo[n]dam itaque sanctus Patricius de
Alti-Mache urbe ad multitudines utriusque
sexus humani generis baptizandas, do-
cendas atque sanandas, iuxta fontem in
orientali prædictæ urbis parte prope he-
rentem, pie perrexit. Et ibi ante lucem
multas [multitudines] undique ad notitiam
fidei confluentes expectavit. Subito ergo
eum sopor prostravit, eo quod prius pro
Christo vigilis nocturnis fessus fuisset.

Et, ecce, tam cito venit angelus ad eum
de caelo et excitavit eum leniter de sompno.
Et dixit sanctus Patricius: *Ego adsum:*
numquid inique gessi nuper in conspectu
Altissimi? Si accidit, veniam peto a Deo.

Respondit angelus: *Non; sed missit*
me summus Omnipotens ad te, i. [e.] ad
animi tui consolationem, post conversionem
Hibernensium per te ad se in fidem, quos
ei adquaessisti per durissimum laborem
et per tuam valde prædicationem, gratia
Spiritus Sancti lucidissimam, universis

[TRANSLATION.]

To holy Patrick, bishop, the great angel
of the Lord dictated - what had been wisely
delivered to himself by God - the rever-
ence due to his apostolic see and the
honour belonging to his heir (coarb) from
all the Scots [Irish].

The Book of the Angel begins.

Once on a time, therefore, Saint Patrick
piously proceeded from the city of Armagh,
to baptize, teach and cure multitudes of
both sexes of the human race, near the
well lying close to the said city, on the
eastern side. And there, before dawn, he
waited for many [multitudes] coming from
all sides for knowledge of [the doctrines
of] faith. Suddenly, therefore, heavy
sleep overcame him, as previously he had
been wearied out by nocturnal vigils for
Christ.

And, behold! quickly came an angel
to him from heaven and roused him lightly
from sleep. And said Saint Patrick: -
"Here I am: have I done any iniqui-
tous thing lately in sight of the Most
High? If this has been so, I beg pardon
from God."

The angel answered: - "No; but the
Almighty hath sent me to thee for the
comfort of thy soul, after the conversion of
the Irish by thee to Him into the faith,
whom thou hast acquired for Him through
most hard labour and by thy powerful
preaching [which] by the Grace of the

gentibus fructuosam: cum esses semper laboriosus, multis temporibus in multis periculis a gentilibus, per frigus et aestatem, essuriens et sitiens | deambulans
 FOL. 20d. impiger quotidie de gente in gentem, ad utilitatem multarum gentium.

Scit ergo Dominus Deus tuum praesentem locum, quem praesto videmus, in alto positum [esse], cum parva celula, angustam[-um], ab aliquibus quoque regionis habitatoribus coartatam[-um], et suburbana eius non sufficiunt cunctis ad refugium. Idcirco constituitur terminus a Domino vastissimus urbi Alti-Mache, quam dilexisti prae omnibus Hibernensium telluribus,—id est, a pinna Montis-Berbicis usque ad Montem-Mis, a Monte-Miss usque ad Bri-Erigi, a Bri-Erigi usque ad Dorsos-Breg: certe, si volueris, erit huius magnitudinis. Ac deinde donavit tibi Dominus Deus universas Scotorum gentes in modum paruchiae, et huic urbi tuae, quae cognominatur Scotorum lingua Ardd-Mache.

Dixit sanctus Patricius, prostrata facie deorsum in conspectu angeli: Gratias ago Deo meo, Domino sempiterno, qui dignatus est tantam gloriam donare clementer famulo suo.

Item sanctus dixit: Quosdam tamen electos, sancte Domine mi, per Spiritum Sanctum praevidco in hac insola, per ineffabilem tuae clementiae pietatem et per praedicationis tuae laborem, orituros mihi caros, quasi proprios corporis mei editos, tibi quoque amicos devote servituros, qui hunc videntur indegere aliquid sibi propriae diocesis, ad utilitatem necessariae famulationis neclessis seu monasteriis suis post me. Idcirco perfecte et iuste debeo a Deo habundantiae donationem mihi certe deditam dimittere communiter
 FOL. 21a. | perfectis Hiberniae relegiosis, ut et ego et ipsi divitiis bonitatis Dei pacifice perfruamur[-amur]—haec universa mihi concessa causa divinae caritatis.

Holy Spirit [has proved] most enlightening and most fruitful to all the tribes [of Ireland]: since thou wert always most laborious [and] at many times, in many dangers from the Gentiles, in cold and heat, hungry and thirsty, passing diligently from tribe to tribe, for the benefit [salvation] of many tribes.

Therefore the Lord God knows thy present place, which we presently see, to be situated on a height, with a small cell, [a place] narrow and also circumscribed by certain inhabitants of the district, and its suburbs do not suffice for all as a refuge. Wherefore the [following] most vast boundary is fixed by the Lord for the city of Armagh, which thou hast loved above all the other lands of the Irish, that is, from the summit of Slieve Munt to Slieve-Mis, from Slieve Mis to Bri Erigi, from Bri-Erigi to Slieve Breght: certainly, if thou wishest, it shall be of this magnitude [!]. And furthermore the Lord God hath granted to thee all the tribes of the Scots [Irish] as a diocese, and [attached, to this thy city, which is called in the language of the Scots [Irish], Ardd-Macha [Height of Macha]."

Said Saint Patrick, with face prostrate on the ground in sight of the angel:—"I give thanks to my God, Eternal Lord, who hath deigned in His clemency to bestow such glory on His servant."

The saint also said:—"But I foresee, O Holy Lord, that, through the Holy Spirit, certain elect [souls] in this island, by Thy ineffable piety and clemency and by the labour of preaching [Thy Word], will arise, dear to me as children, Thee also devoutly serving as friends, who, however, seem to be in want of something of a diocese of their own for the advantage of the necessary service of their churches or monasteries, after me [my death]. Therefore entirely and justly I ought to give generally to the perfect religious of Ireland the abundant donation certainly given to me by God, that both I and they may peacefully enjoy the riches of the goodness of God—all those things granted to me by reason of the divine charity."

Item ait: *Nonne ergo mihi sufficit quidquid devote voverint ac voluerint Christiani homines offerre de regionibus atque oblationibus suis per arbitrium suae libertatis?*

Item: *Nonne utique contentus sum esse apostolicus doctor et dux principalis omnibus Hiberionacum gentibus, praesertim cum peculiare[m] censum retineo recte reddendum et a Summo mihi etiam illud est donatum—vere decenter debitum super liberas provinciarum huius insulae ecclesias? Et universis cymbitarum similiter monasteriis sine ulla dubitatione ius decretum erit rectori Aird-Machæ in perpetuum.*

Receptio archiepiscopi, heredis cathedræ meæ urbis, cum comitibus suis, numero quinquaginta, exceptis perigrinis et infirmis doloribus variis atque improbis et caeteris, —sit digna refectio aptaque unicuique eodem numero, tam digne in die quam certe similiter in nocte.

In ista vero urbe Alli-Machæ homines Christiani utriusque sexus relegiossi ab initio fidei huc usque pene inseparabiliter commorari videntur. Cui vero prædictæ tres ordines adherent—virgines et poenitentes, in matrimonio legitimo—ecclesiae servientes.

Et his tribus ordinibus audire verbum prædicationis in ecclesia aquilonalis plagæ conceditur semper diebus Dominicis.

In australi vero basilica, episcopi et præbyteri, et anchoritæ
FOL. 21b. *ecclesiae et caeteri relegiossi laudes sapidas offerunt.*

De speciali reverentia Aird-Machæ et honore præsulis eiusdem urbis dicamus.

Ista quippe civitas summa et libera a Deo est constituta, et ab angelo Dei et ab apostolico viro, sancto Patricio episcopo, specialiter dedicata.

Præest ergo quodam prævilegio omnibus ecclesiis ac monasteriis cunctorum

He also said: "Does it not then suffice for me, whatever Christian men will devoutly vow and be willing to offer of their lands and gifts, of their own free will?"

Also: "Verily, am I not content to be the apostolic doctor and principal leader [primate] of all the tribes of the Irish, especially since I retain a special cess to be duly paid and by the Most High, that also has been granted to me—a truly seemly tax on the free churches of the provinces of this island? And, similarly, the same right shall, without any doubt, be fixed on all the monasteries of cenobites, in favour of the lector [coarb] of Armagh, in perpetuity.

The reception of the archbishop, heir of the see of my city, with his attendants, fifty in number, with exception of pilgrims and those laid up with various diseases, and the wicked, and others: let there be refectory, suitable and adequate for each, for the same number, as suitable in the day as certainly likewise by night.

In this city of Armagh, moreover, Christians, religious of either sex, from the first beginning of the faith [in the country] even to now are seen to dwell almost inseparably together. And to this [city] aforesaid, three orders cleave—virgins and penitents and those in lawful wedlock—serving the church.

And to these three orders it is always conceded to hear the Word of Preaching on Sundays in the church of the northern part [of Armagh].

But in the southern basilica, bishops and priests and anchorites of the church and the other religious offer savoury praises.

Of the special reverence [due] to Armagh and the honour [due] to the primate of the same city, let us speak.

That city is constituted supreme and free by God, and specially dedicated by the angel of God and by the apostolic man, St. Patrick the bishop.

It is therefore, by a certain privilege, above all the churches and monasteries of

Hibernensium, vel superna auctoritate summi pontificis, illius fundatoris. Nihil hominus venerari debet honore summorum martyrum, Petri et Pauli, Stefani, Laurendi et caeterorum. Quanto magis quoque valde veneranda atque diligenter ab omnibus honoranda pro sancta admiratione nobis beneficii prae omnibus inerrabilis [innarrabilis], quod in ea secreta constitutione exstat sacratissimus sanguis Iesu Christi, Redemptoris humani generis, in sacro lintamine, simul cum sanctorum reliquiis, in aeclessia australi, ubi requiescunt corpora sanctorum perigrinorum de longue, cum Patricio, transmarinorum caeterorumque iustorum!

Idcirco non licet, causa praedictae auctoritatis eius, illam mittere consortem ab ulla aeclessia Scotorum, neque ab ullo praesule vel abbate, contra heredem illius; sed a se recte iuratur supra omnes aeclessias et illarum antestites, si vera necessitas poposcerit.

Item: Omnis aeclessia libera et civitas ab [-cum] episcopali gradu videtur esse fundata[re] in tota Scotorum insula et omnis ubique locus qui Dominicus [-cum] appellatur, iuxta clementiam almighty Domini, sancto doctore; et, iuxta verbum angeli, in speciali societate Patricii pontificis atque heredis, cathedrae
FOL. 21r. eius, Aird-Machae, esse debuerat, quia donavit illi Deus totam insulam, ut supra diximus.

Item: scire debemus.—Omnis monachus uniuscuiusque aeclessiae, si ad Patricium reverterit, non denegat proprium monachi votum, maxime si ex consensu abbatis sui prioris devoverit.

Itaque non vituperandus neque excommunicandus quicumque ad aeclessiam eius perrexerit, causa amoris illius, quia ipse iudicabit omnes Hibernenses in die magno terribilis iudicii, in praesentia Christi.

all the Irish, even by the supreme authority of the most high pontiff, its founder. Nevertheless, it should be venerated for the honour [due] to the greatest martyrs, Peter and Paul, Stephen, Laurence and others. How much more also should it be greatly venerated and diligently honoured by all, in pious admiration of a favour most unspeakable of all [conferred] on us, [viz.] that therein by mysterious ordinance is preserved the most sacred blood of Jesus Christ, Redeemer of the human race, in a sacred linen, together with the relics of the saints, in the southern church, where rest the bodies of the holy pilgrims who came from afar across the sea with Patrick and of other just [men].

Therefore it is not lawful, on account of its aforesaid authority, to make it a party in a suit by any church of the Scots [Irish], nor by any bishop or abbot, against its own heir [coarb]; but it rightly exercises jurisdiction over all churches and their superiors, if real necessity demands.

Also: Every free church and city of episcopal rank in the whole of the Scots [Irish], and every place everywhere which is called "Domnach," is [are] seen to be founded, through the clemency of the Almighty Lord, for the holy doctor [Patrick], and, according to the word of the angel, should be in special communion with Patrick, the Pontiff, and of the heir of his see, Armagh, because God gave him the whole island, as we have said above.

Also: We ought to know,—Every monk of each and every church, if he shall return to Patrick, renounces not the proper vow of a monk [obedience to his own order], especially if he shall have [so] retracted [his vow] with the consent of his former abbot.

Therefore he is not to be blamed or excommunicated, whosoever shall [thus] go to his [Patrick's] church, by reason of his affection for him, because he himself shall judge all the Irish on the great day of the terrible Judgment, in presence of Christ.

Item: de honore præsulis Aird-Machæ, episcopi præsedentis cathedram pastoris perfecti.

Si ipse prædictus pontifex ad vesperum pervenerit loco quo receptus fuerit, præbeatur ei uniali vice reflectionis dignæ consulatio prædictorum hospitem, numero centum, cum pabulis suis illorum iumentis, præter hospites et infirmos et eos qui iectant infantes super accessiam et cæteros, seu reprobos et alios.

Item: Qui non recipit prædictum præsulem in hospitium eundem et reclasserit suam habitationem contra illum, septem ancillas, seu septem annos poenitentiae, similiter reddere cogatur.

Item: Quicumque contempserit aut violaverit insignia consecrata eiusdem agni [i.e. sancti], id est, Patricii, duplicia solvet.

Si vero de contemptu aliorum insignium [violentia] reddita fuerit, duas [duæ] ancillas [ancellæ] de consecratis summi prædicti doctoris, Patricii, reddentur.

FOL. 21d.

Item: Quicumque similiter per industriam atque iniuriam vel nequitiam malum quodque opus contra familiam seu parochiam eius perfecerit, aut prædicta eius insignia dispexerit, ad libertatem examinis eiusdem Aird-Machæ præsulis recte iudicantis perveniet causa totius negotiationis, cæteris aliorum iudiciis prætermisissis.

Item: Quaecumque causa valde difficultis exorta fuerit atque ignota cunctis Scottorum gentium iudiciis, ad cathedram archiepiscopi Hibernensium, id est, Patricii, atque huius antestitis examinationem, recte referenda [est].

Also: Concerning the honour [due] to the primate of Armagh, the bishop presiding over the see of the perfect pastor [Patrick].

If the aforesaid pontiff shall at evening arrive at the place where he is to be received, let there be supplied to him, for one occasion, the provision of meet refection for one hundred [fifty, *supra*] in number of the aforesaid guests, with fodder for their beasts, except [other] guests and sick people and those who cast away infants at church [doors] and [all] the rest, whether reprobates or others.

Also: Whosoever shall not receive the aforesaid prelate to the same hospitality and shall shut his dwelling against him, let him be compelled to give seven bondmaids [*i.e.* a fine to the value of twenty-one cows; "ancilla," or bondmaid being a technical term for an amount equivalent to three cows], or to serve seven years of penance.

Also: Whosoever shall contemn or offer violence to the consecrated insignia [reliquaries carried on circuit] of the same saint, that is, Patrick, shall pay double [the foregoing].

But if [the violence] shall be offered in contempt of other [non-sacred] insignia [such as the "Book of Armagh," two bondmaids [*i.e.* six cows] of [the seven mentioned in connection with] the consecrated [insignia] of the aforesaid greatest doctor, Patrick, shall be paid.

Also: Whosoever likewise shall deliberately and injuriously or maliciously have done any hurt against his [religious] family, or his diocese, or despised his aforesaid insignia, the matter of the whole case shall come to the optional jurisdiction of the same prelate of Armagh, who will rightly judge it, all other judges of other [prelates] being passed over.

Also: Whatsoever very difficult case shall have arisen and have been unknown to all the judges of the tribes of the Scots [Irish], it is rightly to be referred to the see of the archbishop of the Irish, that is, of Patrick, and to the examination of this superior.

Si vero in illa cum suis sapientibus facile sanari non poterit talis causa prædictæ negotiationis, ad sedem apostolicam decrevimus esse mittendam, id est, ad Petri Apostoli cathedram, auctoritatem Romæ urbis habentem.

Hii sunt qui de hoc decreverunt: id est, Auxilius, Patricius, Secundinus, Benignus.

Post vero exitum Patricii sancti, alumpni sui valde eiusdem libros conscripserunt.

But if there such matter of the aforesaid case cannot be solved by its learned men, we decree that it shall be sent to the apostolic see, that is, to the chair of Peter the apostle, having the authority of the city of Rome.

These are they who decreed this: that is, Auxilius, Patrick, Secundinus, and Benignus.

After the death of Saint Patrick, his followers diligently copied out his books.

Fundamentum orationis in unaquaque die Dominica in Alto-Machæ ad Sargifagum [sarcophagum]† Martyrum adeundum ab eoque revertendum: id est, *Domine, clamavi ad te*, usque in finem [Ps. cxl.] ; *Ut quid, Deus, repulisti in finem* [usque finem] [Ps. lxxiii.] ; et *Beati immaculati* in usque in finem [Ps. cxviii.] ; *Benedictionis* [—es] [Dan. iii. 57-90] ; et quindecim psalmi graduum [Ps. cxix-cxxxiii.] Finit.

Inter sanctum Patricium Hibernensium Brigitamque columpnas amicitia caritatis inerat tanta, ut unum cor FOL. 22a. consiliumque | haberent unum. Christus per illum illam que virtutes multas peregit.

Vic ergo sanctus Christianæ virgini ait: *O mea Brigida, paruchia tua in provincia tua apud reputabitur monarchiam tuam; in parte hanc orientali [aquilonali] et occidentali dominatu in mea [meo] erit.*

The leading prayers on every Sunday in Armagh, when going to and returning from the Church of the Relics of the Martyrs [of the Fertæ] are:—"Lord, I have cried to Thee," to the end [Ps. 140] ; "O God why hast Thou cast us off unto the end" [to the end] [Ps. 73] ; "Blessed are the undefiled," to the end [Ps. 118] ; the Benedictions [Dan. iii. 57-90] ; the fifteen gradual psalms [Ps. 109-133]. The End.

Between holy Patrick and Brigit, columns of the Irish, the friendship of charity was so great, that they seemed to have but one heart and one mind. Christ through him and through her did many wonderful things.

The holy man, accordingly, said to the Christian virgin:—"O my Brigit, thy conventual district in thy province [of Leinster] shall be reputed within thy jurisdiction; but in the Eastern [? Northern] and Western [provinces], it shall be within my government.

* For *Dominicum* or *Domach*, see *Annals of Ulster*, III., 486-7. note.

† *Ad Sargifagum Martyrum* is glossed on the margin, *du ferti martur. to tomb of relics*. The church in question was *Tempul na Fertæ* (See p. 17).



B

LIST OF PRIMATES.

	Succeeded	Died		Succeeded	Died
1. St. Patrick	... 445	resigned	43. Dubdalethe II.	... 965	998
2. St. Benignus	... 455	467	44. Muirecan	... 998	deposed
3. St. Jarlath	... 467	481	45. Maelmuire	... 1001	1020
4. Cormac	... 481	497	46. Amalgaid	... 1020	1049
5. Dubtach I.	... 497	513	47. Dubdalethe III.	... 1049	1064
6. Ailbhid I.	... 513	526	(Cumuscaith) 1060-64		
7. Ailbhid II.	... 526	536	48. Mael-Isu	... 1064	1091
8. Dubtach II.	... 536	548	49. Donnald	... 1091	1105
9. St. David	... 548	551	50. Cellach (St. Celsus)	... 1105	1129
10. Feidlimid	... 551	578	51. Murrough	... 1129	1134
11. St. Cairlan	... 578	588	52. St. Malachy	... 1134	resigned
12. Eochaid	... 588	598	53. Gelasius	... 1137	1174
13. Senach	... 598	610	54. Cornelius MacConcaille	1174	1175
14. Mac-Laisre	... 610	623	55. Gilbert O'Caran	... 1175	1180
15. St. Tommine	... 623	661	56. Thomas O'Conor	... 1181	1201
16. Seghene	... 661	688	57. Maelisu O'Carroll	... 1184	1186
17. Flann-Febla	... 688	715	58. Eugene MacGillaweir	1206	1216
18. Suibhne	... 715	730	59. Luke Netterville	... 1217	1227
19. Congus	... 730	750	60. Donat O'Feery	... 1227	1237
20. Cele-Peter	... 750	758	61. Albert Suerbeer, O.P.	1240	resigned
21. Ferdachry	... 758	768	62. Reginald, O.P.	... 1247	1256
22. Cu-dinisc	... 768	deposed	63. Abraham O'Connellan	1257	1260
23. Dubdalethe I.	... 778	793	64. Patk. O'Scanlan, O.P.	1261	1270
24. Faindelach (deposed and re-installed)	... 793	795	65. Nicholas MacMaelisu	1272	1303
25. Airechtach	... 793	deposed	66. John Taaffe	... 1306	1306
26. Connmach	... 795	807	67. Walter Joyce, O.P.	1307	resigned
27. Torbach	... 807	808	68. Roland Joyce, O.P.	1311	resigned
28. Nuada	... 808	812	69. Stephen Seagrave	... 1323	1333
29. Flannigus	... 812	resigned	70. David Mageraghty	... 1334	1346
30. Artri	... 823	833	71. Richard Fitz-Ralph	1346	1360
31. Eoghan	... 833	834	72. Milo Sweetman	... 1361	1380
32. Forannan	1834	852	73. John Colton	... 1381	1404
33. Dermot O'Tighernan	1834	852	74. Nicholas Fleming	... 1404	1416
34. Fethgna	... 852	874	75. John Swayne	... 1418	resigned
35. Maelcobha	... 874	deposed	76. John Prene	... 1439	1443
36. Ainmeri	... 877	879	77. John Mey	... 1443	1456
37. Cathasach I.	... 879	883	78. John Bole	... 1457	1470
Maelcobha (re-installed)	883	888	79. John Foxall, O.M.	... 1471	1475
38. Maelbrihte	... 888	927	80. Edmund Connesburgh	1475	resigned
39. Joseph	... 927	936	81. Octavian De Spinellis	1478	1513
40. Mael-Patrick	... 936	936	82. John Kite	... 1513	resigned
41. Cathasach II.	... 936	957	83. George Cromer	... 1521	deprived
42. Muiredach	... 957	deposed	84. Robert Wauchope	... 1539	1551
			85. George Dowdall	... 1553	1558

	Succeeded	Died		Succeeded	Died
86. Donagh O'Tighe	... 1560	1562	98. Michael O'Reilly	... 1749	1758
87. Richard Creagh	... 1564	1585	99. Anthony Blake	... 1758	1786
88. Edmund MacGauran	1587	1594	100. Richard O'Reilly	... 1787	1818
89. Peter Lombard	... 1601	1625	101. Patrick Curtis	... 1819	1832
90. Hugh MacCawell, O.M.	1626	1626	102. Thomas Kelly	... 1832	1835
91. Hugh O'Reilly	... 1628	1653	103. William Croll	... 1835	1849
92. Edmund O'Reilly	... 1657	1669	104. Paul Cullen	... 1849	resigned
93. Ven. Oliver Plunket	1669	1681	105. Joseph Dixon	... 1852	1866
94. Dominic Maguire, O.P.	1683	1707	106. Michael Kieran	... 1866	1869
95. Hugh MacMahon	... 1714	1737	107. Daniel MacGettigan	1870	1887
96. Bernard MacMahon	1737	1747	108. Michael Logue	... 1887	
97. Ross MacMahon	... 1747	1748			

LIST OF PROTESTANT PRIMATES.

	Succeeded	Died		Succeeded	Died
1. Hugh Goodacre	... 1552	1553	13. Thomas Lindsay	... 1713	1724
2. Adam Loftus	... 1562	resigned	14. Hugh Boulter	... 1724	1742
3. Thomas Lancaster	... 1568	1584	15. John Hoadly	... 1742	1746
4. John Long	... 1584	1589	16. George Stone	... 1746	1764
5. John Garvey	... 1589	1594	17. Richard Robinson	... 1765	1794
6. Henry Ussher	... 1595	1613	18. William Newcome	... 1795	1800
7. Christopher Hampton	1613	1624	19. William Stuart	... 1800	1822
8. James Ussher	... 1624	1656	20. Lord John G. Beresford	1822	1862
9. John Bramhall	... 1660	1663	21. Marcus G. Beresford	1862	1885
10. James Margetson	... 1663	1678	22. Robert Knox	... 1886	1893
11. Michael Boyle	... 1678	1702	23. Robert Gregg	... 1893	1896
12. Narcissus Marsh	... 1702	1713	24. William Alexander	... 1896	

O

ARMAGH ALWAYS DEPENDENT ON ROME.

(See page 15.)

The patriarchal supremacy of Armagh has furnished one of the arguments to Protestant controversialists for their theory of the independence of Rome of the early Irish Church. As conclusive evidence to the contrary has been brought to bear in recent times on this important point by Catholic controversialists and historians, who have clearly proved intercourse between Ireland and Rome, deference and submission to Rome on ecclesiastical questions and perfect conformity with Rome in matters of dogma, it is beside our purpose to add any contribution to the Catholic side of the question, except to say that if the Protestant argument holds good as regards Ireland, it will hold good of many other countries as well. That intercourse

with Rome was necessarily fitful and uncertain, that disciplinary arrangements existed differing from those in Rome, that the elections of bishops were confirmed by metropolitans without reference to Rome—could not all this be said of France, Spain, Germany, even parts of Italy, when the invasions of Goths, Vandals, and other barbarians had reduced once orderly Christian lands to a state bordering on heathendom? But what makes the case of Ireland stand out in clear contrast from the others and offers it as a fair target for the advocates of the independence hypothesis, is that, owing to its insular and remote position and to the hold the Danes had on it, after civil order had been restored in the other countries of Europe, it held an anomalous position for a long time, being the last to be brought into disciplinary conformity with the rest of the Church.

There is one difficulty, however, that deserves more exhaustive treatment at the hands of Catholic scholarship than it has hitherto received, viz., the breaks in the episcopal succession to the primatial see, which occurred even long before the coming of the Danes. Though the succession of the abbots of Armagh, successors of St. Patrick, was most regular, the succession of archbishops was very irregular, owing to the fact that several of these abbots did not receive episcopal consecration. These presbyter-abbots, then, exercised quasi-episcopal and, we may truly add, quasi-patriarchal jurisdiction over the whole country—a terrible confusion of the hierarchy of jurisdiction as generally understood. The following attempt at a solution of the difficulty is humbly put forward as suggestive rather than conclusive, as more or less an indication of the lines along which the Catholic historian could direct his inquiry.

Ireland received the faith at a time when the old-established order of things under the Roman Empire of the West was being blotted out by the barbarian hordes which overran and conquered Europe. Owing to the chaos, the practical heathendom, the upheaval of settled institutions and the constant state of warfare that followed in their wake, Ireland, from its remote situation, could not receive from the Mother Church that attention to the development of her ecclesiastical polity, which she would certainly have enjoyed, if the old civil order of things had remained as it was under the empire, the polity of the church being closely modelled on that of the Roman civil power. From the state of the times there was therefore a check, an arrest of growth, a fixture of type which remained unchanged from the fifth to the twelfth century, aided, no doubt, by the conservative instincts of the people, and that peculiar veneration for their national apostle which led them to regard as sinful the least deviation, even in external matters, from the paths he trod.

Though it may be inaccurate and misleading to state that St. Patrick founded the Church in this country on a monastic basis, there can be no doubt that the monastic element and the founding of religious communities living under rule entered largely into his work. Mabillon gratuitously holds that he introduced the rule of St. Martin of Tours, and induced the bishops he consecrated to embrace it. Be that as it may, St. Patrick saw that small monastic communities, affording mutual protection to the members, were peculiarly suitable to the work of Christianizing

a country parcelled out among independent clans and constantly distracted by tribal quarrels. Thus it came to pass that the position of an abbot, whether he were a bishop or not, became very important, and that, though the episcopal rank was clearly recognized, the abbot, successor of some missionary saint who had founded the monastery as a centre of light and learning to the country around, loomed large before the imagination. This would be especially true of the successor of St. Patrick, in the abbey or religious community he had founded at Armagh, his metropolitan see, so that whether the priest elected as abbot received episcopal consecration or not, his jurisdiction as successor of the national apostle could not be called in question. Bede noticed a similar anomaly in the position of the abbot of Iona, who exercised quasi-episcopal jurisdiction over Scotland and a part of northern England, having bishops subject to him. This explanation may help to lessen the surprise we feel when we come across the puzzling entries of the annalists, that such and such a one succeeded to the 'abbacy of Armagh,' meaning the coarbship or primacy.—*Primal See, etc.*

D

THE LAW OF SAINT PATRICK.

(See page 24.)

By the "Law of St. Patrick," by which was meant the *Cattle-Cess*, or *primatial dues*, the whole island was placed under contribution to the see of Armagh. Beginning in 734, during the incumbency of Primate Congus, it continued till long after the English invasion, but ceased as soon as the English prelates succeeded to the see. Two kings gave it their royal sanction—Felim, King of Munster, in 822, and the famous Brian Boru, in 1006, the record of the latter sanction being preserved in the *Book of Armagh*, in Brian's chaplain's handwriting. To add solemnity to their collecting tours, the primates were in the habit of carrying with them the shrine of St. Patrick, *cum Lege et vexillis Patrici*; and, as a rule, their success was certain, as the following quotations from the annalists will show:—

945. The full of the [bell of] Finnfhadhach of silver was given by the Cinel-Eoghain for the blessing of Patrick and his successor; *i.e.*, Joseph.

973. Dubhdalethe, successor of Patrick, made a circuit of Munster, and obtained his demand.

985. Maelseachlainn submitted to the demand of Patrick; *i.e.*, the visitation of Meath, both Church and State, and a banquet for every fort from Maelseachlainn himself, besides seven cumhals [*i.e.*, twenty-one cows, or an equivalent,], and every other demand in full.

1050. Dubhdalethe [one of the lay-primates], successor of Patrick, made a visitation of the Cinel-Eoghain, and brought 300 cows from them.

1068. Maelisu [lay primate], son of Amalgaid, successor of Patrick, made a visitation of Munster for the first time, and he obtained a full visitation tribute, both in screaballs [silver pennies] and offerings.

1106. Ceallach [St. Celsus] made a visitation of Munster for the first time, and he obtained a full tribute, namely, seven cows and seven sheep, and half an ounce of silver from every cantred in Munster, besides many jewels.

1150. The successor of Patrick [Gelasius] and the clergy of Patrick made a visitation of Tir-Eoghain, and he obtained their full tribute of cows; i.e., a cow from every house of a biatach and freeman, a horse from every chieftain, and twenty cows from the King himself. Additional evidence is summarized in the index of the *Annals of Ulster*, S.V.V., Cess (Patrician); Circuit (Patrician).

It would be unjust to attribute this extraordinary custom to avarice. It is only fair to the prelates who made the collection, to the kings who sanctioned it, and to the people who contributed so liberally, to seek the reason of it, in the necessity of keeping in repair the cathedral, built, in the first instance, by St. Patrick; in the rebuilding of it, on many occasions after its accidental destruction by fire, and in the heavy expenses incurred in keeping up the famous School of Armagh, at one time said to contain seven thousand students, and in which scholars from all parts were, according to the old Irish tradition, fed, lodged, and taught gratuitously. One of the three divisions of ancient Armagh was known by the name of the *Trian Sassain*, or Saxon Third, from the great number of Anglo-Saxon scholars who lived there. What gives colour to the supposition that the tribute was levied to meet extraordinary, and not ordinary, expenses is, that it was made at irregular intervals, and that the record of a great conflagration in Armagh is sometimes, shortly afterwards followed by a record of the Primate making his collection in Munster, Connaught, or Tyrone.—(From an article contributed by the editor of the present work, to the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, March, 1900, entitled:—*The Primatial See and its Cathedral*.)

E

ANCIENT PRESTIGE OF ARMAGH.

(See page 27.)

Through all its vicissitudes, in spite of repeated burnings, Danish incursions, sieges, devastations, and plunderings, in spite of the scandal of the lay primates, and unworthy contests for the succession, Armagh steadily retained its ecclesiastical supremacy, and the reverence and affection of the Irish people. The *Tripartite Life* says of Armagh that in it 'was fixed the metropolis of the kingdom and the supreme administration of the Irish Church;' Probus has of it: 'Ubi sedes episcopatus et regiminis est Hiberniae;' and Jocelyn: 'Sedes illa totius Hiberniae primaria metropolis.' It is only when we come to the times of the English prelates that we find

Armagh declining in prestige. The county of Louth having been added to the see on the plea of poverty, an unfortunate distinction soon arose between the new and the older parts of the diocese. The county Louth, called Armagh *inter Anglicos*, and the county Armagh with parts of Tyrone, called Armagh *inter Hibernicos*, had, as might be expected, very little mutual fellow-feeling, accentuated by the fact that the English prelates favoured the parts *inter Anglicos*, living as much as they could in or near Drogheda, and holding all their synods in the Church of St. Peter in that town, to the detriment of Armagh. The tone of the Anglo-Irish prelate regarding the parts *inter Hibernicos* was echoed, in later times, by the venerable Primate, Richard Creagh, who declared, at his examination in the Tower, that he had not wished to be sent to Armagh, 'among barbarous, wild, and uncivil folk.' As to synods, it is a remarkable fact that the last national synod convened in Armagh was the one called together by Primate Gelasius, in 1170, to debate questions connected with the English invasion.

Armagh, too, ceased to be, as formerly, an honoured place of burial. 'My body and my soul to God and to St. Patrick,' said Brian Boru before his last mortal combat, 'and I am to be carried to Ard Macha;' and in pursuance of his will the Primate and clergy of Armagh came to Swords, and carried his body back in solemn procession to the Cathedral of Armagh, where for twelve nights they chanted the Office of the Dead over his remains. But time-honoured traditions were laid aside in this respect, even by Irish primates, who, after the introduction of the Cistercian Order into Ireland, generally chose the Abbey of Mellifont as their last resting-place; while the English primates chose St. Peter's Church, Drogheda, which, to all intents and purposes, was their pro-cathedral. Yet the traditional veneration for the primatial city seems to have lingered on in the hearts of the people; for in an Irish poem of the fourteenth century, by O'Dugan, chief poet of the O'Kelly, it is thus referred to:—

Head of Erin is great Ard Macha;

Not nobler are her high chieftains.

The men of the world get their knowledge there.—*Primatial See, &c.*

F

TOMB OF NIALL CAILLE.

(See page 39.)

The tumulus of Niall Caille was the most remarkable sepulchral monument in the neighbourhood of Armagh, if we except the "Vicars' Cairn." This sepulchral monument and the townland on which it stands are called in Irish *Carn-na-vanuchan*, "The Monks' Cairn," probably because its site belonged to the friary. Immense quantities of stone had, from time to time, been removed from this mass, for building materials, before the year 1799, yet, at that period, it still retained its circular form,

and was even then forty-four yards in diameter. It is situated on the summit of a very high hill, which lies four miles south-east of Armagh, and commands a noble prospect of seven different counties, viz., Armagh, Tyrone, Antrim, Down, Louth, and Derry, with various beautiful sheets of water interspersed through a highly-cultivated country. In the summer of the year 1815, Mr. John Bell, landscape painter, and Mr. Henderson, a respectable farmer, collected a multitude of peasants, who, with infinite labour removed an enormous mass of stones from *Carn-na-Van-achan*, and opened a wide passage directly through its centre. They, however, found nothing worthy of notice, except a sewer which had been formed along the bottom of the tumulus.—*Stuart* (orig. ed.), p. 609.

G

CAINCOMRAC O'BOYLE, SUFFRAGAN BISHOP OF ARMAGH.

(See page 59.)

From the letter of Anselm to Donald (see p. 66), it can be inferred that the latter was really archbishop, and that therefore, O'Boyle was his coadjutor for the performance of episcopal functions in the diocese.

H

THE LAY PRIMATES.

(See page 69.)

The lay primacy which held in Ireland during the eleventh century has received peculiar and unjust prominence, owing to St. Bernard's vigorous denunciation of it, in his *Life of St. Malachy*. Similar causes produce similar results. The anarchy resulting from the destruction of the civil power in other countries generally led to the seizing of episcopal sees by laymen, just as the lay primacy in Ireland may be traced, as almost as to a direct cause, to the upheaval of the ancient order of things brought about by the ravages of the Danes. In this connection, the gloomy picture drawn by St. Boniface of the state of the Frankish kingdom in the eighth century, will serve to correct the ordinary notion that the scandal was confined to Ireland. According to him, the Franks, for more than eighty years, had never had an archbishop, had never seen a synod; the canonical rights of the Church had perished; nearly all the episcopal sees had fallen into the possession of laymen. It is curious to note how in Ireland the lay primacy was not an unmixed evil. Although laymen,

they were *litterati*, even according to St. Bernard; and consequently, we find to our satisfaction that the great School of Armagh continued to flourish during their incumbency. On more than one occasion, the lay primate was successful in appeasing those blood-feuds which were continually disturbing the peace of the country.

As a matter of course, other scandals arose out of it. An ecclesiastic could not engage in a 'war' for the recovery of his dues; but it did not seem unnatural to the lay primate to enforce his rights with spear and battle-axe, after an ignominious failure in the gentler art of persuasion—a method, too, which, in those simple and warlike times, probably enhanced more than it diminished the reverence felt for the primatial see. —*Primatial See, etc.*

I

SUFFRAGAN BISHOP IN ARMAGH.

(See page 87.)

In 1184, the *Annals* state that thirty houses belonging to the chief members of the community of Armagh were pillaged by the English of Meath. In the same year, Thomas O'Connor resigned the see to Maelisu O'Carroll, bishop of Clogher. The new primate appointed Amlave O'Murray, his successor in Clogher, as suffragan. The latter died in the following year, at Duncruthen [Duncrun, Keenaght barony, county Derry], and was buried in the city of Derry. The obit in the *Annals of Ulster* significantly styles him (not *Coarb of Patrick*, or *archbishop*, but) *bishop of Armagh and of Kinel-Farry* (Clogher). O'Carroll died *bishop of Oriel* (Clogher; *Annals of Ulster*), in 1186, or 1187; on his way to Rome, according to Ware.

J

EXETER DIOCESE NOT ABANDONED BY ITS BISHOP.

(See page 92.)

Stuart quotes Pryn's *Papal Usurpations*, for the assertion that Primate MacGillaweer took charge for King John, of Exeter diocese, which the bishop of that see had to abandon, in the course of King John's contest with the Pope. If this were true, it would place the Primate in the untenable position of taking John's part against the Pope. But the fact is, that there was no bishop over the see at the time, as Henry, the last bishop, had died the previous year, 1206, and no appointment was made till 1214. See Eubel: *Hierarchia Catholica*, p. 252.

K

STORY OF THE RIVAL PRIMATES, WITHOUT
FOUNDATION.

(See page 93.)

The story of a rival archbishop, Nicholas, set up by the Pope, in opposition to the King's archbishop, has no foundation in fact. Stuart copies Ware, who worked the story up from Rymer's *Fœdera*, in which is found a letter, stated to be from Pope Gregory IX. to the King of England, notifying that he (the Pope) had confirmed the unanimous election of Nicholas, a canon of Armagh, to that see, made by the chapter and praying the King to restore the temporalities to him. The fact is that, that letter was written not by Gregory IX. but long afterwards by Gregory X., in favour of Nicholas MacMaelisu, whose bull of confirmation will be found in Theiner's *Pœtera Monumenta*, p. 101, bearing the date III. Idus Julii, 1272, pontificatus nostri (Greg. X.) anno primo, i.e. July 13, 1272. Rymer may have been led into error owing to the absence from the papal letter of the seal or *bulia*, which would have clearly indicated the Pope who was the author of the document. He himself notes at the bottom that the seal had disappeared.

L

PRIMATE OCTAVIAN DE SPINELLIS.

A memoir of him, with copious extracts from his Latin registers, still extant at Armagh, and an engraving of his seal, was published by Dr. Reeves, in the *Journal* of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland, fourth series, vol. iii., which was subsequently reprinted.

M

THE FRANCISCAN ABBEY.

(See page 151.)

From an interesting article on the *Franciscans in Armagh* contributed by the Rev. E. B. Fitzmaurice to the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, April 1900, we extract the following:—Fr. Mooney, writing in 1616, says:—"The convent of Armagh was destroyed in the late wars," giving no date, and we cannot, therefore, say in what year the destruction took place, but on the twenty-seventh October, 1551, the convent was certainly out of the possession of the Friars, for Nicholas Bagnal writes

to Lord-Deputy Croft, on that date, asking the Deputy, "to provide masons and labourers for the muring up of the doors and windows of the Friary in Armagh, for the better housing and safeguard of the soldiers appointed there to reside." From this it would appear that the Franciscan Convent at Armagh was included in the four hundred suppressed by Henry VIII. in the year 1542. There is a further record in the year 1586, which says:—"Armagh, a small village, the church and friaries are all broken and defaced." Whence we may conclude that from 1542 to 1586, the friars were not living in their convent at Armagh. Yet it is certain that they were not far away from their old home, for in 1565, when Sir Henry Sydney, the Lord-Deputy, was striving to overthrow Shane O'Neill, the king of Ulster, a party of the Queen's soldiers, under the leadership of a certain Donald, seized Fr. Roger McConvill and Fr. Connor McWard, and having stripped them of their habits, they flogged them through the streets of Armagh, until they died beneath the lash, on the sixteenth of December, 1565. Ten years later, in the 17th year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, "Fr. Fergal Ward, a native of Tyrconnell, a most eloquent preacher, of the deepest humility, loving holy poverty above all things, who had laboured earnestly through many years in the vineyard of the Lord, was appointed to the guardianship of Armagh about the year 1575, when the Elizabethan plague was rife in Ulster. Fr. Ward withstood the dangerous disease, not as a poet would, but as became a skilled physician, wherefore he was seized by the servants of Elizabeth, and without any reverence for his age, or for his office, he was flogged and beaten black and blue with clubs. The old man all the while advised them who beat him to change their ways, but they heeded him not: at last when they could do no more, they hanged him by his cord on the twenty-eighth of April, 1575."



INDEX.

INDEX.

- ABBEY of SS Peter and Paul, 16, 26
 Abbeys suppressed in Ireland, 140
 Abbot's house in Armagh, 30
 Aedh Fair-grey, King of Ireland, 44
 Athath (suffragan bishop), 23, 25
 Aileluade, town of (Dumbarton), 12
 Ailid I., 21
 Ailid II., 21
 Airmire, Primate, 25
 Aretach, Primate, 23
 Albert Suerbeer, O. P., of Cologne, Primate, 93, 99
 Alexander, Primate William, 422
 Amalgaid, Primate, 57
 Amatores consecrates St. Patrick, 13
 Amelaus the Dane, 44
Angel Book of the, 30, 449
 Anglo-Normans plunder churches, 90
 Annagassan, county Louth, 39
Annales Senatus (Annals of Ulster) 131.
 Correct Mistake of Bede, 22
Annals of Ireland, by Dubdalethe III., 58
 Anselm, St., addresses letter to Primate Donald, 66
 Anti Remonstrants, 235
 " Apostolic School" for girls, 439
 Appeal for Cathedral by Primate Dixon, 448
 Appointments to bishoprics, 245
 Ardagh, church of, built by St. Patrick, 10
 Armachia, meaning of, 2, 12
 Ard-Patrick, 8
 — St. Celsus dies at, 68
Ardsmilech, ancient name for Armagh, 1
 Armagh, Abbey of, usurped by Surline, 41
 — Abbot's House in, 30
 — Ancient Library of, 30
 — Divisions of, 77
 — Prestige of, 459
 — An Episcopal Mensal Parish, 291
 — " Apostolic School" at, 439
 — Archbishop of, arrested at Dundalk, 280
 — Bargains at, 67
 — Bazaars at, 309, 322
 — Bishops and Students expelled from, 35
 — Book of, 30, 246, 449
 — Boundaries of see of, 450
 — Brigit's St., Church in, 24, 30
 — Building of, 2, 15
 — Burned, 21, 24, 47, 56, 57, 59, 61, 67, 73, 76.
 — Cathedrals of, *passim* [85, 156, 224
 — Cathedral of, rebuilt by Primate O'Scanlan, 102
 — Canons Regular of St. Augustine at, 201
 — Cemetery of the Kings at, 47
 — — Of the Franciscans in, 102
 — Charter of, 205
 — Christian Brothers in, 305, 323, 439
 — Columba's St., Church in, 24, 30
 — Cullean Monastery in, 24
 — Damaged by fire, 55
 — Armagh, Dean of, dies in prison, 273
 — Dedication of, 451
 — Designation of, 2
 — Destroyed by lightning, 50
 — Enclosure of the Abbots at, 55
 — Entered by Iron-Knee, 55
 — Faction Fights in, 208
 — Fighting at, 187
 — Founded by St. Patrick, 8, 13
 — Franciscan Abbey in, 25, 95, 464
 — Franciscans Flogged in, 464
 — " Head of Ireland," 27
 — Improved by Thomas Ogle, sovereign, 391
 — — Thomas Macan, 391
 — James II. at, 255
 — Latitude and Longitude of, 1
 — Lay Intruders in the See of, 55
 — Made Primatial See, 8, 452, 459
 — Malachy, King of Ireland, holds Assembly at, 39
 — Name of, 2
 — National Assembly at, 43
 — No Dominican Friary in, 50
 Northern Church of, 45, 451
 — Observatory of, 430
 — Occupied by the English, 194
 — Old Chapel in, 433
 — Outrages in, 283
 — Pestilence in, 51
 — Pilgrimage made to, by King of Connaught, 67
 — Plantation of, 213
 — Plundered by Godfrith, 28, 47
 — — by Godfrey, the Dane, 50
 — — by the Danes, thrice in one month, 34, 41, 42
 — — by De Courcy, 88
 — — by the De Lacys, 92
 — — by Philip of Worcester, 87
 — — by William Fitz Aldelm, 86
 — Primate of, list of, 455
 — Public Library of, 396, 427, 441
 — Relics, Church of, in, 454
 — Rival Abbots of, 34
 — Round Tower of, 29
 — Sacred Heart Nuns in, 305, 436
 — School of, 16, 26
 — Seized by the citizens against James II., 252
 — Seminary at, 301
 Southern Church of, 30
 — St. Patrick's Well in, 9, 449
 — Stormed by Iron-Knee, 46
 — — by Danes of Lough Foyle, 46
 — — by the Munster Men, 49
 — Suffragan Bishops of, 59
 — Surrender of Charter of, 251
 — — of, to Tyrone, 174
 — Synod of, 9, 15
 — — at, in 1170, 75
 — Turgesius marches against, 35

Armagh, Value of See of, 144
 — Vincentian Fathers in, 323
 Armagh County, grants of Lands in, 217
 Arrest of Primate at Dundalk, 280
 Articles of Religion of Church of Ireland, 338
 Artri, Primate 26
 Astronomers of Armagh Observatory, 430
 Astronomical Instruments in Observatory, 442
 Athboy, National Assembly at, 75
 Attander of James II., 257
 Aubrey de Vere, poem on the Cathedral by, 444
 Avaricious Bishops, 218

BACULUS Jesu, 89
 Bagenal, Marshal, marches against Tyrone, 172
 — despatched to Ulster, 179
Bailiath-Gluath, ancient name of Dublin, 9
 Bale, John, 323
 Ballyblough (Lurgan) Faction Fights at, 211
 Bailymyre, *i.e.* "Keeperstown," 246
 Ballypousta, Corpus Christi Procession at, 290
 Ballybot Faction Fights at, 211
 Ballybachall, 83, 89
 Ballyshannon, Mercy Nuns at, 314
 Baltinglass, Monastery founded at, 65
 Bangor, Abbey of, destroyed by Danes, 33
 — styled "the Learned of Ireland," 27
 — Stone Oratory built at, by St. Malachy, 65
 Banishment of Friars, 218
 Baptisms, to take place in Churches, 305
 Bargaing, got at Armagh, 67
 Baronets, Order of, instituted, 205
 Basilica, Petri et Pauli, 24
 — Southern, 451
 — Towns, 24
 Battle of Bellahoe, 140
 — Of Benbarb, 227
 — Of Clontarf, 52
 — Of Fathom, 185
 — Of Faughart, 105, 106
 — Of the Moyry Pass, 184
 — Of the Yellow Ford, 195, 6, 7
 Naval, on Lough Neagh, 226
 Bazaar of 1863 for National Cathedral, 309
 — of 1900 for same purpose, 322
 Beccive, Monastery founded at, 65
 Bede, his mistake about an eclipse, 22
 Bedel, remonstrates in favour of Catholics, 231
Begging of Lent, 67
 Belfast, Chapel in, and Parish of, 300
 — Becomes Episcopalian Parish, 300
 — *News-Letter*, Intro
 — Unitarian Schools in, 301
 Bellahoe, Conn O'Neill defeated at, 140
 Bells, none allowed on Catholic Chapels, 287
 — in Cathedral (Protestant), 404
 Benbarb, Battle of, 227
 — English account of battle of, 232
 Benignus, St., baptized by St. Patrick, 7
 — Second Primate, 10, 19
 — Death of, 20
 Berean, prophecy of, 42
 Beresford, Primate Marcus Gervais, 416, 417
 — Epitaph of, 417

Beresford, Primate Lord John George, 413, 414
 Bernard, St., 62
 Bessbrook, Mercy Nuns at, 324
 Bishops, appointments of, regulated, 114
 Bishops, banished from Ireland, 263
 — reductions of incomes of, 229
 Bishoprics, proposed Union of, 229
 Black Cell of Derry, 18
 Black Statute of Kilkenny, 108
 Blake, Primate Anthony, 268
 — Suspended, 281
 Blankets, manufacture of, at Armagh, 259
 Blessington, founded by Primate Boyle, 367
 Bolley, Sir Thomas, 337
 Bodleian Library, 337
 Bollandist evidence about St. Concord, 80
 Bole, Primate John, 123, 132
 — holds Synod in Drogheda, 123
Book of the Angel, (part of Book of Armagh) 56, 449
Book of Armagh, contents of, 30
 — Encased by Donogh, King of Ireland, 31
 — Famous entry in, 56
 — Keeper of, 245
 — Oaths made in, 31
 — Scribe of, 31
Book of Lican, Intro
 Books in Public Library, 441
 Borough of Armagh, Records of, lost, 252
 Boulter, Primate Hugh, 377
 — Deprecates Irish currency, 381
 — His publications, will and monument, 408
 — His relations with the Catholics, 303
 — His relations with the Presbyterians, 380
 — Satirized by Dean Swift, 381
 — Supports the Penal Laws, 383
 Boyle, Monastery founded at, 65
 Boyle, earl of Shannon, 584
 — Primate Michael, 366
 Brady, Dr. Maziere, Intro
 Bramhall, Primate John, 357
 — Adopts the English Articles, 359
 — Desires to honour Primate Fitz Ralph, 363
 — His views about Presbyterian Orders, 302
 — Styled by Cromwell *the Irish Canterbury*, 364
 Brian Boru grants immunities to Armagh, 54
 — Burial of, 54
 — Character of, 51
 — Death of, 53
 — Desires to be buried in Armagh, 53
 — Fights Battle of Clontarf, 53
 — Last bequest of, 56
 — Presents offering at Armagh, 51
 Bright, St., and St. Patrick, 451
 — Church of, 24
 — Relics of, destroyed, 86
 Bri-Mic-Tadhg, 53, 60d of, 74
 Bron, St., 7
 Browne, Archbishop George, 138
 — An intruder, 151
 — Expelled from see of Dublin, 147
 — Opposes Primate Cromer, 139
 Bruce, Edward, invades Ulster, 105
 Bull of the Pope to Henry VII., 128
 Burgh, Lord, appointed Deputy, 175

- Burgh, Lord, death of, 177
 Burgesses of Armagh, 206, 251
 Burke, O P., Dr. Thomas, Portrait of, 264
 Burke, O P., Father, Sermon in Cathedral, 315
 Byrne, Very Rev. Patrick, 433, 444
- CABRILAN, St., 27
 Calendars of State Papers, *Intro*
 Callan, River, 1, 43
 — Battle of, 38
 — Niall Caille drowned in, 39
 Calphurnius, 12
 Cambric, manufactured at Dundalk, 380
 Camlet, manufactured at Armagh, 258
 "Canon of Patrick," 31
 Canons Regular of St. Augustine, 201
 — Inquisition into their Property, 202
 Cardinal Logue, 320
 Cardonagh, in Inishowen, 8
 Carelessness about documents in Ireland, 292
 Carolan, St., 27
 Cashel, Monastery founded at, 65
 — Council of, 76, 79
 Cassiot-Irra, Church of, 7
 Castlereagh, letter to, from Primate Curtis, 293
 Catalogue of stars (Armagh), 442
 Cathasach I., 45
 Cathasach II., Primate, 55
 Cathedral of Armagh, roofed by St. Celsus, 60
 — rebuilt by Primate O'Scanlan, 102
 — Burned, 120
 — Burnt by Shane O'Neill, 163
 — — by Sir Phelim O'Neill, 224
 — Collection for after burning, 120
 — Repaired by Gelasius, 72
 — Repaired by Primate Hampton, 333
 — Rebuilt by Primate Margetson, 366
 — Repaired by Dr. Robinson, 395
 — (modern Catholic) foundation stone laid, 301
 — Bazaar for, in 1865, 309
 — — in 1900, 322
 — — Memorial Window in, 315
 — — Primate Crolly buried in, 302
 — — Site of, secured by Cardinal Logue, 322
 — — Solemn Opening of, 315
 — — Work on, resumed by Primate Dixon, 446
 Catholic Chapels opened in Ireland, 386
 Catholic Clergy of Ireland exiled, 203, 263
 — Proclamation against, in 1744, 280
 — — of Armagh, in 1615, 223
 — — Government Register of, in 1704, 271
 — Emancipation, 288
 — History of, 293
 — Priests, Second Order of, 18
 — Saints, First Order of, 18
 Cattle cess of the primate, 455
 Causobon, Isaac, 338
 Callaghan, King of Munster, 48
 Cele-Peter, Primate, 23
 Celestine, Pope, 5, 13
 Cellach, *see* Celsus, St.
 Celsus, St., 60
 — Consecration of, 67
 — Dies at Ard-Patrick, 68

- Celsus, St., interred at Lismore, 62
 — Makes visitation in Cinel Eoghain, 60
 — Ordination of, 67
 Cess, primatial, 24, 26, 34, 451
 Chambery, St. Concord's relics preserved at, 80
 — Celebrations at, 81
 — Visited by Primate Dixon, 307
 Chaplaincies, Catholic, in Armagh, 442
 Chapter of Armagh, 229
 Charity Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul, 318, 324
 Charlemont Castle taken by Phelim O'Neill, 222
 — Irish Garrison at, 225
 Charles I., grants lands for free schools, 209
 — Gives Charter to Vicars-Choral, 210
 Charter of Armagh, 251
 Charters granted by James I., 205
 Cholera in Drogheda, 302
 Christ Church, Sinner crowned in, 128
 Christian Brothers in Armagh, 305, 323, 439
 — (De la Salle, 324)
 — In Drogheda, 323
 Church of SS. Peter and Paul, 24
 — of Sabhall, 24
 Churches destroyed by Danes, 35
 — Destroyed in Ulster, 218
 — In Ireland, pillaged, 145
 Cistercian Order introduced into Ireland, 65
 Clarrvax, St. Malachy buried at, 70
 Classical School built by Primate Robinson, 397
 Clergy, Irish, exempted from War, 2
 Cloenad, Synod at, 74, 78
 Cloghwater, Synod at, 230
 Clonmacnois, styled "Arts of Ireland," 27
 — Spoiled by Felim, 42
 — Synod at, 229
 Clontarf, battle of, 52
 Colman, St., dies of thirst, 19
 College of the Culdees, 229
 Colton, Primate John, 111
 — Made Lord Treasurer, 119
 Commission for Suppression of Abbeys, 152
 Commissioners of William III., 257
 Committee for collecting for cathedral, 445
 Common Scolds, punishment of, 210
 Concannon O P., Father Luke, 470
 Concord, St., Primate, 79
 — Ancient hymn to, 80, 82
 — Confraternity of, 81
 — Dies at Limerick, 80
 — Pays visit to Rome, 80
 — Prayer to, 82
 — Relics of, 81
 — — in Armagh, 436
 — Veneration paid to, 80
 Confederation of Irish Bishops in 1291, 96, 103
 Confirmation of Bishops by the Pope, 114
 Confraternity of St. Peter's Pence, 308
 Congregations, Religious, in the Diocese, 323
 Congus, Primate, 22
 Connaught visited by Primate, 26
 Connesburg, Primate Edmund, 125
 — Resigns the see, 125
 Connmach, Primate, 23, 25
 Conn O'Neill, treachery of, 179

- Conor son of Donnald, interred at Armagh, 47
 Conscience, liberty of denied by Elizabeth, 164
 Contest between Sees of Dublin and Armagh, 132
 Controversy between Primate and Friars, 107
 Cookstown, Mercy Nuns at, 324
 Cork styled "the difficult language of Ireland," 27
 Cormac Primate, 20
 Cornelius, Bishop of Killaloe, 194
 Cornelius MacConcaille, Sec. Concord, St
 Corporation and Test Acts, 285
 Corpus Christi, first procession in Drogheda of, 290
 Costello, Father, of Rome, *Intro.*
 Council, General, at Lyons, 93
 — Of Union formed, 253
 Courcy John de makes conquest of Ulidia, 84
 — Defeats MacMahon, 85
 — Erects forts in Monaghan, 84
 Coyne, Dr., Dean of Dundalk, 310
 Creagh, Primate Richard, 161
 — Examination of, in Prison, 165
 — Imprisoned, 162
 — Preaches in Cathedral, 166
 Creagh Patrick, 7
 Croft, Sir James, introduces English Liturgy, 145
 Crolly, Primate William, 299
 — Buried in Armagh, 302
 — *Selected Sermons* of, 303
 Cromer, Primate George, 137
 — Accused of Heresy, 150
 — Last years of, 150
 — Opposes the Reformation, 138
 Cromwell, his relations with Ussher, 352
 — Buries Ussher at his own expense [?], 356
 — Styles Bramhall the *Irish Canterbury*, 361
 Crosses in Armagh, 76
 Crozier, St. Patrick's, carried to Dublin, 86
 — Burnt in Dublin, 139
 Cruelties of 1641, 224
 Crusades, Collection for, 102
 Cucking-stool, 210
 Cud-dinise Primate, 23
 Cuthbertan Monastery built in Armagh, 24
 Culdees of Armagh, 27, 152, 109, 229
 — Connected with the Cathedral, 133
 — Depart from Armagh, 208
 — Spared by the Danes A.D. 921, 47
 Cullen, Dr., saves Propaganda, 304
 — Attends Vatican Council, 306
 — Created Cardinal, 305
 — Death of, 306
 — Denounces Fenians, 305
 — Primate, 304, 305
 Cumuscach O'Herudain, 58
 Curtis, Dr. Patrick, in Salamanca, 285
 — And Wellington, verses on, 297
 — Evidence of, in 1825, 294
 — Letter of to Castlereagh, 293
 — Made Primate, 285
 — Manners of, 297
 — Relations of, with Dr. Doyle, 294
 — — With Wellington in Salamanca, 294
 DABROC, St., Priory of, 17
 Daire, gift of, 8, 13, 14
 Daire Family of, 13
 Daire Calgach, 18
 Dalranale, 12
 Dalnada, 3
 Damhliaic Mur, or great stone church, 29
 Danes, and in Ireland, 32
 — Cruel barbarities of, 35
 — Destroy Manuscripts, 36
 — — Abbey of Bangor, 33
 — Overthrown by Niall Caille, 38
 — Pillage Armagh thrice in one month, 34
 — Sack Armagh, 47
 — Spoil Armagh thrice in one month, 42
 David, St., 27
 Deans (Catholic) banished from Ireland, 263
 Dean of Armagh dies in Prison, 273
 — Swift on Primate Boulter, 384
 Dearmacha, the field of oaks, 2, 12
 Dermot O'Tighernan contends for See, 34
 Derry, Columban Abbey of, 71
 — — Black Cell of, 132
 — Consumed by fire, 71
 — See of, 279
 — Siege of, 255, 259
 Derry, Dr. Edmund, 266
 "Diamond, Battle of the," 283
 Diaper manufactured at Armagh, 258
 Diocesan Chapter constituted, 308
 Disestablishment, 416
 Divisions, ancient, of Armagh
 Divorce of Tyrone, 134
 Dixon, Dr. Joseph Prof. Sacred Scripture, 306
 — Appeals for Cathedral, 446
 — At Chambers, 81
 — Denounces Napoleon III., 308
 — Secret Societies, 309
 — Made Primate, 306
 — Resumes work on Cathedral, 346
 — Tomb of, 309
 "Doctor's Quarter," 274
 Documents, carelessness about in Ireland, 292
 Dominican Friary, none in Armagh, 40
 Dominicans collect money for Crusades, 102
 — And Franciscans, contest between, 240
 — Make much of Irish Language, 103
 Donald of Armagh, 50
 Donald, Primate, 59
 Donnelly, Patrick, Vicar-General of Armagh, 204
 Donough O'Carroll, 78
 Dowdall, Dr. George intruded into Armagh, 142
 — Appointed Primate by the Pope, 155
 — Deprived of (pretended) Primacy, 146
 — Flies to the Continent, 146
 — Holds Synod in Drogheda, 149
 — Opposes Reformation, 144
 — Recalled by Queen Mary, 147
 Down Cathedral burnt by Lord Grey, 139
 Downpatrick, St. Patrick buried at, 11
 Doyle, Dr., 288
 — Relations with Primate Curtis, 294
 Dreyer, astronomer, 431
 Drogheda, Dominican Abbey founded at, 93
 — Dominican Nuns established at, 264 and 277
 — — Prior of, 101

- Drogheda, Plague in in 1504, 125
 — Regular Communities in 289
 — Sends out ships against pirates, 149
 — Synod of, in 1554, 307
 Dromore, See of, 273
 — Bishop of, 288
 Drumsalleck, Hill of Sallows, 1, 2, 8
 Dubdalethe I, Primate, 23, 55
 Dubdalethe II, Primate, 50
 Dubdalethe III, writes *Annals of Armagh*, 58
 Dubh Gaill—Black Strangers, 32
 Dublin Synod at, in 1666, 235
 — Archbishop of, arrested, 275
 Dubtach I, Primate, 20
 Dubtach II, Primate,
 Ducking-Stool, 210
 Duleek, body of Brian Boru conveyed to, 53
 Duleek Toga, 29
 Dumbarton, birth place of St. Patrick, 12
 Dunboe, Church of, built by St. Patrick, 8
 Dun-Crathen (Duncrun), Church of, 8
 Dundalk, arrest of Primate at 280
 — Abbey of St. Leonard's at, 95
 — Church of St. Nicholas built at, 311
 — Catholic Young Men's Society founded in, 311
 — Cambrian manufacture at, 380
 — Christian Brothers in 311, 323
 — — (de la Salle) in, 324
 — Dean Coyne, Parish Priest of, 310
 — Dean Kieran, parish priest of, 311
 — Democrat, 323
 — Examiner, 323
 — Franciscan Abbey in, 102
 — Guardian of, 101
 — Marist Fathers in, 308, 311, 323
 — Mercy Nuns in, 308
 — Primate O'Scanlan consecrated at, 102
 — Redemptorist Fathers in, 315, 323
 — Schools at, 311
 Dungannon, Mercy Nuns, at, 324
 Durrow, Monastery of, spoiled by Felim, 42
 Dumbhain-Macha, 2
 — Known as the *Natan Fort*, 12
 Easter, Celebration of, 21, 27
 Easter Dues, 295
 Eclipse of the Sun, A.D. 664, 22
 Edgcomb's, Sir Richard, *Voyage to Ireland*, 129
 Edward Plantagenet personated by Simnel, 126
 Election of Bishops by Cathedral Clergy, 114
 — By Inspiration, 103
 — By Scrutiny, 103
 — Contested, in Armagh, 91
 — Decree regarding, 323
 — Of Bishops in Ireland, Ware on the, 99
 Popular, 114
 — *Per viam compromissi*, 95, 103
 Elizabeth re-introduces Protestantism, 157
 — Denies liberty of conscience, 194
 Emancipation, Catholic, 288
 History of, 293
 Emily, 9
 "English Interest" in Ireland, 383
 Englishmen purchased from Pirates, 76, 79

- English planted in Armagh, 213
 English Street, Protestant Primate's House in, 393
 Eochaid, Primate, 21
 Eoghan, Primate, 34
 Epistle written to Primate Tommine, 21
 Essex, Earl of, appointed Lord Lieutenant, 183
 Eubel *Hierarchia Catholica, Intro*
 Eugene III sends four palliums to Ireland, 73
 Eugene, Primate, 34
 Evidence of Dr. Curtis in 1825, 204
 Exeter not abandoned by its Bishop, 462
 Expense of Living in Ireland in 17th Century, 262
 Explanation of changes in the text, *Intro*
 Exports and imports of Ireland in 1611, 205
 Extermination of Catholics resolved on, 231
 Faction Fights in Ireland, 208
 Faindelach, Primate, 23
 Famine in Ulster, 190, 225
 Fathom, conflict at, 185
 Faughart, Battle of, 105, 116
 — Relics of, 111
 Feidhlimid, Primate, 21
 Fels of Teamor, 10
 Felim, the son of Crimthan, 41
 — Destroys Clonmacnois, 42
 — Not an Abbot or Bishop, 42
 — Spoils Monastery of Durrow, 42
 Fenians denounced by Dr. Cullen, 305
 Ferlachry, Primate, 23
 Ferdinnach, Scribe of Book of Armagh, 31
 Fethgna, Primate, 44
 Feuds in Ireland, 42
 Fiad Mac-Aengusa, Synod at, 60
 Fiech, the poet, converted by St. Patrick, 7
 Fines for absence from Protestant Service, 213
 Fion-Gaill—White Strangers, 32
 Fitz Aldem pillages Armagh, 86
 — Steals the staff of Jesus, 86
 — Dies a horrible death, 86
 Fitz Ralph, Primate preaches against Friars, 107
 — Cited before the Pope, 108
 Fitzsimon, Father, his contest with Ussher, 336
 Fitz William, Deputy, causes discontent, 170
 Flann Febla, Primate, 22
 Flathbert, King, abdicates his sceptre, 23
 Flannugus, Primate, 26
 Flann O Cormac, chief lector of Armagh, 79
 Flax Spinning, 250
 Fleming, Primate Nicholas, 120
 — Grants Indulgences, 131
 — Holds Synod in Drogheda, 121
 Flogging of Franciscans in Armagh, 464
 Forannan, Primate, 34
 — Driven from Armagh, 42
 Forthill, Primate Kieran dies at, 312
 Fothad Abbot, remonstrance of, 25
 Foxall, O.M., Primate John, 124
 Franciscan Friary, 25
 — Founded by Primate O'Scanlan, 95
 Franciscans in Armagh, 464
 — And Dominicans, contest between, 240
 — Flogged in Armagh, 464
 — Make much of Irish Language, 310

- Friars, banishment of, 218, 263
 — Grant of house of, 207
 — None in County Armagh in 1731, 277
- GALLOWES erected by "Hearts of Oak," 390
 Gallowglasses, 158
 Garstin, John Kibton, 428
 Garvey, Primate, 328
 Gaula, Convent of, 248
 Gavelkind and Tanistry abolished, 202
 Gelasius, Primate, 71
 — Convenes Synod at Holm-Patrick, 72
 — Death of, 76
 — Makes visitations in Munster and Connaught, 72
 — Makes Collection through Ireland, 73
 — Repairs Cathedral, 72
 — Receives Donations in Tyrone, 74
 Genealogical Table of the Lay Intruders, 69
 General Exile of 1698, 261
 Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, 12
 — Made Papal Legate, 13
 Girdas the Wise, rector of School of Armagh, 26
 Gillebert appointed Papal Legate, 66
 Gladstone, translation of verse of Horace, by, 400
 Gleadalough styled the "cemetery of Ireland," 27
 "Glenswilly Decree," 313
 Glenswilly, Dr Logue at, 319
 Gibbs, Irish forbidden to wear, 144
 Godfrey, the Dane sacks Armagh, 50
 Goodacre, Primate Hugh, 325
 Gormall seizes abbey of Armagh, 23
 Gosford, Lord, on outrages in Co. Armagh, 283
 Grants to Scotch Undertakers in Co. Armagh, 213
 — To English Undertakers in Co. Armagh, 217
 Great Third, an ancient division of Armagh, 77
 Gregg, Primate, Robert Samuel, 421
 Greenhills Primate's House at, 281
 Grey, Lord, burns Down Cathedral, 139
- Half of Conn* of the Hundred Battles, 40
 Hamilton, Viscount Limerick, 388
 — Earl of Clanbrassil, 389
 Hampton, Primate Christopher, 332
 — Admonishes Ussher, 333
 Hand bells used for Catholic Chapels, 287
 Hammer's lies, 68
 "Head of Erin," 460
 "Hearts of Oak," 390, 405
 Henry VII pardons the Simnel conspirators, 129
 Henry VIII. entitled "King of Ireland," 141
 — Destroys Monasteries, 151
 Heresy, Pelagian, 21
 Heretics in Kaphoe, 132
 Hondly, Primate John, 384
 — Supports Penal Laws, 385
 Holm-Patrick, Island of, 6
 — Synod of, 72
 Honour due to Primate of Armagh, 453
 Horace Quotation from, 400
 Hugh de Lacy appointed Earl of Ulster, 92
 Hugh O'Reilly, Primate, 219
 Huguenots settle in Ulster, 259
- IMAR O'Hagan, 63

- Images, destruction of, 151
 Imports and Exports of Ireland, in 1611, 205
 Inbher Dea, St. Patrick lands at, 6
 Inbher [Ibur] Chuan Tragha—Newry, 33
 Inbher Slane, 13
 Inchiquin, Lord, 221
 Incomes of Priests of Armagh, 295
 Infirmary built by Primate Robinson, 395
 Inisbofin, Island of, 230
 — Fortified by Catholics, 230
 — New Supreme Council formed at, 230
 — Surrender of, 231
 Innocent III., Bull of, 98
 Inscription on Catholic Cathedral, 446
 Inspiration, election by, 103
 Introduction to *Annals of Ulster*, Intro
 Introduction to *Sacred Scriptures* by Dr. Dixon, 307
 Ireland, trade of in 17th century, 262
 Irish Representatives at Westminster, 110
 Irishmen not to enter Monasteries, 115
 Irish Chiefs submit to Henry VIII., 141
 — Act of 1793, 284
 — College in Rome, 304
 — Extermination of, resolved of, 231
 — Of Ulster, Remonstrance of, 231
 — Papal Brigade, 308
 — Rebellion in 1641, 222
 Iron Knee, the Dane, enters Armagh, 55
 Inscription on Cathedral, 448
- JAMES I. forms Protestant Settlement of Ulster, 205
 — II. Irish Prelates congratulate, 260
 — Excludes them from Parliament, 261
 — Letters from, to Irish Prelates, 260
 — To Primate Maguire, 260
- Jamestown, declaration at, 221
 — Episcopal assembly at, 229
 Jarlath, St., 20
 Jesuits come to Ireland, 142
 — Banished from Ireland, 263
 Jocelyn writes, 3, 87, 89
 Joseph, Primate, 47, 55
 Joyce, Primate Roland, 105
 — Primate Walter, 104, 114
 — Resigns the See, 106, 116
Jus Primatiale Armacanum, 240, 265
- KEGGALL, the Twelve Towns of the, 216
 Kells, Synod at, 73
 — Synod of in 1642, 219
 — Styled "the Joy of Ireland," 27
 Kelly, Dr. Thomas, 288
 — Appointed Primate, 290
 — Saintry Life of, 291
 Kennedy, Prince of the Dalcassians, 48
 "Keeper of the Canon," i.e. *Book of Armagh*, 245
 — His Endowment, 245
 Kieran, Primate Michael, 309
 Kilcrewe, river bridge over and chapel at, 124
 Kildare, styled the "Happiness of Ireland," 27
 — Earl of, favours Simnel, 126
 — — Pardoned by Henry VII., 129
 Kilkenny, Synod, in 1642, 219
 — Black Statute of, 108

- King, Archbishop. Book of censured, 261
 King John interferes with Armagh Election, 91-92
 " Kings Game " a pestilence, 108
 Kite, Primate John, 136
 — Letter of, to O'Neill, 139
 Knox, Primate Robert, 418
 — Death of, 420
- LANCASTER, Primate Thomas, 328
 — Duplicate consecration of, 331
 Lanfranc, Archbishop, writes to Primate, 60
 Lateran, General Council of, 92
Law of Patrick, 24, 26, 34
 Lay intruders, genealogical table of, 69
 Laymen not to be intruded into the See, 78
 Lay primacy, 461
Leam, Book of, Intro.
 Lemenc, St. Concord dies at, 80
Leit, beginning of, 67
 Leogaire King, 7
 Leth-Mogha [*half of Mugh*] 60
 Levins, Rev. Philip, P.P., 268
Liber Augusti, 30, 449
 Liberty of Conscience denied by Elizabeth, 194
 Library, Ancient of Armagh, 30
 — Public, built by Primate Robinson, 396, 427, 441
 — — Deputy Librarian of, 429
 — — Guardians of, 428
 — — Keeper of, 428, 429
 Lindsay, Primate Thomas, 374
 — Gets bells for Cathedral, 375
 — Relations with the Presbyterians, 375
 — Stately Funeral of, 376
 Linen-yarn, perfection of, 259
 — Trade, impetus given to, 259
 Lismore, styled the " Litany of Ireland," 27
 Lodge, Rev. William, 408, 428
 Loftus, Primate Adam, 326
 — Age when consecrated, 330
 — Portrait of, 330
 Logue, Dr. Michael, Bishop of Raphoe, 319
 — Bonds Sacristy, and Synod Hall, 322
 — Created Cardinal, 247
 — Made Coadjutor of Armagh, 317
 — On Chaplains for the Navy, 321
 — Succeeds to the Primacy, 317
 Lombard, Primate Peter, 198
 — Lives in Rome, 211
 — Mortuary notice of, 212
 — Writings of, 199
 Long, Primate John, 328
 Loughrea, Synod at, 229
 Louis of Bavaria, process against, 117
 Louth (See of) taken from Clogher, 94, 101
 — Added to Armagh, 94, 101
 Lucius III, Bull of, 86
 Lundy, Commandant of Derry, 254
 Lupita, supposed Sister of St. Patrick, buried, 17
 — Nunnery of, 17
- MAC CANN, family of, 14
 Macan, Thomas, 391
 Mac Carthy, Dr., editor of *Annals of Ulster, Intro.*
 Mac Cawell, O.M., Primate Hugh, 200

- His Appointment to Armagh, 212
 — Writings of, 201
 Mac Cauran, Primate Edmund, 168
 — Killed, 171
 — Made Envoy, 193
 MacGettigan, Primate Daniel, 312
 — Imprisoned, 313
 — Inscription on Tomb of, 317
 — Relations with Pius IX., 314
 MacGillaweer, Primate Eugene, 91
 — Election of, 97
 — Takes charge of Diocese of Exeter, 92, 98, 462
 Macha, Queen of Ireland, 2
 — Daughter of Aedh, the Red, 12
 — Wife of Nemidh, 12
 — Wife of Cruann, 12
 Mac-Laisre, Primate, 21
 MacLaughlin, Friar Michael, 114
 MacMaelisu, Primate Nicholas, 95
 Mac Mahon, family of, 14
 MacMahon, Primate Bernard, 267, 277
 — Poem on, 278
 MacMahon, Bishop Heber, 228
 MacMahon, Primate Hugh, 264, 274
 — Death of, 266
 — Portrait of, 294, 276
 MacMahon, Primate Ross, 267, 278
 MacMahon, Primate, inscription on tomb of, 279
 MacMoyer, Florence, 237
 — Fate of, 247
 MacMoyer, Clan, sept of, 245
 MacMoyr, Friar, 246
 Mahsu, Primate, 58
 Maelbrihte, Primate, 45
 — Quells Faction in Armagh, 46
 Maelbrihte MacTornain, 28
 Maelbrihte Hua Maeluanaigh, manuscript of, 78
 Maelcobha, Primate, 45
 Maelmedic O'Morgair, *see* Malachy St.
 Malmuire, Primate, 50
 Maltuille, Suffragan Bishop of Armagh, 58
 Mael-Patrick, Primate, 47
 Magee, Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, 287
 Mageraghty, Primate David, 106
 Magh-Ean, church of, 7
 Maguire, family of, 14
 Maguire, Charles, the Annalist, death of, 130
 Maguire, O.P., Primate Dominic, 248, 260
 — Death of, 250
 — His relations with James II., 260
 — Lives in exile at Paris, 260
 — Saves Trinity College Library, 249
 Malachy King of Ireland holds assembly at Armagh,
 — Drowns Turgesius the Dane, 43 [39]
 — King of Meath, 52
 Malachy St., Primate, 63
 — Appointed Papal Legate, 64
 — Church of, in Armagh, 432
 — Death of at Clairvaux, 65
 — His Writings, 65
 — Introduces Cistercians into Ireland, 65
 — Resigns See of Armagh, 64
 — Solicits Pallium for it, 64
 — Seminary of, in Belfast, 301

- Malcolm O'Brolaghan, 61
 Manuscripts destroyed by Danes, 36
 Margetson, Primate James, 363
 — His Chapel at Drogheda, 370
 — Re-builds Cathedral, 366
 Marist Fathers in Dundalk, 308, 311, 323
 Marriages to take place in Churches, 305
 Marsh, Primate Narcissus, 371
 — Builds a Library in Dublin, 372
 — Founds widows' houses in Drogheda, 373
 — His relations with the Dissenters, 374
 — His family, library, and diary, 408
 Martin, St., Bishop of Tours, 5
 "Mass-Gardens," 433
 Mass-houses in County Armagh, 277
Massau Third, an ancient division of Armagh, 77
 Maynooth, College at, 282
 — Students in, 296
 Mel, St., 10
 Mellifont, Monastery founded at, 65, 78
 — Consecrated, 74
 — So called Synod at, 74
 Mensal parishes, origin of, 229
 Mercy Nuns in Dundalk, 308, 324
 — in Ballyshannon, 314
 Mey, Primate John, 123, 132
 — Appointed Lord-Deputy, 123
 Milchu Huanan, prince of Dalaradia, 3
 Miracles, Church of the, 24
 Mona, Isle of Man, 9
 Monasteries ancient, 27
 — Suppression of, 151
 Monroe, Robert, 223
 — Cruelty of, at Newry, 224, 232
 — Defeated at Benburb, 227
 Montague flies to Armagh, 182
 Montgomery Lord, taken prisoner at Benburb, 227
 Morgan, Canon, librarian, 429
 Mother Gordon, 438
 Mountjoy, Lord, appointed Lord-Deputy, 183
 — Garrisons the North, 183, 188
 — Harasses Tyrone, 190
 Mount St. Catherine, 437
 Moyry Pass, battles at, 184
 Muirecan, Primate, 50
 Muiredach, Primate 50
 Muniment Room built at Armagh, 322
 Munster visited by Primate, 26
 Murchard [of the Leather Cows], 47
 Murphy, Owen, prosecutes Oliver Plunket, 246
 Murrough, son of Donald, 69
 — Usurps See of Armagh, 62
 Na Fearta, Church of, 8, 15
 Na Fur, Newry, 33
 Napoleon III, denounced by Primate Dixon, 308
 — Sends Vases for Bazaar, 309
 National Council formed in 1642, 220
 National Cathedral Bazaar, 322
 Navan, Rath, 14
 Nenagh, Monastery founded at, 65
 Netterville, Primate Luke, 92
 — Burial of, 99
 — Election of, 99
 Nemthur, city of, 2, 12
 Newcome Primate William, 401
 — Scriptural Writings of, 402
 Newry, origin of name of, 33, 41
 — Cathedral Tower and Chime of Bells in, 298
 — Cistercian Abbey founded at, 65, 83, 89
 — Consecration of Cathedral of, 298
 — — of Dr. Kelly at, 290
 — Cruelty of Munroe at, 224, 232
 — Danes disembark at, 33
 — Garrison at, 188
 — Monastery of, burnt in 1162, 41
 — Old name of, 33
 Niall, Black Knee, 46
 Niall Caille overthrows the Danes, 38
 — Drowned in river Callan, 39
 — Tomb of, 39, 460
 — Upholds Primate Eoghan, 41
 Niall the Great, 3
 Nicholas, Canon of Armagh, 93
 Nicholas St., Church of built at Dundalk, 311
 Nigel intrudes into See of Armagh, 64, 71
 Norris, Sir John, marches against Tyrone, 171
Northern Church in Armagh, 15, 451
 Nose Rent and Nose Money, 36
 Nuada, Primate, 25
 Nuns, none in Co. Armagh in 1731, 277
 — Mercy. See Mercy Nuns
 OATH of Allegiance to Henry VII., 129
 — Of Association renewed in 1647, 221
 — Of Catholic Bishops, 297
 O'Boyle (suffragan bishop), 59, 461
 Observatory built by Primate Robinson, 397, 429
 Occam William, 108
 O'Caran, Gilbert, 83
 O'Carroll, Donough, 78
 — Primate Maelisu, 87
 O'Connellan, Primate Abraham, 94, 101
 O'Conor, Primate Thomas, 86
 Octavian De Spinellis, Primate, 125, 133, 463
 — Grants indulgences to a Dominican, 134
 — Letter of, to Henry VII., 127
 — — About see of Dromore, 134
 — — About Simnel, 135
 Loyal to Henry VII., 127
 Synods of, 125
 O'Doherty, insurrection of, 203
 O'Donnell excommunicated by Primate Prene, 122
 O'Donnelly, Dr. Patrick, 273
 O'Edabra, Primate Donat, 93
 O'Furrey, suffragan bishop of Armagh, 58
 O'Hagan, Inar, 16
 O'Hanlon, family of, 14
 "Old Chapel" at Armagh, 301
 Old Preaching Church, 24
 O'Morgair, St. Christian, 65, 70
 O'Murray, Primate Amlave, 87
 O'Neill, family of, 66
 — Conn (Surnamed *Bacach*), takes up arms, 139
 — — Created Earl of Tyrone, 143
 — — Submits to Henry VIII., 143
 — Donald, on Primate Joyce, 115
 — Hugh, *see* Tyrone

- O'Neill, Owen Roe, 226
 — Defeats English at Benburb, 227
 — *Pheam*, 222
 — Character of, 233
 — Not the murderer of Lord Caulfeild, 234
 — Tried and executed, 227
 — Shane, character of, 158
 — — Burns Cathedral, 163
 — — Expels his father, 159
 — Goes to London, 160
 — Hangs a priest, 166
 — Murdered by the Scots, 164
 — Persecutes Primate Creagh, 166
 — Proclaimed a rebel, 160
 — Torlogh Lynagh destroys much at Armagh, 167
 Orangemen in Armagh, 301, 315
 Orange Riots in Armagh, 301
 Orders of Saints, three, 26
 O'Reilly, Primate Edmund, 232, 234, 241
 — — Imprisoned, 242
 — Primate Hugh, 219, 221, 228, 229
 — Death of, 230
 — His contest with Ussher, 229
 — — Synods of, 229
 — Takes refuge in Inisbofin, 230
 — Primate Michael, 267, 279
 — — Catechisms written by, 267
 — Primate Richard, 269, 281
 — A Unionist in politics, 282
 Ormonde Duke of, 242
 O'Rourke waylays Primate of Armagh, 68
 O'Scanlan, O.P., Primate Patrick, 94, 102
 — Brings Franciscans to Armagh, 95, 102
 — Dies at St. Leonard's, Dundalk, 95
 Ostmen land in Ireland, 32
 O'Toole, Primate Donagh, 157
 O'Tighernan, Primate, 34
 Outrages in County Armagh, 283
 PALACE of Protestant Primates, 393
 Palatinus, Octavian de, *see* Octavian Primate
 Palladius St. his mission to Ireland, 3
 Pallium solicited for See of Armagh, 64
 Palliums distributed by Paparo, 73
 Papal appointments of Bishops, 114
 Paparo Cardinal, comes to Armagh, 73
 Parishes, Union of, in Armagh, 295
 Parliament, Irish, refuses supplies to Edw. III., 109
 — Of Simnel in Dublin, 128
 — Regulates Irish dress, 144
 — Of King James II., 257
 Parliamentary Committee of 1825, 288
 Pascal controversy, 27
 Pasch, celebration of, 18, 19
 Patrick, St., family of, 3
 — Birth of, 1, 12
 — Buried at Downpatrick, 11
 — Escape of, from captivity, 4
 — Inscription on tomb of, 11
 — Lands at Inlher Slaine, 13
 — Law of, 24, 26, 56, 458
 — Ordination, and Consecration of, 13
 — Patrician Cess, 24, 458
 — Preaches at Tara, 7

- Patrick, St., Receives viaticum from Bishop Tas-sagh, 15
 — Roman Mission of, 13
 — *Stearis*, 55, 68
 — Synod held by him at Armagh, 9, 15
 — "Teep-of-Day Boys," 282
 Pelagian heresy, 13, 21
 Pembroke, John, 103
 Penal Laws supported by Primate Hoadly, 385
 — Opposed by Primate Stone, 388
 Peninsular War, 286
 Penny a week collection for Cathedral, 446
 Perjurers, fate of, 239
 Pestilence in Ireland in 664-5, 22
 — In 1370, 108
 Peter Walsh, Father, 249
 Peter and Paul Monastery of, granted away, 207
 Peter's, St., Church, building of, at Drogheda, 282
 Pilgrimage to Armagh by King of Connaught, 67
 Pirates attack a vessel going to Drogheda, 149
 Plantation of Ulster, 204
 Peter and Paul SS., Abbey of, 16, 213
 — Church of, consecrated, 61
 — Shrine of, drops blood, 67
 Plot Popish, 239
 — Irish, 240
 Plume, hallowed, sent to Tyrone, 182
 Plunket, Ven. Primate Oliver, 235
 — Charges against, 236-7
 — Execution of, 238
 — Head of, preserved in Drogheda, 239
 — *Memoir of*, 243
 — Shrine of, 277
 — Trial of, 243
 Poem on Danish occupation of Armagh, 42
 Pole, Cardinal, restores Ireland to the Church, 148
 Poor Clares, 324
 "Popery, present state of," Report on, 276
 Portmore, fort of, besieged by Tyrone, 177
 — Blockaded by Tyrone, 179
 Prene, Primate John, 122
 — Excommunicates O'Donnell, 122
 — Removes Cross from Raphoe, 122
 Presentation Nuns, 324
 — Established at Drogheda, 282
 Presbyterians settle in Ulster, 208, 259
 — Relations of, with Primate Bramhall, 362
 — with Primate Boulter, 380
 — with Primate Lindsay, 375
 Presbyter abbots, 457
 — "Priest Catchers," 263
 Primacy, controversy about, 344
 — Lay, 461
 — Of Armagh, 460
Primate of Dublin by Dr. Talbot, 241
 Primate of Armagh way-laid by O'Rourke, 68
 Primates, non-resident in Ireland for 23 years, 264
 — Income of, 294
 Primate's See, Armagh constituted the, 8
 — Right of Armagh, 56
 Princes of Armagh, 55
 Prior of College of Culdees, 229
 Proclamation against Catholic Clergy, 1744, 280
 Professorship of Divinity founded, 74, 78

Propaganda appointments, 245
 — Saved by Dr Cullen, 304
 Prophecy about the Popes, a forgery, 70
 — Curious, of Rice Evans, 369
 Protestant Coalition, 254
 — Plantation of Armagh, 213
Protestants, State of, in Ireland, under James II, 261
 Provisions, Papal, of Bishops, 114
 Psalter of Cashel 47

QUAKERS settle in Ireland, 259
 Quatrain of St Aengus, 15
 Queen's Colleges condemned at Rome, 305

RATHCORE, Synod of, 25
 Rathmines, Battle of, 234
 Ralph of Canterbury opposed by St. Celsus, 66
 Rebellion, Irish in 1641, 222
 Reception of Primate on visitation, 451
 Records of Armagh lost, 252
 Redemptorist Fathers at Dundalk, 315, 323
 Reeves, Doctor, his work in the Public Library, 441
 — His Learned Monographs, *Intro*,
 Reginald, O.P., Primate, 94, 100, 101
 Register of Catholic Clergy of County Armagh, 271
 Relics, Church of the, 434
 Remonstrance of Irish of Ulster, 231
 "Remonstrance" of, 1666, 236, 242
 Retinue, Ancient, of the Primate, 69
 Revolution of 1688, 262
 Revolution in Pontifical States, 304
 Rice Evans, curious prophecy of, 369
 Richard of Armagh, festival of, 119
 — Honoured by Primate Bramhall, 363
 Rinuccini, Cardinal, the Pope's Nuncio, 220
 Rival Abbots of Armagh, 34
 Robinson, Primate Richard; *see* Rokeby
 Robinson, Rev Dr Romney, 430
 Roderic O'Connor, death of, 88
 Rokeby, Primate Lord, 392
 — Builds new Episcopal Palace, 393
 — Rokeby Hall, in County Louth, 398
 — Endows Observatory and Library, 396-7
 — Epitaph of, 425
 — Portraits of, 409
 — Remodels the city of Armagh, 397
 — Repairs the Cathedral, 396
 — Saurized by Wesley, 400
 — Will of, 406
 "Rookery Boys," 211
 Roman Mission of St Patrick, 13
 — Clergy write letter to Primate Tommine, 21
 Rome, Difficult cases to be sent to, 15, 27, 454
 Rothe, David, Vicar-General, 211
 Round Tower of Armagh, 27

SACRED Heart Nuns in Armagh, 305, 436
 — *Scriptures, Introduction to*, by Dr Dixon, 307
 Sacristy of modern Cathedral built, 322
 Saghir, 9
 Saints, Third Order of, 18
 — Three Orders of, 26
 Salamanca, Irish College in, 285
 Sallows, Hill of, 1.

Saul (Patrick's Barn), 6
 — Monastery founded at, 165
Saxon Third (an ancient division of Armagh), 77
 Scaliger, 337
 Scarampo, Peter, Envoy of the Pope, 220
 Schism in Diocese of Armagh, 274
 School, ancient, of Armagh, 16
 — Regulation about, 74
 — Royal Classical, of Armagh, 431
 Schools, Popish, in Armagh diocese, Report on, 277
 Schomberg, Duke, takes Charlemont Castle, 236
 Scotch plantation in Armagh, 213
 — Planters of the Fews, 215
 — Troops in Ireland, 223
 Scots settle in Ireland, 208
 Seagrave, Primate Stephen, 106, 117
 Seal of Confederates, 228
 Secret Societies denounced by Primate Dixon, 309
 See of Armagh usurped by Murrough, 62
 — Lands of surrendered by Primate Hampton, 206
 Seghene Primate, 21
 Seminary, St Patrick's, at Armagh, 301, 435
 — Taken charge of by Vincentian Fathers, 436
Senchas-Mor (ancient Irish law-collection), 10
 Senach, Primate, 21
Sermous, Select, of Primate Crolly, 303
 Settlement and Explanation, Acts of, repealed, 257
 Shrine of SS Peter and Paul drops blood, 67
 Silken Thomas and Primate Cromer, 137
 Simnel personates (?) Edward Plantagenet, 126
 — Crowned in Christ Church, 128
 — Holds Parliament in Dublin, 128
Sinistras or Northern Church of Armagh, 29
 Sitric, Danish King of Dublin, 48
 — Slain, 49
 Sonnet on Catholic Cathedral, 444
 — on James Stuart, *Intro*,
 Sorley Boy, 164
Southern Church in Armagh, 30
 Spelman's British Councils, 10
Spicilegium Ossoriense of Cardinal Moran, *Intro*,
 Spinellis, Octavian de, *see* Octavian Primate
 Staff of Jesus broken, 58
 — Seized by Nigel, 64
 — Treaty sworn on, 75
 Standish O Grady censured, 193
 Statutes, Diocesan, of Armagh, 290
 Steeple, not allowed on Catholic Chapels, 287
 Steevens's Hospital, 379
Stewards of Patrick, 58, 68
 Stone Church of the Elections, 29
 Stone, Primate George, 387
 — His contest with Boyle, Earl of Shannon, 387
 — Opposes Penal Laws, 388
 — Suppresses the "Hearts of Oak," 390
 Strafford, Execution of, 345
 Strangford Lough, 13
 Stuart, Hon William, Primate, 410
 — Epitaph of, 412
 — Portrait of, 413
Stuart, James, memoir of, *Intro*,
 — Sonnet on, *Intro*,
 Students' Books burned in Armagh, 57
Succoth, name of St. Patrick, 3

Suerbeer, O P., Primate Albert, 93, 99
 Suffragan Bishops of Armagh, 58, 59
 Suibhne (Sweeney), Primate, 22
 -- Usurps Abbacy of Armagh, 41
Summer Lent, 43
Sunday of Summer Easter, 39, 43
 Supreme Council of Confederates formed, 1642, 220
 Sussex burns Armagh, 150
 Swart, Martin, a German General, in Ireland, 128
 Swayne, Primate John, 121
 -- Defends Rights of Armagh, 132
 -- Holds Synod in Drogheda, 121
 -- Resigns, 121
 Sweetman, Primate Milo, 108
 -- Statute of about concord, 119
Syllage Vt Epist Hib (Ussher's), 343
 Synod, of St. Patrick, a. v. 448, 9, 15
 -- A. D. 695, 22
 -- -- Of Primate Boyle, 123
 -- -- Of Primate Dixon, 156
 -- -- Of Primate Dowdall, 149, 156
 -- -- Of Primate Fleming, 121
 -- Of St. Malachy, 64
 -- In Drogheda, by Primate O'Scanlan, 94
 -- Of Primate Swayne, 121
 TAASKE, Primate John, 104
 Talbot, Dr. Peter, 235
 Talbot, Richard, elected Primate, 122
Tablet (newspaper) on Dr. Cullen's appointment, 323
 Talhight, styled "the Eye of Ireland," 27
 Tansley, abolished, 202
 Tara, St. Patrick preaches at, 7
 Tassach, Bishop, gives viaticum to St. Patrick, 15
 Taxation, Ecclesiastical of Ireland, 112
 -- Of Armagh, 112
Teach Scruptra, House of Writings, 30
Tempeal Na Fuarla, 17, 24, also in Appendix A
 Temple Brigit, 17, 24
 Templum Columbar, 24
 Termonfechan, Church of, 78
 -- House of Primate at, 281
 Themer, *Petra Monumenta*, Intro.
 Thomian, St., Primate, 27
 Three-Mile-Water, fort built at, 185
 Thurlis, National Synod at, 305
 Tobacco Smoked in Ireland in 17th century, 262
 Tomgine (Thomian), son of Ronan, Primate, 21, 27
 -- Receives letter, in 640, from Rome, 27
 Tochar, Primate, 25, 30
 Trade of Ireland, 262
 Trent, Council of, 154
Trim Mor, ancient division of Armagh, 56
 -- *Saton*, ancient division of Armagh, 56
 Tribute received by Primates, 458
 Trinity College, Foundation of, 329
 -- Elected Provost of, 338
 -- Excludes Catholics, 231
 -- First List of Students of, 368
 -- Grants to, in Co. Armagh, 231
 -- James Ussher buys books for, 336
 -- Primate Henry Ussher helps foundation of, 329
 Troy, Dr. Thomas, O P., 268, 281
 Tuck Mills, 259

Tumbil, a punishment for renouet women, 210
 Turgesius, King of the Danes, invades Ulster, 34
 -- Marches against Armagh, 35
 -- Drowned in Lough Owel, 41, 43
 Tyrconnell, charges, by Primate Maguire, 249
 Tyrone, Earl of, his character, 169
 -- Armagh surrendered to, 174
 -- Commences war against the English, 171
 -- Flight of, 203
 -- His Divorce, 193
 -- Pardoned by Elizabeth, 179, 192
 -- Retreats to Castleroe, 189
 -- Treaty with, 192
 Tyrrell's Pass, English defeated at, 176

Ulster invaded by Turgesius, 34
 -- Churches of, ruined in 16th century, 86, 218
 -- Famine in, 225
 -- Made a wilderness, 191
 -- Settlement of, 208
 -- Surveyed and divided, 204
 Ulidia, St. Patrick sails to, 6
 Undertakers, grants to, in Armagh Co., 217, 213
 Unitarian Schools in Belfast, 301
 Urban IV., Bull of, 95
 Ussher, Primate Henry, 329, 331
 Ussher, Primate James, 334
 -- Appointment to Armagh, 340
 -- Buried by him, 356
 -- His burial place, 370
 -- His contest with Father Fitzsimons, 336
 -- His early studies, 335
 -- His library goes to Trinity College, 356
 -- His Relations with Cromwell, 352
 -- His *Syllage*, 343
 -- Opposes Concessions to the Catholics, 341
 -- Ordination of, 370
 -- Reforms Ecclesiastical Courts, 341
 -- Visits Charles I., 350

VATICAN Council attended by Dr. Cullen, 306
 Verses on Wellington and Dr. Curtis, 297
 Vicars-General banished from Ireland, 263
 Vicars-Choral of Armagh, 210
 Vincentian Fathers in Armagh, 323
 -- Take charge of the Seminary, 436

WALSH, Father Peter, 234, 243
 Ware confounds two Nicholases, 493
War of the Gael with the Gaill, Intro.
 Wars about the Abbacy of Armagh, 58
 Wauchope, Primate Robert, 141, 153
 -- Appointed Papal Legate, 154
 -- Death of, 142
 Well of St. Patrick, 9, 449
 Wellington, Duke of, 287
 -- Complains to Primate Curtis, 289
 -- Letter of, to Dr. Curtis, 297
 -- Relations with Dr. Curtis in Salamanca, 294
 Wesley, John, satirises Primate Robinson, 309
 William III., Injustice of Commissioners of, 262
 Wolfe, David, the Pope's Nuncio, 165
 Woollen trade, destruction of, 258

Yellow Ford, Battle of, 180, 195-6, 7

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